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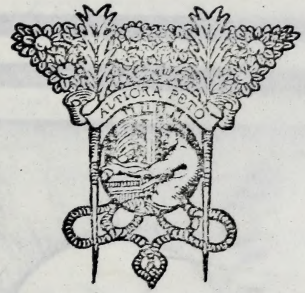
(AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE)



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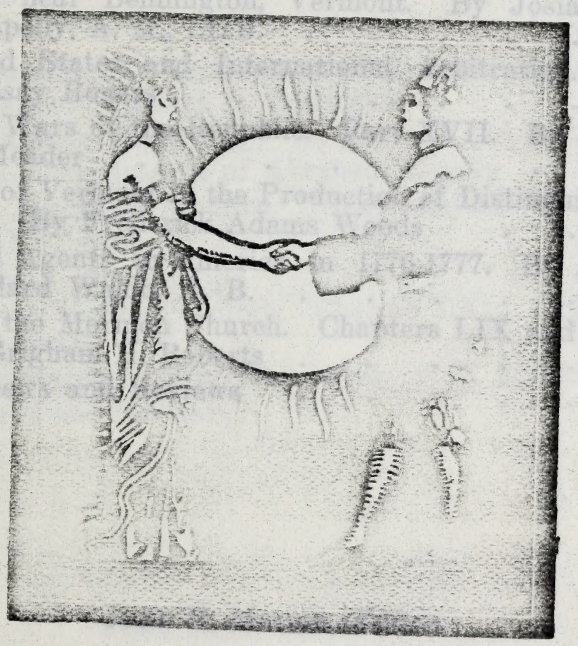

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BENNINGTON BATTLE MONUMENT
302 FEET HIGH

AMERICANA

January, 1912

The Battle Near Bennington, Vermont

Whose Battle Was It?

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B.

Historian of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution

AS Henry Cabot Lodge has well said, "Bennington in fact was one of the most important fights of the Revolution, contributing as it did so largely to the final surrender of Burgoyne's whole army at Saratoga, and the utter ruin of the British invasion from the North."

Furthermore it was that surrender at Saratoga that assured the priceless French alliance and so in the end the final success of our seven years' war for American Independence.

So when the question is asked, "Whose battle was it?" "Does it belong to Vermont or New York?"

One naturally dwells upon two points in his reply, one the geo*graphical situation* of the battle ground, and the other, as the Rev. Isaac Jennings of Bennington, puts it is "The question of injustice and ethical rights." To my mind the last named sentiment in the discussion seems by far the most interesting and suggestive.

Of course within the space of a magazine article like this I cannot more than delineate the salient features of my subject, but when the evidence is all summed up I cannot but feel my readers will agree with me that there amid the rugged hills of the old granite state of Vermont the fame and name of the Benning-

ton battle must remain, as it is now, a glorious heirloom for all time.

The battle was fought August 16th, 1777, 134 years ago. The neighborhood had been settled less than 20 years and the place of battle had as yet no recognized name. General Stark, the officer in charge of our forces, was commissioned only by New Hampshire.

His men possessed no uniform and fought in their shirt sleeves. Some had green twigs, and some had cornhusks in their hats, few had bayonets and some had scythes for weapons. No form or comeliness had they, but the world was startled by the audacity and splendor of their deed. And against these heroic yeomen were seasoned veterans, the flower of Burgoyne's army lead by Colonel Baun, a brave and intelligent officer, who only yielded when mortally wounded.

The people of Hoosick Falls, N. Y., have talked of celebrating the Battle of Walloomsac. David N. Beach, president of Bangor Theological Seminary, in his address Aug. 16th, 1903, asks:

"Was there any village of Walloomsac when the battle was fought?

What was Baum fighting for but to get Bennington?

What was Stark fighting for but to defend Bennington?

Would it not have been a Battle of Bennington, beyond even Hoosick's challenge, if Stark had been willing to fight a defensive fight? Did it not get upon Hoosick's soil only because Stark went out to meet the enemy? Did not Stark, too, on August fourteenth, offer battle before Baum established himself upon his Hoosick fastness, and did not Baum decline it? Should such aggressiveness forfeit its name because it was thus aggressive?

You learn that your house is to be burglarized. You watch. You do not permit the thief to reach your doorstep. You encounter him in the middle of the street before your house. You offer him fight, then and there. He declines it. He falls back into your next neighbor's back yard. You follow. You fight. After a hard struggle you capture him, and turn him over to the police. Whose is that fight with a burglar? Is it your neighbor's back yard's, because the burglar insisted that the fight should be there? Is it your neighbor's, because the back yard

is owned by him? Is it not, the rather, your house's, because that was the house which was to have been burglarized? Nay, is it not yours, because it was you whose watchfulness, enterprise, courage and prowess faced the burglar, chased him, fought him, overcame him, and took him to prison?"

From the Rev. Isaac Jennings, referred to above, who like his father before him is an accurate and reliable historian, I have received valuable data from which I will now quote freely:

"The exact facts in the case are that Baum, sent by Burgoyne to capture the stores believed to be at Bennington, and made a detour further East, returning to Albany by a route south of us, found a troop opposed to him this side the line, as now recognized, between Vermont and New York—Vermont a self-made state unrecognized as yet, and claimed by New York—New York a colony though just recruited, having adopted its constitution.

He, Baum, fell back a couple of miles, more or less, and entrenched on a hill in Hoosick, N. Y. Here, on the 16th, Stark and his New Hampshire men who were encamped just inside of the line, surrounded and captured him, and later drove back the reinforcements sent to his aid by Burgoyne in a running fight on New York ground, until dark put a stop to the engagement. Stark went from his rendezvous in Bennington to the battle, and was not fighting under the Colonial Congress authority, but under orders from New Hampshire in conjunction with Vermont to protect their borders. Then at first many Bennington volunteers, who in the spirit of men who are projecting their homes, wives and little ones, were in the thickest and most effective part of the first engagement had beside them some men from just over our border to the south.

The second engagement or running fight was maintained by Col. Warner's regiment, newly arrived from Manchester, under Lt. Col. Safford, all of them Vermont men—most of them Bennington men—who had come through the affair at Hubbardton—both Warner and Safford Bennington boys. Warner has always been given the credit of being of great aid to Stark in planning the battle and was with him in both engagements, even though his troops did not arrive in the second affair. There were few New London men engaged in the battle and they as Tories.

I would refer you to:

Caleb Stark's Memoirs of General Stark.

Hall's Early History of Vermont, Chap. 23.

Henry D. Hall's Battle of Bennington with the part recently claimed as taken by New York troops fully explained—Pittsfield, Mass. Law Printing Co., 1894.

The truth is, the Battle was fought on New York soil because Baum's troops never got onto our soil, except as prisoners after they had once receded to find an eligible place for entrenchment on Aug. 14th. It was fought exclusively over Bennington interests and on our side mainly by Bennington men, though New Hampshire had perhaps a larger number of regular troops as distinct from volunteers, for the day, in the first engagement. New York had no interest in it and got no glory out of it. On the contrary, with her animosity to Bennington and her mob, as she chose to call them, she would have been secretly pleased, unless all signs fail, if Bennington had suffered. The Hessians and Tories, who were captured in the battle and died finally lie interred in graves in the center of our old cemetery. The mere fact unadorned is the Battle was fought on New York soil, and New York has this credit, if she regards it worth while."

In answer to the question "Is the present line of New York state east of the Battle ground," Mr. Jennings replies:

The contest was at some time a running fight covering not less than two or more miles, and always to the west of the original encounter, which itself was clearly west of the line, now called the New York State line.

In this last sentence I have answered the second of the questions, or the second division of the question proposed, which would be: Second, Is the *present* line of New York State east of the Battle ground?

"That it is not is conceded. It has never been questioned since its establishment in Aug. 1782. But that, you will observe was 5 years after the Battle. Prior to that time, (1780-81) though admittedly after the Battle, the territory on which the Battle was fought was part of the so-called Vermont State, by its own act and Vermont's act, and by virtue of representatives sent to her legislative gatherings. If it be asked where Vermont

came from or got her right to existence, the answer must be from the same source as the United States, or New York State rebellion against organized authority. But it is to be added that she, Vermont, had never been a colony or dependence of Great Britain as had New York State colony, save as responsible to New York Colony. So whichever way it is viewed New York's claim to *the soil even at that date, is not wholly flawless.* I have never supposed locations named battles, any more than children or cattle. Your historical reading will already have settled that question for you. The Battles of Bunker Hill, Waterloo and Monmouth are all familiar illustrations of naming a battle by some other than geographical exactness or literalness. Besides, if our objector is a great stickler for exactness, let him show that one item or molecule of the landscape, of the buildings, of the river, of the bridges, or of the soil there then, is there now, and he will not only prove the point in controversy, but if he is quick enough with his patent, secure a gold mine of relics, beside which Alaskan dreams would be nightmares. But such argumentation and discussion of such questions seem to be puerile. I am not aware that the question was ever seriously raised and made a subject of educated dispute until it was proposed to raise a monument on the site of the storehouse, the claimed objective point of the expedition, which resulted so disastrously to Baum and Breyman and later, Burgoyne.

In September of 1891 Hon. S. D. Locke, resident, I believe, of Hoosick, though an importation, that is not native born, sent to the Troy Times, an article on the Baum Expedition, which attracted attention, and drew the fire of several competent antagonists—among them Hon. Benj. H. Hall, the historian of Eastern Vermont. This called for reply, and again the Troy Times was the arena of the struggle. Nor did it end here, for in April, 1892, a more ambitious effort to change the histories of the world was made, through the medium of the National Magazine of American History. It was proposed to establish the two following points:—

1st. "The Battle fought at Walloomsac should be called the Battle of Walloomsac."

2nd. "Burgoyne did not fit out an expedition against Bennington, and did not send Baum to capture stores there."

Now, perhaps, since this is believed to be the first specific attempt to raise these questions, though there may have been private, possibly semi-public discussion, before this—not known to me—a statement of Mr. Locke's points and categorical answers will best defend the claim of Bennington to the name of the battle, and put the subject of both contentions before you.

The general history of the encounter between Baum and Colonel Gregg on the 14th needs only allusion. The wherefore of this is also understood. The route of Gregg from the mill at Sancoik is admitted, and why he was there with but a hand full of men is also understood. This disaster is admitted to be the cause of Stark's being on the S. W. corner of the town with his troops, recently bivouacked near the center of Bennington, and such allies as came at the request of the Council of Safety's sitting at this time in the Catamount Tavern at Bennington. These allies from Bennington and vicinity, and from Massachusetts voluntarily joined him at his camp, in Bennington, though now less than a mile from the state line,—as now understood,—though then in dispute, and very indefinite. The reason for the site of this encampment is understood to be the refusal of Baum to engage Stark in battle on the 14th, due to several causes, probably Stark's superior numbers. Baum's expectation of reinforcement by Breyman, which assistance he had asked for and been assured, was on the way, and the eligibility of a hill protected by a river flowing at its foot and capable of defense on its other sides by earth works, to which some log huts in the neighborhood could contribute of their logs, while others served for cover for troops. The 15th was very rainy, but was duly employed by Baum for fortification and in expectation of relief.

The first engagement here at 3 o'clock on the 16th was precipitated by the discovery by Baum that the hill had been surrounded by a flanking movement on Stark's part, while he, Stark, had been amusing the enemy by feints in the open field, on the Bennington side of the river at the foot of this hill,—some 300 feet in steep ascent, on the top of which Baum's main force lay.

I go into no further detail for the matter is all of historic re-

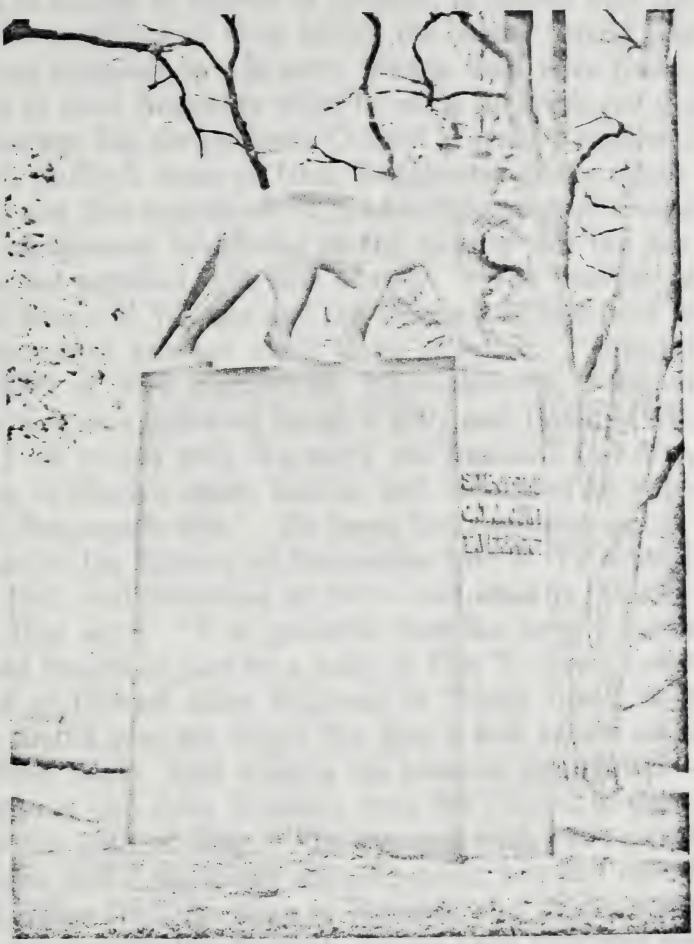
cord. Now for Mr. Lock's point, First: *"The battle was fought seven miles from Bennington."* True, though even then exaggerated, (Bennington is only six miles square) if the store-house in question be the "Bennington" referred to. But, we have already seen that the line was in dispute and Bennington's line extended as far to the westward as the line of the state still undetermined. Second: "Objective point does not give name to action as a mile."

Again true and false, hence not a conclusive argument. This in reference to the fact that the Battle should not take its name from the storehouse. Third: Frequent allusion by Burgoyne and Breyman and (now admitted mythical Glick or Gluck) to the battle as "The affair at Sancoik." "The engagement at Walmscott" and even Stark is quoted in a letter from Bennington to New Hampshire accompanying "trophies from the battle" as speaking of them as "trophies of the memorable battle of Walloomscock." So also in a similar letter to Massachusetts for a similar purpose. This is admitted. General Stark did not name the engagement, nor attempt to do so, for obvious reasons, one of which might be that the time of writing these letters was too near the date of the engagement. And another might be the state of the public thought outside Bennington and Vermont which was not disposed to magnify "Bennington" and its "Mob" as they assumed to think and speak of them. This state of mind must always be taken into account in considering public questions of that date. But even this does not seem to have weighed with the recipients of the trophies, for they either do not apply any distinctive name to the engagement or designate it by the name of "Bennington." John Hancock, President of the United States, in a letter endorsing the resolves of Congress and enclosing his Brig. General's commission voted to Stark by Congress, speaks of it as "The Battle of Bennington" and the Resolve refers to it as "the signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington." As to the accuracy of the British designation, we have too often been called upon to excuse insufficient information regarding American geography, on the part of our British cousins to take this too seriously.

But growing usage will be a better answer. The next year,

and repeatedly thereafter, the Battle of Bennington was so celebrated without question, both at Bennington and sometimes on the site of the battle by the veterans and citizens. At one such celebration General Stark was complimented by resolution—it was in 1806. This resolution was worded, "Commemorating the glorious battle fought on the 16th of August, 1777, commonly called the Bennington Action, the undersigned, etc." In 1809 again an invitation was extended to him to be present, and the action was referred to as "The Bennington Battle." And Stark, in reply, says, "I can never forget that I commanded American troops on that day at Bennington." It is admitted that there is not invariable uniformity in this, but the preponderating testimony is that the name as used through the years was becoming fixed as the historians of that and later days have used it. Fourth: But Locke's next points were evidently regarded by him as clinchers, *"New York is entitled to the credit of the Victory and Bennington entitled to nothing."* To support the first contention, his claim is that *the first engagement,* (those at all familiar with the battle will recall that there were two engagements, the first, which dislodged Baum and took many prisoners, unhurt and wounded, among them Baum himself, and a second in resistance of Breyman, who was discovered coming up to Baum's assistance, and who was chased back on the road he had come, for a couple of miles or so, into the dark of that August night,) *was not decisive; it was the second that saved the day, and that was fought and won by a Colonel John Williams of White Creek with New York troops.* It seems to have remained for Mr. Locke to make this astounding discovery which had hitherto escaped reference by any of the participants, officers or men, and as well by all the historians and students of the battle from Aug. 16, 1777, till December 9, 1891, with the following exception, and perhaps to tell you just how this belated but lucky find was made will prove its best refutation.

Much obscurity has always surrounded the second engagement, or "running fight," as it may more properly be called. Participants reported by word and letter that in the first engagement they drove the enemy from their breastworks, took their field pieces, pursued and killed some of them, and captured oth-



SITE OF THE CATAMOUNT TAVERN, 1767
OLD BENNINGTON, VT.

ers—mentioned by names as residents of Dutch Hoosick, who as Tories were fighting under Colonel Phister. But it is supposed after the first engagement with its pursuit of fleeing enemy and capture of prisoners, the troops engaged on the American side were allowed to scatter in pursuit of plunder, in accord with the promise of General Stark to them before the battle. Some also were conveying prisoners to this town. Where, then, asks Locke, were the men to meet Breyman, when he came up fresh for the fray? The answer has always been, Colonel Warner's regiment under Lt. Col. Safford, came on from Manchester at the opportune moment, and they together with the hastily gathered troops of the first engagement remaining in the vicinity did the job. Mr. Locke is not satisfied with this answer. "The number of the combined forces of Warner and the troops that had been in the first engagement was too small to be effective. "General Stark with 2200 of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont and New York troops defeated Baum's 600; and Colonel Williams' New York troops with Warner's one hundred and fifty, and a portion of Stark's army, that he had succeeded in rallying, defeated Breyman's 800." He bases his argument on material he found in the History of Rensselaer Co., N. Y., written by Benj. H. Hall, and published in 1880—and what is this material? Mr. Hall says: "It is probable that the second battle was begun and fought in part by a body of New Yorkers, under the command of Colonel John Williams of White Creek, now Salem. One should here not forget Mr. Hall's well known leaning toward New York. And what is the basis of this claim?—simply an order to Col. John Williams from the Council of Safety, issued on the 16th of Aug. "To proceed with your party toward the lines, and if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Cork to Hoosick, and if you make any discoveries report to this Council. At the same time you are to pay proper attention to the road leading from Hoosick to Pownal." This latter he may have done, for traces of him and his wife are found in Williamstown, Mass., south of Pownal very soon; but most diligent search by Mr. Henry D. Hall and others has failed to find any traces of any "report to Council," or reference to him by other participants in either engagement. The

fact seems to be as yet incontrovertable that no New York troops, as such, were in either engagement, and any New York citizens there, were there as tories. Moreover, it is not to be expected that there would be any there, for first, Schuyler was expecting the attack of the advancing army of Burgoyne on the right, not the left, of the Hudson. Stark had refused to go to his assistance there, believing that he was more needed here, and the event proved his good judgment; and secondly, the disposition in this section, (White Creek, Salem) had not been friendly toward Colonial pretensions, according to reports of six to eight months previous. So the question arises, how the influence of recent defeat at Ticonderoga and Hubbardton could have made them more so? Moreover, careful search of Col. William' papers fails to reveal the least hint that he, or any one ordered by him, had any part in the battle. For the argument just adduced, I am indebted to Mr. Henry D. Hall's admirable review of Mr. Locke's paper delivered before the Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society at Pittsfield, Mass., February 1st, 1894, and read again before the Vermont Historical Society at Montpelier, Vt., Nov. 5, 1896.

But we may leave the question as to the justice or injustice of the name so far as geography goes while we turn to consider the other point, *whether Bennington has any moral claim to the title based on her share in it both objective and subjective.* It is admitted that when the subject of Burgoyne's signal failure came up for investigation by England, only his instructions to Baum to proceed by way of the Battenkill to Arlington, thence to Manchester, and Rockinham, thence to Brattleborough, and from that place, by the way of the great road to Albany, were presented in evidence. Not the most distant allusion to Bennington or the stores there is found. The reason is not far to seek—Burgoyne had to lay the blame on somebody else. Nobody better than the dead Colonel Baum. But the fact is, as Henry Dawson notes in his paper before the Vermont Historical Society at Burlington in 1861, "that Baum had two sets of instructions, when, on the thirteenth of August, he left the Battenkill—"and headed for Bennington"—one a comparatively public written set, which from the beginning was intended to mislead both the

enemy (Baum's forces) and the Americans, should it fall into the hands of the latter—the other, a private and confidential set which the General had delivered verbally and in person to him (Baum) at a later date, but just prior to his change of route for Bennington, and its storehouse.

It is not necssary to go into the long argument, by which Dawson establishes this assertion. Suffice it to say that this alone can explain the unusual disregard of written instructions on the part of Baum. This alone can account for the fact that Burgoyne does not in any word or hint censure or complain of Baum's leaving his written, marked-out course, but, on the contrary, encourages Baum in it by words of confidence, and further, by the dispatch at once of support, including an order for the disposal of the stores and animals captured in the raid. And moreover, corresponds with Burgoyne's character and, may I call it bumptiousness, and offers hope of supply for need pressing and imperative. That his reserving this order from the knowledge of his immediate officers was resented by them is very clear. This is the best hypothesis for explaining Baum's whereabouts after the 13th of Aug., knowing Baum as we do and his discipline. But whether Burgoyne did or did not order the raid, it was made; its objective was clearly demonstrated to be stores in Bennington, which with the Council of Safety sitting here, and the well-known character of the inhabitants among whom were no tories to speak of, made it a point to gain which would be honor immaculate because it was regarded as the breeding place of all active opposition to England's claims, at that juncture, on this side the Hudson.

Again, *what was Walloomsac?—a few straggling log huts on a farm by the river of that name.* As a hamlet, it had no recognition at that date. If the battle is to be named after a river, well and good. The river takes its rise in Vermont and flows most of the way through Bennington. It may be perhaps urged that the river took its name from a tract of land through which it flows at its lower end, or before it empties into the Hoosick, granted in 1739 to 6 men and called Wallooms Patent. This W. P. as you know, was one of the points in dispute, when the famous boundary discussions were rife. But what of that? Battles seldom

take the names of a tract of land and so large as that, 1200 acres, as yet almost wholly unimproved.

But enough, the day is too late to change what has been the name through so many decades with growing uniformity, and which stands to-day as the designation of the battle, which, fought by the co-operation of three states, has in each one of them mementoes bearing this name as attestation of their origin. Even the Cannon taken and now in the State House at Montpelier bears silent testimony by old inscription to the name as history has recorded it. The iconoclastic spirit of modern historic criticism will have to produce better proofs, for the demand to change the name, than any yet adduced, if it proposes to uproot the natural growth of this name through 13 decades, and will, with it, have to eradicate the suspicion of jealousy, for which the easily proven fact, that neither Bennington or Vermont are responsible for the name, but Her sister states, the President of the United States in 1777 and the consensus of historians since then. The Bennington Battle it is, and the Bennington Battle we would fain believe it will remain."

To me this battle had a mighty meaning and I recall with pride and satisfaction my visit to Bennington at the time of the dedication of its splendid monument, I recall with a thrill how much I was impressed at the time with its size and massiveness and grace of the splendid shaft, its commanding situation and how completely it harmonized with the rugged scenery about it and how perfectly it memorialized and interpreted the heroism and deathless determination of those patriots who in those mighty gloomy days of our Revolution fought, bled and died for the mighty cause of American Liberty and Independence.

'Twas these men who fulfilled the prophecies and realized the hopes of all the great and just since the world began and left to us a priceless heritage and we can best honor their memories by seeing to it that this heritage shall be handed down unsullied to those who shall come after us.

United States and International Arbitration

BY LINDSAY ROGERS

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THE preamble to the Convention of 1899 for the Pacific settlement of International Disputes declares the signatory powers to be:

"Animated by a strong desire to concert for the maintenance of the general peace;

"Resolved to second by their best efforts the friendly settlement of international disputes;

"Recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations;

"Desirous of extending the empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice;

"Having regard to the advantages attending the general and regular organization of arbitral procedure."

Gladstone once said that the Constitution of the United States was "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." But, admirable as may be the fundamental law of the oldest republic on earth, Gladstone was wrong. Colonial history made the American Constitution. There is little in it that is absolutely new; there is much that is as old as Magna Charta. The framers were familiar with the great political writings of the time; they had watched the workings of governments in the Old World and the feeble attempts which had been made in the New. The Constitution was not slavishly copied, nor was it created out of nothing. It was an enlargement, an adaptation, not a creation. It was a product of the life of the people, not as Mr. Gladstone seemed to think, the creature of the men at Philadelphia.

And so it is with the Hague Conventions. They register a prolonged growth. Only a few weeks, it is true, were taken to piece together the articles and sections, but the vitality and practical utility of the instruments come from the adherence in the past by the nations of the world to the sentiments expressed in the excerpts from the preamble which I have quoted above. A court of arbitration has been advocated since the second decade of the nineteenth century, and for years the number of international disputes amicably settled has greatly exceeded the number of controversies which have led to war. An enlightened public opinion has been urging arbitration for over a century, and some of the nations of the world have always been ready to refer disputes to an international tribunal, rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword. Without the influence of these factors the Hague Conventions would never have been written.

In the foremost rank of the nations whose attitude made possible the results at The Hague, stands the United States of America. It is my purpose in this article to discuss the manner in which the aspirations expressed in the preamble have influenced the United States in its foreign relations, and the contributions which have been made by this country to the development of International Arbitration as a substitute for war between nations.

II

The most important political event of the last two centuries, and one of the most momentous happenings for all time was the advent of the United States of America into the family of nations. The latter years of the eighteenth century marked a transition period in the development of international law and diplomacy. The code governing the relations of nations was still in a formative state; diplomacy was in its infancy. There were no established principles to be respected by warring powers; Grotius and Vattel were the only two men who had written on international law, and the rules which they had laid down were very far from constituting an accepted body of laws.

With this marked difference existing between the principles governing the relations of individuals and those controlling the

intercourse of nations, a splendid opportunity was opened to the new republic to exercise a very potent influence on the development of international law and the growth of diplomacy. In addition, we had no traditions to hamper us, no awkward precedents to consider and our geographical position was peculiarly propitious. Reason and Justice were two of the principles which guided the government in its conduct of foreign affairs, and a peaceful nation was the ideal that was always cherished. The founders of the republic became ardent expounders of the law of nations, and due to their initiative there have been made many substantial contributions to the accepted code, including the rules governing the rights of neutrals, the system of extradition, and the doctrine of expatriation.

The new nation had been born in bloodshed, but the wise statesmen in the early dawn of our existence considered war as a contingency to be entered upon only when every other measure had been tried and found wanting. The history of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution to the War of 1812 fully shows this. Not only was the republic repeatedly bullied by England, insulted by France and defied by Spain, but its treaties were openly violated, and yet peace was maintained up to the conflict with England. Nor was it only our financial and physical inability to go to war that dictated this attitude. Expediency, it is true, made peace almost an absolute necessity, but already a sense of the moral damage of war was beginning to spring up, and American political leaders were being made aware of the efficacy of arbitration. It was realized that if the ideal of a peaceful nation was to be preserved, international relations would have to be established on definite and certain foundations.

Under the Constitution, ours was a dual system of government The respective powers and rights, so far as concerned the relation of the federal government to the states, and the latter to each other, formed the basis of many serious contentions. At times it looked as if the union would be destroyed, but that remarkable achievement reached by the founders in welding together the colonies and in providing for the settlement of all disputes by reference to the Supreme Court, has made possible the

designation of the United States as the greatest peace society in the world.

The interests of the thirteen colonies were diverse; there was hardly concert of action in the struggle against England. Petty and larger jealousies had sprung up, but every one of these, with the single exception of the dispute which led to the Civil War, has been peacefully settled by the Supreme Court. Our predilection for legal methods had from the first manifested itself in the arbitration of internal disputes. What was more natural than that it should also find expression in the peaceful settlement of all international differences, by means similar to those which had proved so successful in maintaining peace between the thirteen colonies. "The day will come," wrote Robert R. Livingston, "when all disputes in the great republic of Europe will be tried in the same way, and America will be quoted to exemplify the wisdom of the measure."

III.

In the development of international relations, there have been three kinds of congresses—those held at the termination of war; those brought together in time of peace to regulate war and ameliorate its horrors, and those meeting in time of peace to prevent war. The first are of no arbitral importance, since, to a great extent, they can only sanction the advantages which have been secured by the strongest in the conflict, at the conclusion of which the congress is held. The second class presupposes the advent of war. The third group, however, is that to which the First Hague Conference looked for its precedent. There were two of them. Chronologically, the first is the Congress for the regulation of the Congo, held in Berlin in 1884. The American precedent, and much the more important of the two, is the Pan-American Conference, held in Washington, 1889-1890. At this latter congress, obligatory arbitration was adopted as a principle of international law in every case, except when the independence of a nation was imperilled, and even then it was agreed that it should be "obligatory upon the adversary power." Referring to this, Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State said:

"If, in this closing hour, the Conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great Continents to peace, and to prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and institutes arbitration between the American Republics, as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference."

The modern world was familiar, therefore, with a conference which adopted obligatory arbitration as a substitute for war. Enlightened statesmen in Washington had paved the way, but this would never have been accomplished if enlightened public opinion had not been gradually forming in support of the theory and practice of arbitration. The policy of a government, it is said, is indissolubly connected with the conscience of the nation. Our national conscience, starting with the principles of the founders, had developed until it had an international importance.

The great popular movement in favor of perpetual peace among nations originated in the United States. The New York Peace Society, the first in the world, was organized in August, 1815. The second was the Ohio Peace Society, which was founded on December 2, and on the 26th of the same month, just a year and a day after the publication by Dr. Noah Worcester of "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War", the Massachusetts Peace Society was started. These were followed in 1828 by the American Peace Society, under the leadership of William Ladd, but the movement had already spread to England, where in 1816, the English Peace Society had been founded.

I have not the space to consider the history of these early societies, or to consider the services of the patriots who founded them. I may mention only two. In 1840, William Ladd published a little volume on "A Congress of Nations," the plan of which is remarkably like that of the conferences at The Hague, and while, of course, the conferences are by no means the direct result of Ladd's essay, the project became widely known and received much popular support because of it. It was laid before conferences at Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, and London, (1848-1851), the germ of which had been laid in the United States and which had been called, largely through the initiative of Elihu

Burritt, a disciple of Ladd's. In his addresses at these congresses, Burritt repeated the demands of Ladd for a meeting of representatives of the nations, to codify international law and provide a court to interpret it. This proposition was commonly known as "the American plan," and to such an extent had the teachings of Burritt been accepted, that "it is perhaps not too much to say," remarks Dr. Scott, "that had not the Crimean War broken out in the fifties, the experiment of a conference would have been tried, and a permanent court established long before the present generation."

Not only have private individuals and organizations in the United States labored for the cause of arbitration, but legislative bodies have not been found wanting. In 1832, the Massachusetts Senate adopted a resolution declaring that "some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of all international disputes instead of resorting to war." In 1837, a similar resolution was passed by the same body. During the next two years, there was a steady agitation concerning the convocation of a congress of nations. The publication of Ladd's volume crystalized sentiment to the extent that the idea was approved by the legislatures of several other states.

From 1851 down to the present time, numerous resolutions have been introduced in Congress, commending the theory of arbitration, and urging the incorporation of provisions providing for its exercise, in treaties concluded with other nations. Overtures made in 1888, and in 1895 by the British House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies respectively, suggesting treaties of arbitration with their respective countries, met with enthusiastic responses by Congress. However watchful the two houses of Congress have been of what concerns our national honor, they have never failed to welcome any proposal which tended toward the abolition of war.

By 1898, public opinion, largely through American influence, was ripe for a congress of nations. The International American Conference, at which compulsory arbitration had been adopted, furnished an exact precedent. It was the Czar of all the Russias who was the ruler to take the initiative. The strength of the case for the limitation of armaments had been thrust home upon him;

the traditions of his royal ancestors were for peace, and a long time had elapsed since the last attempt to hold an international congress. On August 12, 1898, therefore, he issued the imperial rescript, and acceptances by all of the important powers invited, made the First Hague Conference a reality.

IV.

But the United States had by this time done more than approve of the principle of arbitration in theory, organize the world for peace and furnish a precedent for the Hague Conference. It had been constantly substituting judicial means for warfare in the settlement of international differences. Even a brief account of these settlements would run far beyond the compass of this paper, but mention may be made of a few of the more notable ones.

"Arbitration in the sense of the present day," says Dr. Scott, "dates from Jay's Treaty of 1794 in which Great Britain and the United States bound themselves to arbitrate contested boundary claims; claims preferred by British creditors; and, more especially, the claims of American and British creditors based upon "irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of vessels and other property."

This, our first adventure in treaty-making, was a distinct advance, and a most important event in the development of international relations. It was negotiated primarily with a view of averting another war with Great Britain, which seemed imminent, and at this period when the law of nations was in a chaotic state, presented a novel spectacle to the nations of Europe. The United States was responsible for this novel spectacle, and Jay's Treaty was the starting point for an international career, which, in humaneness of views, devotion to legal methods and abhorrence of war, cannot be equalled by any other nation. Since 1794, every dispute between this country and England, with the exception of that which led to the War of 1812, has been settled by peaceful means. This example furnished by two of the greatest nations in the world, whose interests have been in conflict fifteen times, is surely abundant indication that compulsory arbitra-

tion is not a dream of theorists, but a practical and efficacious means of settling international complications.

From the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, up to the war with Spain in 1898, there is a record of arbitral achievement sullied by only one resort to arms, the Mexican War of 1848, and out of that conflict there came a settlement by which the United States agreed to adjust its future differences with Mexico by pacific negotiations.

During the Civil War it looked, at times, as if the attitude of foreign powers, rather the achievements of our armies in the field, was to determine the success or failure of the Union. When the war closed, the Federal Government demanded from Great Britain monetary redress for the wrongs, public and private, which had been done us. Charles Francis Adams, the American minister in London, proposed to submit the differences to arbitration, but Earl Russell, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, absolutely refused to arbitrate, basing his refusal on the "dignity and character of the British Crown and British Nation." "Her Majesty's Government," he said, "are the sole guardians of their own honor." A change in the ministry, and the friendship of Gladstone for this country, however, brought about a different attitude, and Great Britain finally agreed to arbitrate. After preliminary negotiations, the Treaty of Washington was signed and under the terms of this the arbitrations at Geneva were conducted. "They furnish," says Professor Moore, "the noblest spectacle of modern times, in which two great and powerful nations, gaining in wisdom and self control and losing nothing in patriotism or self-respect, taught the world that the magnitude of a controversy need not be a bar to its peaceful solution." If the origin of modern arbitration is to be found in Jay's Treaty, then its triumph and justification is to be found in the fullest measure in the Geneva Arbitration. In both settlements, the United States was an interested party.

With France and Spain we have several times engaged in negotiations in settlement of claims and differences. Our arbitrations with Mexico, Haiti, Columbia, Paraguay, Portugal, Chili, and Brazil total a score or more. With Canada we have peaceful-

ly settled two differences,—the Behring Seal controversy and the Alaskan Boundary Question.

These are only some of the examples and precedents which the United States has furnished. In the whole of our national existence we have spent only five years in foreign warfare, a record of which no other nation can boast. We have been a party to over sixty arbitrations, a total which can be equalled only by Great Britain. Warfare may not have definitely ceased for all time, but if the principle of arbitration for which the United States has so consistently contended, had been adopted by the world to the extent to which this country has used it, Tennyson's dream of a "Federation of the World" would probably have already been realized.

V.

Not only as a party to arbitration, but as an arbitrator and an intermediary to facilitate arbitration, the United States has a noteworthy record. It has been contrary to the traditional policy of this country to interfere in the affairs of Europe, unless the governments in question either invite mediation or make unofficial overtures to the effect that the tender of good offices will be welcomed. The assistance of this country in settling disputes has, however, been solicited in a number of cases by France, China, Belgium, Persia, and the South American Republics. Arbitration by United States ministers and presidents has been of frequent occurrence, and territorial differences, expenses in war, claims of citizens against foreign governments have all been settled peacefully by American influence.

The arbitrator has been the President in the following cases: (1) Under a protocol between Great Britain and Portugal of January 7, 1869, touching claims to the island of Bulama; (2) under a treaty between the Argentine Republic and Paraguay, signed February 3, 1876, to settle a boundary dispute; (3) under a treaty between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, signed December 24, 1886, to settle boundary and other matters which were in dispute.

In addition to these instances, in 1895, President Harrison received personal requests from the Presidents of the Argentine

Republic and Brazil for his aid in settling a boundary line. The award was made by President Cleveland, who in 1898 also settled "The Cerruti Case," in which was involved the claim of an Italian citizen against Colombia.

Arbitration by ministers and other officials of the United States has also been of frequent occurrence and disputes of grave importance have been peacefully settled by them. The mediatorial services of the United States have also been numerous and diverse. The most significant, in that it shows in the fullest degree the attitude of this country, is the following:

In March, 1900, the United States was requested by representatives of the South African Republics to intervene between them and England in the interest of peace. The substance of the request was communicated to England's Foreign Office, but the reply was that Her Majesty's Government could not accept the intervention of any power. "But so far as we are informed," runs a dispatch from the American consul at Pretoria, "the United States was the only government in the world of all those approached by the South African Republic, which tendered its good offices to either of the combatants in the interest of the cessation of hostilities."

Finally there is the great achievement of President Rooseevlt in terminating the Russo-Japanese War. This shows in the fullest possible manner the beneficent effect of good offices, and it is fitting climax to the notable career which this country had had in settling the disputes of foreign powers and in working to preserve peace.

VI.

At the First Hague Conference, the work of the United States delegation was not particularly noteworthy. Instructions from Secretary Hay precluded the delegates from taking any part in the discussion of the question of limitation of armaments. A specific plan for a Permanent Court of Arbitration was offered, and several important amendments to the final convention are due to American initiative. In the conventions for the regulation of war and the amelioration of its horrors, the influence of

American recommendations, and instances of the embodiment of American experience are apparent.

The American contribution to the laws and customs of war on land is probably the most important as well as the only one worthy of detailed mention. This codification for both of the Conferences was based upon the regulations written by Dr. Francis Lieber, and issued in 1863 by President Lincoln for the government of the armies of the United States in the field. The pamphlet prepared by Lieber, and given official weight by President Lincoln, became the recognized authority in matters of this character, and was one of the first successful attempts to codify a branch of international law.

Its influence quickly spread to Europe; it served as the basis of the Conference at Brussels, and the codification, in 1880, by the Institute of International Law, meeting at Oxford, depended upon Lieber's work. The Convention of 1899, and the revised form of 1907, drew from the original book of Lieber, the Brussels Convention of 1874 and the Oxford Codification. The Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, was therefore, an American contribution, and was no departure from the laws and customs which this country has regarded in its brief experience with war.

VII.

The First Hague Conference established a Permanent Court of Arbitration, the efficacy of which has been tested in eight important cases. The first difference to be submitted was the "Pious Fund Case," which had been a matter of controversy for half a century. The decision was in favor of the United States and against Mexico, but this was a small matter compared with the chief value of the arbitration, for by the submission of the dispute to the Hague tribunal, Mexico and the United States practically saved the court.

The "Pious Fund of the Californias" was not a very important case, but it was not necessary to wait long before there arose a more serious dispute, namely the Venezuelan Preferential Payment case of 1903. The nations at issue completely disregarded

the existence of a court at The Hague, and asked President Roosevelt to act as arbitrator, but he declined the honor and directed them to the Hague Tribunal.

That act represented probably the most important step in behalf of arbitration of the present generation. The motives which inspired it are well stated in the Presidential message of 1903:

"It seemed to me to offer an admirable opportunity to advance the practice of the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, and to secure for The Hague Tribunal a memorable increase of its practical importance. The nations interested in the controversy are so numerous, and, in many instances so powerful as to make it evident that beneficial results would follow from their appearance at the same time before the bar of that august tribunal of peace."

Two other cases in which the United States was an interested party, have also been decided by the Court. These were the long standing fisheries dispute between the United States and Great Britain, and the Orinoco Steamship Company controversy between this country and Venezuela. In just half of the important cases so far submitted, the United States has been interested. so far submitted, the United States has been interested.

Prior to the institution of the Hague Court almost all general arbitration treaties had been failures. Many attempts had been made, but they were futile. The general treaty of obligatory arbitration drafted at the first Pan-American Conference lapsed and was never revived. But just so soon as the Permanent Court was established, new efforts to secure general arbitration treaties began to be made. Over eighty are now in effect, and of these the United States is a party to nearly thirty. With nearly all nations, we have made agreements that differences shall be submitted to the Hague Court, and a great step has been taken toward a more rational and humane attitude in international relations.

VIII.

The calling of the Second Conference was due to American influence. In 1903, the American Peace Society first suggested that public opinion was ripe for a second congress. The Massachusetts legislature, true to its attitude in 1832, endorsed the ac-

tion of the Peace Society. The Inter-parliamentary Union, a meeting of which was held in St. Louis in 1904, then took the matter up, and resolutions were presented to President Roosevelt, who, on October 21, 1904, instructed the Secretary of State to address a circular note "to the representative of the United States accredited to each of the governments signatory to the acts of The Hague Conference of 1899." Responses to the proposal for a second conference were favorable, but the termination of the Russo-Japanese War left the Russian Emperor in a position to repeat his action in calling the First Conference. President Roosevelt, therefore, gracefully yielded, and the Russian office conducted the preliminaries incident to the calling of the Second Conference. The Final Act, however, states that the Second Peace Conference at The Hague was proposed, in the first instance, by the United States.

In reply to the Russian note of April 12, 1906, proposing the Second Conference, the American Secretary of State suggested two topics for discussion, namely: the limitation of armaments and the restriction of force in the collection of contractural debts. American advocacy of the first proposition gained nothing more than a reiteration of the *voeu* of the First Conference, that the restriction of military budgets is greatly to be desired. The second proposal, however, resulted in the "Convention Respecting the Limitation of Force for the Recovery of Contract Debts." This is one of the most important results of the Second Conference, for the nations in signing the Convention have acknowledged—in theory, at least—compulsory arbitration, besides agreeing, unconsciously perhaps, to a concrete step toward disarmament.

In the interim between the First and Second Congresses, the Permanent Court had proved to be a success. It won public confidence, and, as we have seen, nearly a hundred arbitration treaties have been signed, pledging the parties to refer disputes to it. But, before the convocation of the Second Congress, especially in the United States, it was felt that improvements could be made in the Hague Tribunal, and it was even suggested that the institution of a new court would be advisable.

It was thought that the great obstacle to a further use of arbi-

tration was the fear that the Court would not be impartial, and that diplomacy rather than jurisprudence would be responsible for the decisions. Again, the Tribunal at The Hague is a permanent court only in name; it has to be re-created each time a case is referred to it. It consists of a panel of judges, numbering over a hundred, and from these the parties to the arbitration select those who are to make the award.

Secretary Root, recognizing these defects, instructed the American delegates to the Second Conference to propose a court which would be permanent and judicial, and his ideas were elaborated, put into formal shape, and presented to the congress by Dr. James Brown Scott, the Technical Delegate of the United States. The plan received the support of England and Germany, and was adopted by the conference, but had to be left incomplete, owing to inability to arrive at equitable methods of selecting the jurists who were to constitute the court.

But a world judiciary had already been established in the International Court of Prize which is to decide disputes concerning the capture of neutral property in time of war. The judges for it, fifteen in number, are to be selected by a scheme of rotation, by which some of the powers will be represented all of the time, while others will only be represented at intervals. A similar proposal was made for the Court of Arbitral Justice, but this method of selection, however acceptable for the settlement of prize claims, did not meet with favor. The delegates could not agree upon its adoption for a court whose functions would be to adjudicate differences which were likely to lead to war.

On October 18, 1909, Secretary Knox, in an identic circular note, urged the powers to invest the International Prize Court with the jurisidiction and functions of a Court of Arbitral Justice, and thus to complete the work of the Second Hague Conference by carrying into effect its recommendation that the Court of Arbitral Justice be instituted through diplomatic channels. At the Lake Mohonk Conference for 1910, Dr. Scott made the official announcement that sufficient responses had been made to the note to insure the institution of the double tribunal before the meeting of the Third Hague Conference.

Apart from the fact that the Court of Arbitral Justice was an

American proposal, and that its institution will be due to American initiative, it is interesting to remember that in its own history, the United States has had a significant experience with courts of arbitration.

Over a hundred and thirty years ago, during the War of Independence, arbitration of disputes between the thirteen colonies was provided for. The Articles of Confederation made Congress the last resort in all controversies, and the method provided for selecting the judges was singularly like that of the First Hague Conference. The parties to the controversy were to appoint a number of arbitrators. The panel was to be reduced to thirteen by the parties alternately striking off names, and from this number from seven to nine judges were to be selected by lot. Five were to constitute a quorum to hear evidence and make the award.

This creation of the Articles of Confederation lacked, as does the Permanent Court, the essential qualities of a judicial body. Its workings were, therefore, not very successful, and, within ten years, it was superseded by the Supreme Court, the workings of which have been eminently successful. The experience of the United States, however, has a great significance when applied to the world.

In judicial development there have been three steps: (1) A contractural agreement between the interested parties to decide the controversy by arbiters, chosen by the litigants. (2) The appointment of a panel of judges from which the arbiters are selected. (3) The establishment of a permanent court. These are the steps which have been taken in the development of the common law, and international law has, unconsciously perhaps, followed the same course. The attainment of the last step, the establishment of a permanent court, is now a certainty.

But in the United States, as we have seen, there has been internal international arbitration, first between thirteen colonies and now between forty-six States. This has immeasurably strengthened the analogy. There were two American models for the Hague Courts. Will history repeat itself? The method provided by the Articles of Confederation was a failure; but the permanent and judicial court was a success. Has not the day come,

as Livingston predicted, "when all disputes in the great republic of Europe will be tried in the same way, and America be quoted to exemplify the wisdom of the measure?"

IX.

This brief review of America's contribution to international arbitration has developed two channels—one sentimental and one juridic—in which the influence of this country has been manifested. Our history holds out definite hopes for a world federation. In the United States, public sentiment in favor of arbitration was created and fostered. The conference with the Pan-American States furnished the precedent for the First Hague Conference. Many practical illustrations of the efficacy of arbitration have been furnished by the United States, and its good offices have been frequently made use of by warring powers. Finally, many of the results of the Hague Conferences are due to American influence.

In the fullness of time, when the boundless means now barbarously wasted in preparation for war shall be devoted to the works of peace, there will be no permanent monument to the part which America has played in the genesis and development of arbitration. But all who know the history of the movement for peace between nations, will pay lasting tribute to the work of the United States of America.

part which this country has played in the genesis and development of arbitration. But all who know the history of the movement for peace between nations, will pay lasting tribute to the work of the United States of America.

The Little Wars of the Republic

BY JOHN R. MEADER

Part XVII—John Brown's Raid

IT is not easy to gauge the importance of John Brown's attack upon slavery. That it was indeed a "crazy scheme," and one foredoomed to failure, must, of course, be admitted. That slavery would have been abolished within a comparatively brief period is clear to any careful student of American history. For years events had been shaping themselves toward this end, and the end was inevitable, regardless of Brown's raid upon Harper's Ferry. That this incident added fuel to the fire of popular opinion, however cannot be doubted, and that by this means it tended to hasten the final day of accounting is self-evident.

If John Brown's project was an impractical one—a "crazy scheme," as the editors of that day called it,—there is no justification for the belief that Brown himself was anything less than a sane man. Simple he undoubtedly was. Even his adversaries were compelled to admit his "clear-headedness, courage, fortitude, and simple ingenuousness," but, like all so-called fanatics, he seemed utterly incapable of correctly estimating the degree to which other persons sympathized with his ideals. As a result, he appears to have taken it for granted that the country at large would stand by him in any course that he elected to pursue. His mistake was in trusting too much to his limited personal knowledge of conditions. He knew that the anti-slavery sentiment was strong. His blunder was in thinking that it was at a point where it required but a spark of protest to set the nation on fire.

In every respect John Brown was the typical fanatic. A deep-

ly religious man—a man of the broadest sympathies—he had imbibed his high ideals of freedom at his mother's breast. Both his father and mother were strongly opposed to slavery. Less than two years before the boy was born, the father had been an active participant in the forcible rescue of some fugitive slaves, and if anything were needed to strengthen young John's instinctive abhorrence of slavery, it was supplied by an incident he witnessed when still a lad—the abuse of a slave boy that struck so deeply to his heart that, as he says, he "swore eternal war against slavery."

Nearly half a century elapsed between this time and that day in October, 1859, when the hopeless blow for emancipation was struck at Harper's Ferry, yet in all that time, he never once seems to have lost sight of his life-work, and each of his children —and there were twelve who reached maturity—was not only in complete sympathy with him, but all pledged themselves to him in prayer to spend their lives in aiding to bring about the realization of this great purpose.

It is not improbable that John Brown's failure in attaining a greater degree of material success was due to the fact that his mind was so thoroughly centred upon his single ideal. Though sometimes called "shiftless," the term is not well chosen. He was industrious, not indolent—he was the soul of integrity—but his thoughts were fixed upon the one purpose of his existence, and he had neither time nor desire to devote himself to money-making projects.

It was in 1834 that he formed his first society in behalf of the colored people. This was an association, started in Pennsylvania, with a view to the education of the colored youth, and its membership was composed entirely of white abolitionists. Here, as well as in other sections of the country, he worked without great success, doing little more than make himself known as one of the most militant emancipationists in the United States.

In 1850—Shortly after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law —he formed, at Springfield, Mass., the "League of Gileadites, "a society organized almost solely for the purpose of aiding in the escape of fugitive slaves.

John Brown's opportunity came in 1855, when he removed to

Kansas, settling a few miles from Ossawatomie. At that time Kansas was the decisive battleground of the slavery system, and, as one writer has said, "the family were among the most stalwart defenders of the Territory for the next two years against the fraud and terrorism by which the Border Ruffians plunged it into anarchy and bloodshed. John Brown's career there brought him into national prominence, from the conspicuousness of the stage rather than the magnitude of the actions. Its most dramatic incidents were the retaliatory murder of five pro-slavery men at Pottawatomie in 1856; the capture of Captain Pate at Black Jack, and the magnificent defense of Ossawatomie against a crushing force of Missourians."

To what degree the anti-slavery party kept within the law is a question that must be left to the article in which the "Border" troubles will be more definitely discussed, but, whatever the judgment of history may be, it is John Brown's name that stands out, with those of Montgomery and Lane, as the most stubborn of free-soil fighters.

The Harper's Ferry adventure, impractical as it seems to-day, was not more absurd a project than another plan that John Brown had long fostered. It was his idea that a stronghold for fugitive slaves might easily be established in the mountains—either in Maryland or in Virginia—and that from this point it would be easy, not only to protect the fugitives from being retaken by their masters, but also that it would become more easy from such a point of vantage, to smuggle the slaves into Pennsylvania.

To Brown's mind this project offered comparatively few difficulties that could not be overcome. It did not seem to occur to him that the Federal Government could not have permitted such a hotbed of "lawlessness" to exist within its borders, even for a day. Had he secured the financial assistance necessary to carry out this project, the result would have been similar to that which occurred at Harper's Ferry. Brown would have been attacked—he would have attempted to repel the attack—he would have been defeated—there could have been no other climax to such a career.

It was in May, 1858, that John Brown made his first definite

attempt to incite a slave insurrection in the United States. This took the form of a secret convention, held at a negro church at Chatham, Canada West, on May 8. None but those who had been tested and found true knew that such a session had been arranged, and it was there that Brown's celebrated "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," were drafted and adopted. Naturally the declaration embodied Brown's individual views on the slavery question and was actually nothing more or less than his proclamation as the "great liberator." Of this organization Brown was made commander -in-chief, J. H. Kagi was secretary of war; Owen Brown (one of John's sons), treasurer, and Richard Realf, secretary of state.

Not long after the meeting in Canada, Brown returned to the United States and, in the summer of 1859, he appeared in the south with two of his sons, under the name of Smith. For several days the three men went about the country in search of a suitable spot in which to promote their plot against the Government. Always they posed as farmers, spreading the story that they were tired of the severe northern winters and desired to do their farming in a milder climate.

The farm they finally selected was situated about five miles from Harper's Ferry, and as the owner, Dr. Booth Kennedy, had but recently died they were able to secure immediate possession in the payment of the rent in advance.

Harper's Ferry was a village of about five thousand inhabitants, lying on the Virginia side of the Potomac, some fifty-seven miles from Washington and about eighty miles from Baltimore. One of its few streets was almost entirely devoted to the workshops and executive officers of the national armory, and it was generally known that from 100,000 to 200,000 stands of arms were usually stored in the Arsenal building. It was this knowledge, of course, that caused this small village, tucked away between the mountains, to be selected as the basis of Brown's attack upon the national institution of slavery.

As it was originally proposed, the attack on the Arsenal was to have been made on the night of October 24. For some reason, this plan was changed and so quickly as to be practically without

warning. It is generally supposed that Brown, who had just returned from a trip to the north, must have discovered that his secret was not his own and that the blow, if it was to be struck at all, must be delivered at once.

In spite of the fact that Redpath, in his biography of Brown, asserts that a large number of persons were on their way to participate in the attack when they were surprised to learn that the stand had been taken and Brown had lost, there is small reason to believe that the results would have been much different had the assault been postponed until a few days later. At that time a blow at slavery could not be justified by common sense, and certainly not by law. Had Brown's company been a larger one, therefore, the fatalities, or, at least, the number of prisoners, would have been greater.

As it was, late Sunday evening, October 16, with eighteen men, John Brown, seized the armory and took possession of Harper's Ferry. As the guard consisted of no more than a few watchmen, little difficulty was found in accomplishing this purpose. The same night and during the next twenty-four hours, some of the leading citizens were made hostages, and, in every case, all slaves encounterd were formally freed. To prevent immediate interference with their plans, the telegraph wires were cut and railroad tracks were torn up. When Brown was asked by what authority he had adopted such a course, he invariably answered: "By the authority of God Almighty."

It did not take long for the news of the seizure of Harper's Ferry to reach the outside world. Nor did it require many hours for the relief force to reach the scene of the attack. By Monday night troops were coming from all quarters, Colonel Lee, with ninety United States marines and two pieces of artillery taking immediate charge of the situation.

Had Brown escaped to the mountains before the arrival of the troops, it might have been possible for his friends to have protected him against arrest. For some reason, however, the leader still clung to the delusion that the negroes would rise throughout the entire country and that his project would yet succeed. Even the fact that his party had been reduced to three unwounded whites besides himself did not breed discouragement in his

heart. He was hopeful up to the last moment, when the marines broke in the door, and put the insurgents under arrest. Brown was struck in the face with a saber and knocked down, after which he was badly beaten and a bayonet was run through his body.

Naturally, under existing conditions, John Brown's fate was inevitable. Had Governor Wise been far more merciful—had the Government at Washington been far more sympathetic—he would still have had to pay the penalty of his insurrection with his life. Armed revolt against a nation is too serious a matter to be treated lightly.

On October 29, Brown was carried into court. On November 2, he was sentenced to suffer death by hanging, and, on December 2, the sentence was carried out. Even at the last, when wounded and awaiting death, "he did not perceive that his undertaking could not have succeeded under any circumstances," said von Holst, "but he did see that his failure and its consequences achieved much greater results than its most complete success could have done. . . . 'I can leave to God,' he writes 'the time and manner of my death, for I believe now that the sealing of my testimony before God and man with my blood will do far more to further the cause to which I have earnestly devoted myself than anything else I have done in my life.' "

Thus, it was with a cheerful and confident spirit that he approached the scaffold. As day after day went by and he realized the end that was so inevitable, he spent his time calmly and even happily, writing letters of hope to his friends, of which the following is a characteristic example:

"Charlestown, Jefferson Co., Va.,
"19th Nov., 1859.

"Rev. Luther Humphrey—My Dear Friend: Your kind letter of the 12th instant is now before me. So far as my knowledge goes as to our mutual kindred, I suppose I am the first since the landing of Peter Brown from the Mayflower that has either been sentenced to imprisonment or to the gallows. But my dear old friend, let not that fact alone grieve you. You cannot have forgotten how and where our grandfather (Captain John Brown) fell in 1776, and that he, too, might have perished on the scaffold had circumstances been but very little different. The

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fact that a man dies under the hand of an executioner (or otherwise) has but little to do with his true character, as I suppose. John Rogers perished at the stake, a great and good man, but his doing so does not prove that any other man who has died in the same way was good or otherwise. Whether I have any reason to 'be of cheer' (or not) in view of my end, I can assure you that I feel so, and that I am totally blinded if I do not really experience that strengthening and consolation you so faithfully implore in my behalf. The God of our Fathers reward your fidelity! I neither feel mortified, degraded, nor in the least ashamed of my imprisonment, my chain, or my near prospect of death by hanging. I feel assured that not one hair shall fall from my head without the will of my Heavenly Father! I also feel that I have long been endeavoring to hold exactly 'such a fast' as God has chosen! See the passage in Isaiah which you quoted. No part of my life has been more happily spent than that I have spent here, and I humbly trust that no part has been spent to better purpose. I would not say this boastingly; but, 'thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory' through infinite grace.

"I should be 60 years old were I to live till May 9, 1860. I have enjoyed much of life as it is, and have been remarkably prosperous, having early learned to regard the welfare and prosperity of others as my own. I have never, since I can remember, required a great amount of sleep, so that I conclude that I have already enjoyed full an average number of waking hours with those who reach their 'three-score years and ten.' I have not as yet been driven to the use of glasses, but can see to read and write quite comfortably. But, more than that, I have generally enjoyed remarkably good health. I might go on to recount unnumbered and unmerited blessings, among which would be some very severe afflictions; and those the most needed blessings of all. And now, when I think how easily I might be left to spoil all I have done or suffered in the cause of Freedom, I hardly dare wish another voyage, even if I had the opportunity. It is a long time since we met; but we shall now soon come together in our 'Father's house,' I trust. 'Let us hold fast that we already have,' remembering 'we shall reap in due time if we faint not.' 'Thanks be ever unto God, who giveth us the victory through Jesus Christ our Lord! And now, my old warm-hearted friend, good-by.'

Your affectionate cousin,

"John Brown."

On the day of his death, Greeley tells us, "Brown rose at daybreak and continued writing with energy until half past ten

when he was told to prepare to die. He shook hands with the Sheriff, visited the cell of Copeland and Green, to whom he handed a quarter of a dollar each, saying he had no more use for money, and bade them adieu. He next visited Cook and Coppoc, the former of whom had made a confession, which he pronounced false, saying he had never sent Cook to Harper's Ferry, as he had stated. He handed a quarter to Coppoc also, shook hands with him and parted. He then visited and bade a kindly good-by to his more especial comrade, Stevens, gave him a quarter and charged him not to betray his friends."

* * * * * * * *

About one year after the execution of John Brown—on December 20, 1860,—South Carolina declared its secession from the Union, and on May 11, of the succeeding year, the Second Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry went swinging into the South with a new song for its inspiration—a new song which ran:

> "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
> His soul goes marching on."

The Share of Vermont in the Production of Distinguished Men

BY FREDERICK ADAMS WOODS*

THE question of intellectual distinction is one naturally beset with difficulties and disputes, but inasmuch as Mr. William S. Rossiter in his article on "Vermont" has contributed an extraordinary proportion of the distinguished men of the United States it may be of interest to publish some statistics which I have on hand which have a bearing on this point. Mr. Rossiter says "It is probable that no state in the Union was settled by choicer immigration than that which passed up the Connecticut river to the Green Mountains. Early immigration to the colonies from England brought many persons who, although of excellent British stock, had passed through a long period of privation, anxiety or bereavement. In a large portion of cases, their presence in the new world was due to political or religious persecution. In some respects such colonists could not be regarded as ideal pioneers. A large proportion, indeed, were unaccustomed to manual labor. The settlers of Vermont, on the contrary, were all acclimated, hardy, accustomed from childhood to the use of axe and gun, eager, and full of ambitious purpose to found homes and communities of their own. They were all of the same stock; they possessed the same ideals; they were animated by the same purpose. Of 85,072 population reported at the Census of 1790 approximately 81,200 were of English origin and 2,600 were Scotch. These two elements thus comprised more than 98 per cent. of the total population of the state at that period.

"It is not remarkable, therefore, that Vermont has contributed an extraordinary proportion of the distinguished men of the

*In Journal of the American Statistical Association.

List of Names.	Total in the List Born in U. S.	Number Born in Massachusetts.	Number Born in Virginia.	Number Born in Vermont.	Ratios, or Number of Times the Random Expectation According to the Population at the Time of their Birth.		
					Mass.	Virginia.	Vermont.
Lippincott's "Biographical Dictionary," edition of 1895	3,227	711	231	88	$p=2.8$	$p=.6$	$p=1.3$
Same dictionary—							
Americans born A. D. 1785—A. D. 1794	302	75	22	11	$p=2.1$	$p=.6$	$p=1.4$
Born A. D. 1795—A. D. 1804	370	79	25	23	$p=2.2$	$p=.6$	$p=1.7$
Born A. D. 1805—A. D. 1814	464	96	23	16	$p=2.6$	$p=.5$	$p=1.0$
Born A. D. 1815—A. D. 1824	513	97	33	16	$p=2.9$	$p=.8$	$p=1.1$
Born A. D. 1825—A. D. 1834	363	74	19	10	$p=3.6$	$p=.8$	$p=1.0$
Born A. D. 1835—A. D. 1854	343	58	15	9	$p=3.5$	$p=.6$	$p=1.8$
Average of the above six lists	2,355	470	137	85	$p=2.8$	$p=.65$	$p=1.4$
Same dictionary—Americans who have received any adjectives of praise	320	95	23	9	$p=3.8$	$p=.6$	$p=1.6$
Same dictionary, Americans who have been allotted extra space (20 lines)	234	67	20	6	$p=3.6$	$p=.8$	$p=1.3$
Same dictionary, Americans about whom books have been written	129	39	14	2	$p=3.9$	$p=.9$	$p=.8$
Same dictionary, practical types only. Bankers, merchants, lawyers, politicians, government officials, engineers, manufacturers, soldiers	1,266	235	143	29	$p=3.4$	$p=1.03$	$p=1.1$
Same dictionary, selected list of the greater among the practical types. (Adjective, space and biographical method combined)	232	60	29	3	$p=3.0$	$p=1.1$	$p=.7$
"Who's Who in America," edition 1908-09	14,227	1,650	493	328	$p=2.6$	$p=.9$	$p=1.7$
"Who's Who in America." edition 1910-11 practical types only (initials A-C)	1,131	132	33	28	$p=2.5$	$p=.8$	$p=1.8$
"Who's Who in America," lawyers, judges, congressmen, government officials (initials A-C)	580	60	23	....	$p=2.2$	$p=.9$	.....
"Who's Who in America," engineers, inventors, architects (A-C)	134	16	3	....	$p=2.5$	$p=.5$	.....
"Who's Who in America," army and navy (A-C)	170	18	5	....	$p=2.5$	$p=.7$	.....
"Who's Who in America," business men, financiers, railway officials, manufacturers (A-C)	247	38	2	....	$p=3.2$	$p=.2$	.....
"American Men of Science," 1906. all persons	about 4,000	436	not yet calcula'd	....	$p=2.7$	.....	.....
"American Men of Science," 1906, the leading thousand.	867	134	14	18	$p=3.4$	$p=.4$	$p=1.9$
"American Men of Science," 1910, the leading thousand.	874	131	17	17	$p=3.4$	$p=.5$	$p=1.9$
Hall of Fame (list slightly extended as in SCIENCE, N. S., Vol. XXXII, No. 813, p. 158)	50	20	7	....	$p=3.3$	$p=.9$	$p=0.0$

United States, and to the upbuilding and prosperity of innumerable communities throughout the country. To the unusual quality of the original settlers and their early trials and high ideals is in large measure due the influence exerted by the state in national councils disproportionate to her own moderate interests in the national welfare. Moreover the rare quality of the settlers has proved to the later generation an inheritance as valuable as a strong constitution to the individual; after half a century of population drain, there remains surprising virility."

To a certain extent Mr. Rossiter is right as shown by the figures here tabulated. These form a portion of a larger collection covering the entire United States, the great part of which is still unpublished. The statistics for Massachusetts and Virginia were published in *Science* April 14, 1911, pages 568-574, under the title "Historiometry as an Exat Science." Results were shown of a systematic and objective analysis of three standard works of reference all using different methods for compiling their lists. Added to these are the records for the Hall of Fame. Those interested in probing the soundness of the foundation are referred to this article in *Science* where the question of handling the necessary errors is discussed at length.

If the same sort of measurements are made for Vermont as were there made for Massachusetts and Virginia the standing of Vermont is about half way between the two. Rough results also show that Connecticut certainly exceeds Vermont. Vermont like Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and New York gives usually a slight excess above the random expectation when large groups of moderately distinguished persons are considered. For men of the greatest distinction her record is not so good. Not a single individual in the Hall of Fame was born in Vermont. Out of the 129 Americans about whom books have been written only two were born in the Green Mountain State. Only three of the 232 greater men who figure among the practical types of activity,—bankers, merchants, lawyers, politicians, government officials, engineers, manufacturers, and soldiers, were born in this same state.

For these three lists Vermont has produced less than might be expected from the size of the total white population. The ratios

have been reckoned in proportion to the entire white population of the United States at the time of the birth of the men in question. This deficiency is expressed when p falls below unity. On the other hand the two remaining lists of the more elect names, "Americans who have received any adjectives of praise," and "Americans who have been allotted extra space" give each an excess over the expectation for Vermont, or p=1.6 and p=1.3. As the totals for any list of especially superior names are necessarily small the probable errors are large, but as far as the evidence is yet available, there is no warrant for the assertion that Vermont has produced more than her share of *very* distinguished men. For men of moderate distinction Vermont has produced an excess above the expectation, but one is led to feel that the word "extraordinary" is a little too strong. As far as research can at present indicate Vermont is in no way entitled to the distinction of having been settled by as choice an immigration of stock as was Massachusetts (or for that matter Connecticut) and as for the virtues or advantages derived from the "use of the axe and gun" there is no evidence that such exceed the advantages of wealth and culture."*

*For further evidence on this last point see *Science*, April 9, 1909, pages 577-579, "City Boys *versus* Country Boys."

Continental Agents in America in 1776-1777

By Alice Goddard Waldo, A. B.

III. The Naval Services of the Continental Agents.

TURNING from the army to the navy, we find the work of the agents rather more systematic, though of course less important in the same degree as the navy, in the early years of the war, was less important than the army. In the New England ports, between which the Continental fleet was cruising, the naval duties of the agents were many and varied. They became almost at once largely responsible for the supplying and repairing of the fleet, and for the fitting out of new vessels, obtaining their naval stores both from prizes and by purchase. Commodore Hopkins, thankful to find responsible men, able and willing to relieve him of the burden of providing the supplies for the fleet, was quick to enter into relations with them, and used them constantly during his brief career. When he wanted a new cable, or an anchor, or more men, or even a new ship, he called on Bradford, Shaw or Tillinghast, and between them they generally managed to supply him.[1] He kept the agents informed of his movements as well as of his needs, so that they became a sort of informal bureau of naval information; in the same way they sometimes had early knowledge of the movements of the enemy, which they communicated to the Marine Committee and to Washington.[2] Captains of cruisers, on setting

1. Hopkins to Cushing, Nov. 6, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 583; Marine Committee to Hopkins, May 10, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 409-10; Marine Com. to Shaw, Aug. 22, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 1107; Hopkins to Chew, Sept. 9, 1776, Ibid, II, 267-8; Hopkins to Shaw, Ibid, 268.

2. News of the sailing of Lord Howe's fleet from Halifax was sent to Washington by Tillinghast, in a letter dated Providence, June 29, 1776. (Force, Series 4, VI, 1137-8.)

sail, were instructed by the commodore to call upon the Continental agent in any port for whatever they needed,[3] and officers bringing in prizes were directed to deliver them to the agent in the nearest safe port. The necessity for such an elastic arrangement is well illustrated by the case of the brigantine "Active," which, taken by John Paul Jones and directed by him to the port of Edenton in North Carolina,[4] came in to Bedford, Massachusetts, where her cargo was disposed of by Bradford's deputy agent.[5]

In Boston, Bradford had a task in connection with his naval duties, which does not seem to have been shared by the other agents, and which brought him into closer relations with the Committee of Secret Correspondence than were enjoyed by any of his colleagues. His port, as we have seen, was the safest on the Continent, and it was also the metropolis of the shipping interest, the easiest place in America to procure and equip vessels. From Boston, therefore, sailed most of the ships sent out by the Committee of Secret Correspondence with important letters for their agents in the West Indies and in France.[6] For this business Bradford purchased vessels, found men, appointed captains and provided supplies; and the despatches were often sent to him by Morris, to be placed by him in the hands of the ship's captain.[7] Morris and Bradford kept up a vigorous correspondence, and Bradford must have known much more of the ins and outs of our foreign relations than did any other one of the Continental agents.

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3. Hopkins to Capt. Hackor, Sept. 9, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 268; Marine Committee to Capt. Thompson, Sept. 21, 1776, Ibid 428.

4. Capt. Jones to Robert Smith, Nov. 12, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 660.

5. Leonard Jarvis. Hopkins to Marine Com., Nov. 25, 1776, Ibid, 848-9; Hopkins to Jarvis, Nov. 27, 1776, Ibid, 849.

6. Of these foreign agents, besides the regular Commissioners, Thomas Morris in France and Wm. Bingham at St. Pierre, Martinique, were the most important. Thomas Morris, as is well known, squandered and embezzled the funds in his care, and was a source of great distress to his half-brother Robert. The work of Bingham, however, was strikingly similar to that of the Continental agents; he supplied cruisers with necessaries, attended to prizes, and was of course intimately concerned with the importation of arms and ammunition. (Marine Committee to Bingham, Oct. 1, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 864; Same to Same, Ibid, III, 1213.)

7. Marine Committee to Bradford, July 30, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 670; Mar. Com. to Capt. Cleveland, Ibid.

Another piece of naval business, carried on by several of the agents, although not an integral part of their duties, was shipbuilding. The Marine Committee, it will be remembered, contracted in the end of the year 1775 for thirteen frigates to be built in the various ports of the Continent, and appointed agents to take care of the work; and when, in the Spring of 1776, the prize agents were appointed, the two offices were united in five of the ports—Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Providence and Portsmouth.[8] In Portsmouth, John Langdon succeeded in effecting the completion of the frigate "Raleigh" within sixty days after she was rased.[9] The launching of the vessel, however, was greatly delayed by the difficulty of procuring cannon, and Langdon was in continual correspondence on this subject with the New Hampshire delegates to the Congress. There were Cannon in Rhode Island; but that stubborn little colony refused to part with them, although her frigates were far less advanced than the "Raleigh." The difficulty of transporting guns from Philadelphia to Portsmouth was almost insuperable, yet this proved to be the only possible solution of the problem.[10] Soon after this, foundries for cannon were set up in several of the New England colonies, and supplied with crude iron, the bulk of which came from Maryland.

It was in connection with this work that Samuel Purviance performed his chief services as a naval agent. Iron, in large quantities, was easily obtained in Maryland, and there was a very active furnace at Antietam, owned by Samuel Hughes. Maryland moreover, was less obstructed by the enemy than her neighbors, and it was not difficult to ship supplies from Baltimore. Besides iron, flour was plentiful in the colony; and many vessels laden with these two articles were sent north by Purviance in the winter of 1776-1777. The Massachusetts Board of

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8. The work of Tillinghast as a shipbuilder at Providence is unimportant. The committee entrusted with the work, of which, with Clarke & Nightingale, Gov. Cooke and eight other prominent citizens of Providence, he was a member, were accused by Hopkins of using the Continental workmen and materials for building privateers for themselves, and the work was soon taken away from them. There is no evidence to show whether or not Tillinghast was personally guilty of this unpatriotic conduct. (E. Field, *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the End of the Century*, II, 423-4. (3 vols. Boston & Syracuse, 1902.)

9. Paullin, *Navy of Revolution*, 91.

10. Wm. Whipple to Langdon, June 24, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 1050-1.

War,[11] Governor Cooke of Rhode Island,[12] and Langdon of Portsmouth, all sent to Purviance for these articles, Langdon asking on one occasion for at least forty tons of iron.[13] The Board of War sent down a schooner with sugar and rum to pay for the goods they asked for, and Cooke sent a draft on the Continental treasurer; but Langdon, acting under the direction of the Marine Committee, merely sent down two empty vessels and asked for the iron and flour "on account of the continent." Purviance's nephew, writing of this business, believed that in every instance the supply asked for was obtained;[14] if this is true, the work of the Baltimore agent must take a very high rank, since he furnished large quantities of articles very necessary for the equipment and provisioning of the fleet, which it would have been almost impossible to obtain elsewhere. Purviance was also very efficient as a ship-builder, superintending the construction of the frigate "Virginia" and of other Continental vessels. He contracted with Samuel Hughes for cannon for his own frigate, and Hughes did the work so promptly that Congress contracted with him for another thousand tons of cannon.[15] Laborers being scarce, Purviance employed a company of militia in the work on the frigate;[16] which, however, was not completed before December, 1776, having waited, oddly enough, for anchors from Philadelphia.[17]

The work of Nixon and Nesbitt in the latter city is more difficult to trace, for many directions must have been given them by the Marine Committee by word of mouth. Nesbitt was treasurer

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11. Massachusetts Board of War to Purviance, Dec. 23, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1393.

12. Cooke to Purviance, Feb. 18, 1777, Purviance's *Narrative*, 210; Cooke to Ellery & Marchant, June 24, 1777, W. R. Staples, *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, 142. (Providence, 1870.)

13. Langdon to Messrs. Purviance, Feb. 20, 1777, Purviance's *Narrative*, 210-211.

14. Purviance, *Narrative*, 65.

15. Hughes to Purviance, July 22, 1776, Purviance's *Narrative*, 203.

16. Baltimore Committee to Maryland Council of Safety, May 27, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 583. The same expedient was used in Philadelphia, where the presence of Morris gave added impetus to the work. (E. P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris*, 27-28. (New York & London, 1903.)

17. R. H. Lee to Purviance, Nov. 24, 1776, Purviance's *Narrative*, 206-7; Capt. Nicholson to Purviance, Dec. 27, 1776, Ibid, 208-9.

of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety and of the Pennsylvania Navy Board;[18] while in November, 1776, Nixon, together with John Wharton, was appointed "navy agent" under the Marine Committee.[19] Philadelphia was second only to Boston in its naval activity, and Nixon and Nesbitt had a considerable share in the creation and maintenance of the Continental navy. Four of the original thirteen frigates were built in the Quaker City; and Nixon himself was the owner of the first ship of the American navy, the "Alfred," purchased from him by the old Naval Committee in October, 1775.[20]

In New York, after its occupation by the British, there was no work for a Continental prize agent; Van Zandt, therefore, was free to devote himself to ship building at Poughkeepsie. He and his colleague, Samuel Tudor, superintended the construction of the "Montgomery" and the "Congress,"[21] and assisted General Schuyler by sending him cordage for the row-galleys on Lake Champlain.[22] When the frigates were finished, there was nothing left for Van Zandt to do; he joined the army, therefore, and served as surgeon under Washington at Trenton and at Valley Forge.[23] In the latter place he very likely met Nixon, who was commanding a regiment there.[24]

IV. The Continental Agents in the South.

That the work of the Continental agents in the South should differ in kind from that of their colleagues in the northern and middle colonies was an inevitable result of the different economic conditions which prevailed, as well as of the military and political situation in the early years of the Revolution. Because

18. See Appendix A.

19. Journals, Nov. 13, 1776.

20. Paullin, *Navy of Revolution*, 97.

21. New York Convention to Van Zandt, July 16, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 1407.

22. Records of New York Convention, Sept. 19, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 705.

23. M. J. Lamb, *History of City of New York*, 33-4 (3 vols. New York & Chicago, 1877.)

24. J. T. Scharf & T. Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, I, 321. (3 vols. Philadelphia, 1884.)

of these factors, the part borne by every one of the three sections in the support of the war in other ways than by sending troops, was distinct and individual. A brief examination of this will make clearer the position of the Continental agents.

In the period with which we are concerned, the greatest activity in the support of the measures of Congress is naturally to be expected in New England. The British army was first in Boston, then in New York, and the British navy was a constant menace to the New England ports. Yet the harbors, with the exception of Newport,[25] remained open, and the invasion of the New England colonies was confined to Tory raids from New York and Burgoyne's unsuccessful campaign. It is clear then, that New England's interest in the support of the "Continental establishment" was immediate, while her ability was not greatly impaired. For the work, moreover, with which the prize agents were most closely concerned, the opportunities in New England were particularly great. The British transports passed near her coast; the building and fitting out of vessels was one of her leading occupations; a combination of circumstances which doubtless seemed nothing short of Providential to the pious sea-captains of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Furthermore, many of the vessels importing goods on behalf of the Secret Committee were directed to the open ports of Boston and New London. New England, then, became by natural processes the distributing centre for army and navy supplies, and her agents, of course, were the most active in this field.

Affairs in the middle colonies were very different. The port of New York was blockaded by the British; her soil was occupied by the armies; her contribution to the cause consisted chiefly in food, and was shared by friend and foe. Very much the same state of things prevailed in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The latter colony abounded in corn and cattle; but transportation was difficult at best and was made much more so by the presence of a large number of loyalists and of those faint-hearted brethren who lived in constant dread of the approach of the armies, and preferred to take no very decided action on either side. Until

25. Newport was occupied by the British in December, 1776. (Cooke to Washington, Dec. 8, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1315.)

the occupation of Philadelphia by Lord Howe, there was, as we have seen, much naval activity in that port; but with the coming of the British, docks and wharves were deserted, and the voice of the ship-wright was heard no more in the land. Maryland, however, facing both north and south, and freer from the enemy than her sisters, had an important share in the support of the war; and the work of the Baltimore agent was a strong link in the chain of sympathy and common interest that bound the colonies together.

In the South, conditions differed radically from those prevailing in either of the other two sections. Economically speaking, the south was unable to give direct support to the army and navy in other ways than by furnishing men. Virginia's staple was tobacco, a commodity of no use as a military supply. North Carolina produced pitch, tar and turpentine, white oak staves, etc.; but her large coasting trade in these articles was now cut off by the British. South Carolina raised rice and indigo, and was dependent for her prosperity on the indigo trade with England, which now, of course, came to an abrupt end. Georgia raised similar articles, but was so poor and weak that she had regularly been receiving subsidies from the mother country. The suspension of commercial relations with England left the southern colonies economically helpless, and struggling for their mere physical existence, and it would seem that no support for the armies was to be expected from them. From this apparently hopeless condition of affairs, however, there arose an opportunity for the South to aid Congress and the armies in a unique and very important way. The Secret Committee, in its business of importing military supplies, turned naturally to the great exporting colonies for the material to be used in exchange. In return for arms, ammunition and soldiers' clothing, quantities of tobacco were shipped to France,[26] and many cargoes of rice and indigo went to the West Indies.[27] In this way a new life was given to the moribund commerce of the South, and the Secret Committee was greatly aided in its work. The importance of these

26. Morris to Bradford, Dec. 24, 1776, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXV, 83; Journals, Dec. 1, '77.

27. Marine Committee to Bingham, Dec. 14, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1213.

undertakings is seen at once when we examine the reports of cargoes brought in on account of this committee. In December, 1776, for instance, the "Andrea Doria" arrived at Philadelphia with a cargo composed as follows: 218 doz. pr. woolen stockings, 106 doz. pr. worsted stockings; 215 sailor's jackets; 23 great-coats; . . . 463 blankets; 496 muskets; 326 pr. pistols; 200 half barrels powder; 14,101 pounds lead.[28]

That the Continental agents were the instruments of the Secret Committee in this work is almost beyond question. There is much less material concerning their activities than is available for their colleagues of the other sections; but several scattered bits of evidence point strongly to the same conclusion.

By a resolution of August 30, 1776,[29] Congress established three advice boats, to ply between that port in or near which Congress might be sitting, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. These boats were to be armed, and under the direction of the Secret Committee, which was to freight them in order to defray expenses. In November the advice boat "Georgia Packet" was sent down to Savannah, laden with stores for Georgia; and Wereat was instructed to procure a cargo to be carried back to the Secret Committee—undoubtedly to be sent abroad by them in exchange for military and naval supplies.[30] In December, moreover, Capt. Nicholson of the "Hornet," who was to "touch at Carolina" and procure a cargo of rice and indigo to be taken to Martinique, was instructed by Robert Morris to give immediate notice to the Continental agents upon his arrival in harbor.[31] This certainly would seem to indicate that the agents were expected to assist him in his business. And in September, of the same year, a member of the Marine Committee had written to John Langdon, at Portsmouth, that the Secret Committee was in want of goods to export, and had asked him to try to ob-

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28. Morris to Washington, Dec. 23, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1374. These articles were offered by Morris to Washington, who, at the time, needed only the blankets. (Washington to Morris, Dec. 25, 1776, Ibid, 1419.)

29. Journals, Aug. 30, 1776.

30. Marine Committee to Wereat, Nov. 14, 1776. Force, Series 5, III, 671. A curious clause of Wereat's instructions was that which directed that all letters brought by the "Georgia Packet" should be deposited in the post-office, so that the Continent might have the benefit of the revenue to be derived from them.

31. Morris to Nicholson, Dec. 25, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1419.

tain a cargo for them; showing that it seemed natural to the committees to employ the Continental agents in this work.[32]

It is evident, then, that the service of the agents in the South was, to a large extent, complementary to that of the New England agents. The former made possible such importation of supplies as was successfully accomplished; the latter, in closer touch with Washington's army, distributed the articles thus procured. In the later years of the war, as the prize business declined and importation increased, the work of the southern agents must constantly have grown in volume and importance.

The situation in North Carolina presents certain aspects which are unique in character, and worthy of some attention. This colony, in some ways the key to the whole lower South, had many and varied problems with which to deal. A letter to the Congress from the president of her Council of Safety gives a graphic picture of the condition of the province in the summer of 1776.[33] The colony, he says, is in a distressed and defenceless state; there is great want of arms, ammunition and other warlike stores; they are in hourly expectation of invasion; they are carrying on war with the Indians and the Tories; these things, combined with their generous assistance of their neighbors, and their efforts for the establishment of manufactures, have involved the inhabitants in a load of debt from which they cannot hope to be freed save by the aid of Congress.[34] With these problems the North Carolina Council grappled ably and well, headed by a man whose great executive and constructive powers peculiarly fitted him for his exacting and responsible position. Of the whole group of Continental agents, North and South, but two deserve the name of statesmen—John Langdon of New Hampshire,[35] and Cornelius Harnett, "the Sam Adams of North

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32. J. Bartlett to Langdon, Sept. 16, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 350. June 6, 1777, the agents were directed by Congress to "lodge with the said committee (Secret.) vouchers for the expenditure of the public money entrusted to their care; *distinguishing exactly, what commodities have been shipped,* with the bills of lading, and what remains on hand, with an account of the places where the same are stored." (Journals, June 6, 1777.)

33. Harnett to the President of Congress, June 24, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 1077-8.

34. Congress, in fact, appointed a committee "to take into consideration the State of North Carolina," passed some measures for its aid and relief, and sent down some powder and cannon. (Journals, July 30 and 31, 1776.)

35. See Appendix A.

Carolina,"[36] President of the North Carolina Council of Safety, delegate to the Continental Congress, and Continental agent for the port of Wilmington. "Cornelius Harnett," says his biographer,[37] was one of that group of North Carolina statesmen whose leadership during the decade and a half following the passage of the Stamp Act, swung North Carolina into line with the great continental movement of the American colonies, overthrew the royal authority in the province, organized the provisional government, inaugurated the Revolution, led the way to independence, framed the first state constitution, and set in motion the wheels of government in the independent State. From this group his conspicuous ability as an organizer and administrator led his associates with entire unanimity to choose him as the head of the Revolutionary government, where his great executive powers contributed so largely to the success of the Revolution in North Carolina." To such hands was entrusted the agency of the most important port in North Carolina; and while there is no reason to doubt that Harnett performed its duties faithfully and well, it is small wonder that the traces of this portion of his work have been lost among the records of his wider activities.

Like his colleagues in New London and Baltimore, Harnett was a prominent and wealthy merchant, and an early adherent of the Revolutionary cause. He was foremost in opposition to the Stamp Act, and a leader of the Sons of Liberty; a member of the North Carolina Committee of Correspondence, and chairman of the Wilmington Committee of Safety and of the joint Committee of New Hanover county; and finally president of the Provincial Council. With Robert Howe, he was excepted from the free pardon offered to the colony by Sir Henry Clinton in May, 1776. He served three times in the Continental Congress; and, shortly after his retirement, was taken prisoner by the British army, dying in 1781 from disease contracted during his imprisonment.[38]

As president of the Provincial Council, Harnett was, to all intents and purposes, governor of the State, and his work in this

36. So called by Josiah Quincy.
37. R. D. W. Connor, *Cornelius Harnett*, I, (Raleigh, 1909.)
38. See Appendix A.

capacity was varied and extremely interesting. The sovereignty of North Carolina during the Revolution was very real, and she carried on her business with little interference or direction from the Continental Congress. In particular, the work done by Robert Morris and his three committees was closely paralleled by the Provincial Council. They appointed commissioners to purchase war-like supplies; they imported them from other states; they manufactured them; they purchased them in the North through the delegates in the Continental Congress; and they chartered vessels which they loaded with cargoes of staves and shingles, to be exchanged for military supplies . . .[39] The Council issued letters of marque and reprisal . . .; and they organized courts of admiralty and appointed judges. They set up iron works for casting cannon and shot, and salt works for supplying that necessary article.''[40] Why should Cornelius Harnett, the chief executive of a sovereign State, carry on as a subordinate Congressional agent the business to which his own government was attending so admirably? Certainly as long as the real war was in the North, and the chief business of North Carolina and her neighbors was self-defense against local enemies. Congress might well be content with matters as they were; and it is clear that the circumstances which led to the development of the position of Continental agent in other colonies did not exist in North Carolina.

39. The other North Carolina agents were concerned in this work. In June, 1776, Richard Ellis of Newbern was allowed by the Council to export white oak staves to the West Indies, and to draw on the Continental treasurer for $2,850 for 19 cwt. of gunpowder imported for the use of the public. (North Carolina Council of Safety, June 27, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 1453.) In August of the same year, a similar permission was given to Robert Smith of Edenton. (N. C. Council of Safety, Aug. 1, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 1370.)

40. Connor, *Harnett*, 162-3.

(To be continued.)

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LIX

The Agreement of the Church Authorities to Leave Illinois —Preparations for Departure—The Exodus Begun

IN the midst of the tumultuous scenes described in the preceding chapter, the citizens of Quincy convened on the twenty-second of September. It was generally known that the Prophet Joseph had contemplated going west with the main body of the Church, and it was one of the objects of this meeting to appoint a committee to confer with the Church authorities and learn what their present intentions were as to leaving the state. It was expressed as the opinion of the meeting that the only basis upon which the Mormon troubles could be settled would be the removal of the Saints from Illinois. "It is a settled thing," said Mr. Bartlett, editor of the *Quincy Whig,* in his issue following the meeting of the above date—

"It is a settled thing that the public sentiment of the State is against the Mormons, and it will be in vain for them to contend against it; and to prevent bloodshed, and the sacrifice of many lives on both sides, it is their duty to obey the public will, and leave the state as speedily as possible. That they will do this we have a confident hope—and that too, before the last extreme is resorted to—that of force."

We are sorry to say that many of the leading men of Quincy, principally prominent members of the bar, who before had been kindly disposed towards the citizens of Nauvoo, now turned

against them, and became the advocates of their expulsion from the state, and indirectly though unintentionally, perhaps, lent the weight of their influence to the support and spread of mob-law. Among such we are sorry to mention Stephen A. Douglas, Major Warren, and O. H. Browning. The latter had defended the Prophet Joseph on more than one occasion when unjustly charged with crime before the courts of the country. Eloquently reciting the wrongs of the Saints when they were expelled from Missouri, he said their suffering would have enlisted the sympathy of adamantine hearts; and now to see him leagued with those bent upon bringing about a repetition of those sorrows and hardships, only on a much larger scale, is an event to be truly deplored.[1]

On the first and second of October a great anti-Mormon convention met in Carthage. Nine counties were represented, Hancock county excepted and excluded. Fifty-eight delegates reported to the convention; representing, it is said, fifty or sixty thousand people in the nine counties.[2] Isaac N. Morris, Esq., of Adams county, was chosen chairman, three more from other counties were chosen secretaries and three from each county represented constituted the Committee on Resolutions.[3] The purpose of the conventoin was to take into consideration the affairs of Hancock county, especially with reference to the effect those affairs were having upon the peace of the surrounding counties and the peace of the state. The series of resolutions reported and adopted reviewed the situation from the anti-Mormon standpoint, and arrived substantially at the same conclusions as the before mentioned convention at Quincy, expressed in the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the settled and deliberate conviction of

1. Mr. Browning afterwards held the position of United States Senator from Illinois. He was appointed to that position in 1861 to fill the unexpired term of Stephen A. Douglas. He was instrumental with his friend, Abraham Lincoln, in organizing the Republican Party in Illinois. He entered President Andrew Johnson's Cabinet in March, 1868, as Secretary of the Interior; and also for a time was designated by the President to perform the duties of Attorney General, in addition to those of Secretary of the Interior. ("History of Illinois," in "Hist. of Hancock County," Gregg, p. 164).

2. Gregg's Prophet of Palmyra, pp. 336-7.

3. Gregg's Hist. of Hancock Co., p. 342.

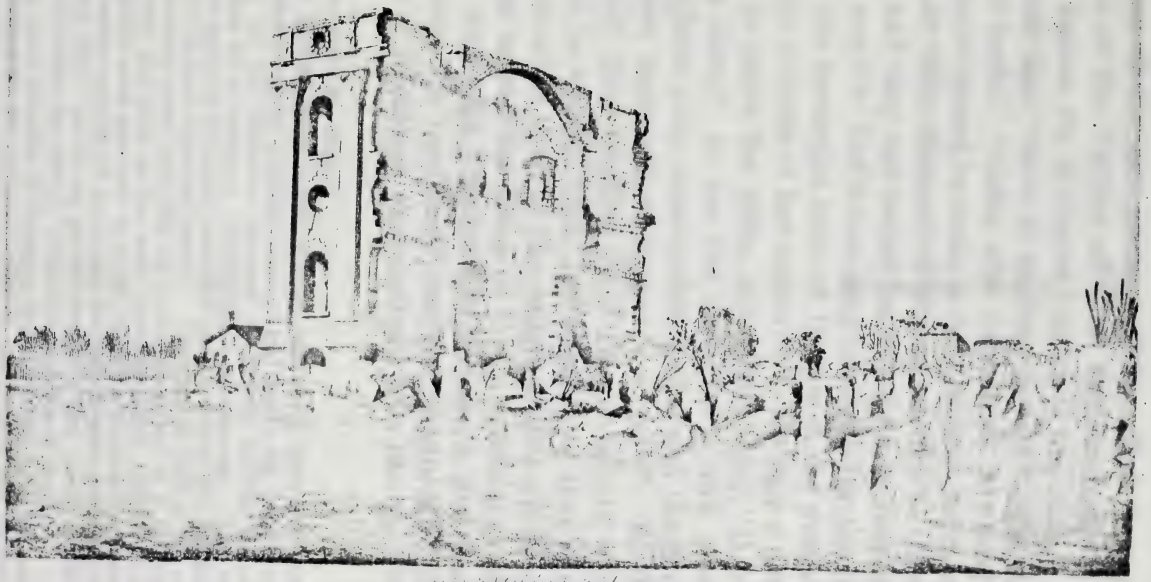
this convention that it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock county upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the state; and we therefore accept and respectfully recommend to the people of the surrounding counties to accept the proposition made by the Mormons to remove from the state next spring, and to wait with patience the time appointed for removal.

Governor Ford through *Messrs.* Hardin, Warren, Douglas and McDougal conveyed a message to the Church leaders in which he advised them to leave the state. The body of the communication follows:

"I wish you to say to the Mormons for me, that I regret very much, that so much excitement and hatred against them should exist in the public mind. Nevertheless, it is due to truth to say that the public mind everywhere is so decidedly hostile to them that public opinion is not inclined to do them common justice. Every bad report against them is greedily swallowed, whilst nothing can be heard in their favor; under these circumstances, I fear that they will never be able to live in peace with their neighbors of Hancock and the surrounding counties. There is no legal power in the state to compel them to leave, and no such power will be exercised during my administration.

"The spirit of the people, however, is up and the signs are very evident that an attempt will be made by the surrounding counties to drive them out. Such an attempt may fail once or even twice, but if undertaken in earnest and persevered in, it must finally succeed. Those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense, and indeed the people of the state will never tolerate the expense of frequent military expeditions to defend them. The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but do they want to live in a state of continued war? They may overcome their enemies; but those enemies will rally again, and murders will be committed and mischief done from this time out, as each party may find itself able.

"I desire that you will impress these facts upon the Mormons, and that you will counsel and promote peaceable means of accommodation whereby the Mormons may be induced to leave the state. It is acknowledged by me that the state has no power to insist upon their removal, that it is a great hardship on them to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil; but is it not better that



Nauvoo Temple in Ruins.
After a drawing by F. Piercy,
"Liverpool Route."

they should do so voluntarily than to live in a state of continual war?"[4]

This presentation of the case could well be called Governor Ford's Confession of the Failure of Civil Government in the State of Illinois. Induce the Mormons "to leave the state," for while it is confessed that "there is no legal power in the state to compel them to leave," "those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense;" "The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves;" but had they not better leave "than to live in a state of perpetual war?"[5] But where may one look for the dignity, and power of the sovereign state of Illinois in the presence of this pusillanimous attitude of her executive? He begs a deeply injured people to leave the state, notwithstanding "it is a great hardship on them," to use the Governor's own words above, "to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil." To this he might have added: And sacrifice their Temple within which they had just begun to worship God, and administer that ritual which would have stood to them as the daily sacrifice did to ancient Israel, making sacred the place of God's sanctuary; also the graves of their martyred Prophet and Patriarch, and many other martyrs' graves, for here were interred hundreds of the victims of Missouri's relentless persecution;[6] also the sacrifice

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4. Nauvoo Neighbor, Oct. 29, 1845.

5. The Governor of Illinois made a still franker confessior than the above on the failure of civil government in Hancock county; and really the failure was the whole state's failure; for the Governor admitted the state's inability to stop rioting and civil war in one of its counties. Following is the passage: "No one would be convicted of any crime in Hancock; and this put an end to the administration of the criminal law in that distracted county. Government was at an end there, and the whole community were delivered up to the dominion of a frightful anarchy. If the whole state had been in the same condition, then indeed would have been verified to the letter what was said by a wit, when he expressed an opinion that the people were neither capable of governing themselves nor of being governed by others. And truly there can be no government in a free country where the people do not voluntarily obey the laws." ("History of Illinois," p. 369).

6. I know of nothing more plaintive in Mormon literature than a hymn composed by Wm. Clayton celebrating the martyred dead of the Church and expressing the assurance of a glorious resurrection for them. One verse to the dead at Nauvoo:

"And in Nauvoo, the city where
The Temple cheered the brave,

of all those hopes of the future greatness and glory of the "City of Joseph."[7] These things are more dear to the hearts of a sincere people than the merely material sacrifices involved, and should not have been left out of the Governor's catalogue of things to be surrendered to the inability of a sovereign state to maintain government.

Respecting those several demands made upon them by the Quincy committee, Messrs. Harding, Douglas *et al.*, and the Governor himself, the Twelve, as the responsible Church leaders, took the following course:

I. Answering the Quincy committee's communication of the 22nd of September, they said, under date of 24th of the same month:

"*Whereas,* a council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Nauvoo, have this day received a communication from Henry Asbury, P. Robbins, Albert J. Pearson, P. A. Goodwin, J. N. Ralston, M. Rogers, and E. Convers, Messrs. Committee of the citizens of Quincy, requesting us to 'communicate in writing our disposition and intention at this time, particularly with regard to removing to some place where the peculiar organization of our Church will not be likely to engender so much strife and contention as so unhappily exists at this time in Hancock and some of the adjoining counties;'

"And, *whereas,* said Committee have reported to us the

Hundreds of faithful Saints have found
A cold, yet peaceful grave;
And there they now are sleeping
Beneath the silent clay,
But soon they'll share the glories
Of a resurrection day.

7. At the April, 1845, Conference of the Church, it was moved by President Brigham Young and carried by vote of the conference "that henceforth and forever, this city shall be called the 'City of Joseph.'" The following comment follows the conference minutes as setting forth conditions prevailing at the time the change of names occurred: "Never have we seen the time before when the people were more willing to receive and listen to counsel than now. The High Council have only had one case in about seven weeks. Our magistrates have nothing to do. Every man is doing his best to cultivate the ground, and all are anxious to provide things honestly in the sight of all men—to honor our God, our country, and its laws. Whenever a dispute or difficulty arises, a word from the proper source puts all to rights, and no resort to law. May God ever save us from this snare of men, this drainer of the purse, and this fruitful source of contention and strife." (*Times* and *Seasons,* Vol. VI. p. 871).

doings of a public meeting of the citizens of Quincy, on 22nd inst., by which it appears there are some feelings in that place concerning us as a people, and in relation to which sundry resolutions were passed, purporting to be for the purpose of maintaining or restoring peace to the country;

"And, *whereas,* it is our desire, and ever has been, to live in peace with all men, so far as we can, without sacrificing the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of our own consciences, which privilege is guaranteed to us by the Constitution of these United States;

"And, *whereas,* we have, time and again, and again, been driven from our peaceful homes, and our women and children been obliged to exist on the prairies, in the forests, on the roads, and in tents, in the dead of winter, suffering all manner of hardships, even to death itself, as the people of Quincy well know; the remembrance of whose hospitality in former days still causes our hearts to burn with joy, and raise the prayer to heaven for blessings on their heads;

"And, *whereas,* it is now so late in the season that it is impossible for us, as a people, to remove this fall, without causing a repetition of like sufferings;

"And, *whereas,* it has been represented to us from other sources, than those named, and even in some communications from the Executive of this state, that many of the citizens of the state were unfriendly to our views and principles;

"And, *whereas,* many scores of our homes in this county have been burned to ashes, without any justifiable cause or provocation, and we have made no resistance, till compelled by the authorities of the county to do so, and that authority not connected with our Church;

"And, *whereas,* said resistance to mobocracy, from the legally constituted authorities, appears to be misunderstood by some, and misconstrued by others, so as to produce an undue excitement in the public mind;

"And, *whereas,* we desire peace above all other earthly blessings.

"*Therefore,* we would say to the Committee above mentioned, and to the Governor, and all the authorities and people of Illinois, and the surrounding states and territories; that we propose to leave this county next spring, for some point so remote, that there will not need to be a difficulty with the people and ourselves, *provided certain propositions necessary for the accomplishment of our removal, shall be observed, as follows,* to wit:

"*That the citizens of this, and the surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertions, to help us to sell*

or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless and destitute to remove with us;

"That all men will let us alone with their vexatious law suits, so that we may have the time, for we have broken no law; and help us to cash, dry goods, groceries, good oxen, milch cows, beef cattle, sheep, wagons, mules, harnesses, horses, &c., in exchange for our property, at a fair price, and deeds given at payment, that we may have the means to accomplish a removal, without the suffering of the destitute, to an extent beyond the endurance of human nature;

"That all exchanges of property be conducted by a committee or committees of both parties, so that all business may be transacted honorably and speedily;

"That we will use all lawful means, in connection with others, to preserve the public peace while we tarry, and shall expect decidedly that we be no more molested with house burning, or any other depredations, to waste our property and time and hinder our business;

"That it is a mistaken idea that we 'have proposed to remove in six months;' for that would be so early in the spring, that grass might not grow nor water run, both of which would be necessary for our removal, but we propose to use our influence, to have no more seed time nor harvest among our people in this county, after gathering our present crops. And that all communications to us be made in writing.

By order of the Council.

signed. BRIGHAM YOUNG, Prest.
Willard Richards, Clerk."

On receipt of this communication the Quincy committee reported to a mass meeting of the citizens of that city the propositions of the Mormon authorities, which were regarded as satisfactory in part, but it was thought they were not as full or decisive as was necessary. The mass meeting to which they reported, however, accepted the propositions and decided to recommend the people in the surrounding counties to do the same. "But," said one of the resolutions:

"We accept it [the proposition of the Church authorities] as an unconditional proposition to remove. We do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase their property or furnish purchasers for the same, but we will in no way hinder

or obstruct them in their efforts to sell; and will expect them to dispose of their property, and remove at the time appointed.'"[8]

Commenting upon this resolution Dr. Conyers in his "Hancock County Mob," says with just indignation and sarcasm:

"The first one [i. e. the first resolution] in our opinion, is unique. They accepted and recommended to the people of the surrounding counties to accept an unconditional proposition to remove. But understand, Mr. Mormon, though we accept it and recommend the surrounding counties to do so, likewise, (reprobate you, unconditionally) we do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase your property, or to furnish purchasers; but we will be very kind and obliging, and will in no way, hinder or obstruct you in your efforts to sell, provided, nevertheless, this shall not be so construed as to prevent us from running off the purchaser. But we expect this small favor of you, *viz.*, that you must dispose of your property and leave at the appointed time."[9]

II. On the first of October, Messrs. Hardin, Warren, Douglas and McDougall had a consultation with the Twelve and other leading brethren of the Church in respect of the Saints moving to the west, and on the same day asked that the intention of the brethren to move be stated in writing in order that they might present it to the Governor and people of the state. Following is the note addressed to the brethren upon the subject:

Nauvoo, Oct. 1st, 1845.

To the First President and Council of the Church at Nauvoo:—

Having had a free and full conversation with you this day in reference to your proposed removal from this county, together with the members of your church, we have to request you to submit the facts and intentions stated to us in said conversation to writing, in order that we may lay them before the Governor and people of the state. We hope that by so doing it will have a

8. "Hancock County Mob"—Conyers—1846, p. 13. It should be remembered that the authority here cited, and which will frequently be quoted covering the brief period of which he treats, is not a Mormon, but Dr. Josiah B. Conyers, of Quincy—a non-Mormon. Dr. Conyers could be prompted by no other motive than the love of truth and a hatred of mob violence in publishing his little work on the Hancock County Mob. It is so replete with trustworthy facts, reports of committees, and copies of official documents, as to make it altogether reliable as a source of information upon the movements of the Hancock County Mob.

9. Ibid, p. 14.

tendency to allay the excitement at present existing in the public mind.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves

Respectively yours, &c.,

John J. Hardin,
W. B. Warren,
S. A. Douglass,
J. A. McDougall.

In answer the Twelve through President Young presented to the above gentlemen a copy of their answer to the Quincy Committee of the 24th of September; and then extended their communication as follows:

"In addition to this we would say that we had commenced making arrangements to remove from this county previous to the recent disturbances;

"That we now have four companies organized of one hundred families each; and six companies more now organizing of the same number each; preparatory to a removal;

"That one thousand families, including the Twelve, the High Council, the Trustees and general authorities of the church, are fully determined to remove in the spring, independent of the contingency of selling our property; and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls;

"That the church, as a body, desire to remove with us, and will, if sales can be effected so as to receive the necessary means.

"That the organization of the church we represent is such that there never can exist but one head or presidency, at any one time, and all good members wish to be with the organization, and all are determined to remove to some distant point where we shall neither infringe or be infringed upon, so soon as time and means will permit.

"That we have some hundreds of farms, and some 2,000 or more houses for sale in this city and county,[10] and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

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10. "There was grain enough growing within ten miles of Nauvoo, raised by the Mormons, to feed the whole population for two years if they were to do nothing but gather it in and feast upon it." (Hist. Brigham Young, Ms., 1845, 134, quoted by Bancroft Hist. of Utah, p. 211, note 38). In his Journal, John Taylor, one of the Twelve, describes a feast held out on the open prairie east of Nauvoo in the "Big Field," a co-operative enterprise, that was very successful. "The Big Field," Elder Taylor explains, "is organized according to the laws of the state and covers six sections, or three thousand eight hundred and forty acres of land. We understood from the officers of the company, that about thirty thousand bushels of corn, and nearly the same amount of wheat had been raised the first season. Sixty thousand bushels of wheat and corn, without wanting an abundance of oats, barley, buckwheat, potatoes and other vegetables, do not indicate indolence, poverty

"That we do not expect to find purchasers for our Temple and other public buildings, but we are willing to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city;

"That we wish it distinctly understood that although we may not find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice or give it away, or suffer it illegally to be wrested from us;

"That we do not intend to sow any wheat this fall, and should we sell, we shall not put in any more crops of any description;"

"That as soon as practicable we will appoint committees for this city, La Harpe, Macedonia, Bear Creek, and all necessary places to give information to purchasers.[11]

"That if all these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken; *we will leave them!*

In behalf of the council,

Respectively yours, &c.,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, Prest.

Willard Richards, Clerk."

These declarations were reported to the Carthage convention by Messrs. Hardin, Douglas *et al.*, and upon the reception of them by the Carthage Convention and the public generally, these gentlemen wrote the Church leaders as follows:

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and famine, but rather carries an idea that God helps them that help themselves." Then, as showing the temperate character of the people of Nauvoo, and the principles and hopes by which they were inspired, he continues:

"This public demonstration of the bounty of providence, goes to show that the people of that section are willing to make others happy as well as themselves.

"It is a fine thing for the bishops of the several wards to remember the poor: and we think this 'feast upon the prairies,' was a kind of token of times to come.

"It is also worthy of remark that this band of brethren, under the broad canopy, spent the day most happily, without strong drink, or swearing or gambling; feasting as all honest people ought to, to be healthy, upon the simple luxuries that sustain life, with pure water, peace and union, praying and praising God who hath so liberally rewarded their labor and begun to make the prairies blossom as the rose." (*Taylors Journal Ms.* Entry for 5th Sept. 1845).

11. The following committees were announced in a printed circular:

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

Appointed at the general conference, for the sale of lands in Hancock county.

Nauvoo.—Winslow Farr, Edward Hunter, Rufus Beach, A. W. Babbit, Joseph L. Heywood, John Benbow and Daniel Russell.

Laharpe.—Lyman Corey, John Clark and John L. Bartolph.

Macedonia.—Wm. G. Perkins, Issac Clark and Andrew H. Perkins.

Camp Creek.—Nelson Higgins, Samuel Shepherd and Daniel Allen.

Knowlton's Settlement.—Sidney A. Knowlton, Eleazer Brown and James Rawlins.

Highland Branch.—James Duncan, Wm. A. Duncan and John Loveless.

Montebello.—Eleazer Miller and Jesse Spurgin.

Yelrome.—Solomon Hancock and Horace Rawson.

In Iowa, every man is appointed to act as a committee of the whole for the sale of lands.

"Since we made public the statement made by you to us, there seems to be a general acquiescence in it by the citizens of other counties and of this, so far as to agree to return and withhold all further violence, and that you be permitted to depart in peace next spring.

"We are convinced that affairs have reached such a crisis that it has become impossible for your church to remain in peace in this county.

"After what has been written and said by yourselves, it will be confidently expected by us and the whole community, that you will remove from the state, with your whole church, *in the manner you have agreed in your statement to us.*

"Should you not do so, we are satisfied, however, much we may deprecate violence and bloodshed, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal; which will result in most disastrous consequences to yourselves and your opponents, and that the end will be your expulsion from the state. * *

"By carrying out in good faith your proposition to remove, as submitted to us, we think you should be, and will be permitted to depart peaceably next spring for your destination west of the Rocky Mountains. * * *

"With many wishes that you may find that peace and prosperity in the land of your destination, which you desire, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves,"[13] etc.

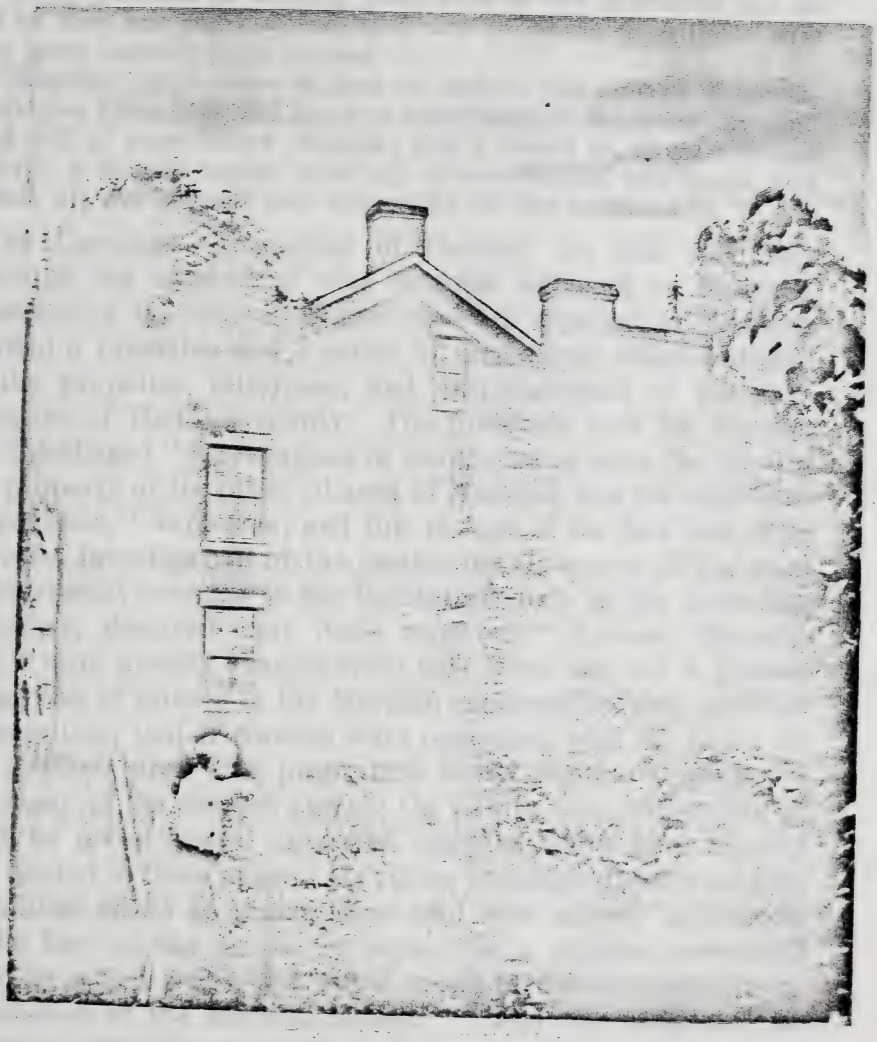
Messrs. Hardin, Douglas *et al.* also addressed a communication to the "Anti-Mormon citizens of Hancock county," in which they state the intentions and pledges of the Latter-day Saint leaders to leave Illinois in the spring for the west, and added:

"These measures, we think, ought to satisfy you. All that some of you might demand cannot be granted consistently with the rights of others, you should be satisfied with attaining that which is practicable and probable. * * *

It cannot be denied that the burning of the houses of Mormons in your county, by which a large number of women and

12. Nauvoo Neighbor, Oct. 1st, 1844.

13. The communication of Hardin *et al* is published *in extenso* in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 29th, 1845. The last impression of that periodical, by the way. Its editorial utterance on discontinuing the publication opened as follows: "As we are making all the preparation in our power to leave the United States next spring, because we are compelled by mobocracy, on account of the weakness of the law and the stupidity or hypocrisy of its executors, to quit the 'asylum of the oppressed,' we thought it advisable to discontinue the *Neighbor* at this number."



Home of Lorenzo Snow,
At Nauvoo, Ill.

children have been rendered homeless and houseless in the beginning of winter, was an act criminal in itself and disgraceful to its perpetrators. And it should also be known, that it has led many persons to believe, that, even if the Mormons are as bad as they are represented, they are no worse than those who thus have burned their houses.

"Whether your cause is just or unjust, the acts of these incendiaries have thus lost for you something of the sympathy and good will of your fellow citizens; and a resort to, or persistence in such a course under existing circumstances will make you forfeit all the respect and sympathy of the community."[14]

The Carthage Convention of October 1st and 2nd, representing the citizens of nine counties adjacent to Hancock, representing the citizens of nine counties adjacent to Hancock, adopted a preamble and a series of resolutions which reflected all the prejudice, bitterness, and untruthfulness of the anti-Mormons of Hancock county. The preamble took for granted that the alleged "depredations of the Mormons upon the persons and property of the other citizens of Hancock and the surrounding counties," were true; and this in face of the fact that after a careful investigation of the matter the Governor of the state in his special message to the legislature, only in the preceding December, declared that these reported "Mormon depredations" were greatly exaggerated; that there was not a greater proportion of thieves in the Mormon communities than in other communities; that if Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any western city, "the proportion would not be so great;"[15] that many of the charges against the Saints were unfounded, of which he gives several examples, some of which have already been quoted in these pages. He refers to disappointed aspirants to political offices as among those who were active "in blowing up the fury of the people, in hopes that a popular movement might be set on foot which would result in the expulsion or extermination of the Mormon voters." "For this purpose," he continues, "public meetings had been called; inflammatory speeches had been made; exaggerated and unfounded reports had been extensively circulated; committees had been appointed

14. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Oct. 29, 1845, where the communication is published in full.

15. See Chapter LVIII, and note 7.

and rode night and day to spread the reports and solicit aid of the neighboring counties."[16]

As this preamble to the resolutions adopted by the Carthage Convention assumed that the Latter-day Saints were guilty of all that their enemies alleged against them, so did it give a clear bill of acquittal to the "old citizens" of Hancock county. From "long acquaintance with the old citizens of Hancock county," said convention, claimed "an intimate knowledge of their honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country!" And this in face of the fact of that lawless agitation, and desperate conspiracy, with resulted in the cold-blooded, double murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage prison while under the especially pledged faith of the state of Illinois! A murder which involved a very large number of the old settlers of Hancock county, of the officers of the state and the county, both in the direct fact of the killing, and as accessories either before or after the fact of the murder; and for which crime there had been no vindication of the law by punishment of the guilty.

The bill of acquittal for responsibility of wrong doing given to the "old citizens of Hancock county," in the matter of the Mormon troubles, and this affirmation of their "honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country," was also made in the face of the fact that without provocation, and without even pretended justification, the Anti-Mormons among these "old citizens," commencing within three weeks and continuing up to within one week of the convening of that Carthage Convention, pounced upon the Mormon settlements in the south part of Hancock county, set fire to Buel's flouring mill and carding

16. Ford's Message to the Illinois Legislature is published in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Jan. 1st, 1845. Further describing this system of agitation the Governor says: "A system of excitement and agitation was artfully planned and executed with tact. It was planned and executed very much upon the principle adopted by the Jacobins in revolutionary France. It consisted in spreading reports and rumors of the most fearful character. As examples: On the morning before my arrival at Carthage, I was awakened at an early hour by the frightful report which was asserted with confidence and apparent consternation that the Mormons had already commenced the work of burning, destruction, and murder, and that every man was instantly wanted at Carthage for the protection of the country. We lost no time in starting; but when we arrived at Carthage we could hear no more concerning this story." (Ford's message to the Legislature, 1845). The Governor also gives other instances of misrepresentations.

machine; and then commenced to burn the houses of the people, their stacks of hay and grain together with their stables and everything that the incendiary could destroy, continuing the work until about 125 houses were thus destroyed.[17] In this diabolical work helpless women and children, as well as the men, were rendered homeless at the beginning of winter; and turned out upon the open prairie without food or shelter—and for what?

Even *Messrs.* Hardin and Douglas *et. al.,* in their address to the "Anti-Mormon Citizens of Hancock County," as we have seen, denounced this house burning as "an act criminal in itself, and disgraceful to its perpetrators," and had led many persons to believe that if the Mormons were as bad as they were represented, "they were no worse than those who burned their houses." Yet this Carthage Convention could vouch for "the honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country, of the old citizens of Hancock county!"

If all the "old citizens of Hancock county" were not directly guilty of these crimes, and all did not approve of what was done, none of them had the virtue to stand up in vindication of the law, and the honor of their state.

In the body of the resolutions it was declared that it was too late to settle the difficulties in Hancock county upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the state; that the convention would seek to prevent anything that might operate against the removal of the Mormons, but they would expect equal good faith on their part in the matter of moving; if the Mormons did not comply with "their own proposition, the consequences must abide with themselves;" that the convention would recommend to the people it represented "immediately to adopt a military organization to act in relation to Hancock county affairs, as future exigencies may require;" (a subsequent resolution, the 8th, appointed a committee to report on an

17. This is the number as usually stated, Gregg says: "For a week the burning continued until the whole of Morley-Town was in ashes, with many other residences in the Bear Creek region and that of Green Plains. In all it is stated that as many as 100 or 125 houses were burned and their occupants driven off" (Hist. Hancock Co., p. 340) Ford puts the number at 175, "houses and hovels" that were burnt, "the inmates having to flee for their lives" (Hist. Ill., p. 407). "Hovels,"—hence of little value. "As much as to say," remarks Dr. Conyers, commenting on a similar statement—"they were poor people, therefore of little consequence. But which was truly the greater shame!" Hancock Co., Mob., p. 77.

efficient plan for organizing volunteer companies in compliance with the resolutions of the convention);[18] that as an indispensable condition to the pacification of the county the "old citizens" —[this had reference to those recently engaged in house burning]—"be permitted to return to their homes unmolested by the present Sheriff [Backenstos] and the Mormons for anything alleged against them; and that any "attempt to arrest or prosecute such citizens for pretended offenses, will, inevitably, lead to the renewal of the late disorders;" that as the Mormons are under control of a few leaders, "and beyond the reach of law," the whole body should be held responsible for all lawless acts against persons or property of "our citizens;" that the convention "utterly repudiates the impudent assertion" that the Mormons are "persecuted for righteousness sake"—"do not believe them to be a persecuted people"—whatever grievances they suffer are the necessary consequencs "of thir illegal, wicked and dishonest acts;[19] that the convention recommend the stationing of a small military force in Hancock county until spring to prevent depredations on private property and preserve the peace; "that the Hon. N. H. Purple, judge of this judicial circuit be requested not to hold a court in Hancock county this fall;" as such court could not be holden without producing collision between the Mormon and Anti-Mormons and renewing excitement and disturbances.[20]

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18. Here might be asked the same questions that were propounded to the "Quincey Meeting" by Dr. Conyers when that meeting adopted a similar Resolution: "An army to be raised! And by whose orders—by what law—and for what purpose? We answer without orders, without law, and to drive free citizens, men, women and children, from their homes and their country, as the sequel will clearly show." (Hancock Co., Mob., p. 14).

19. The resolution embodying this statement received special sanction of Mr. Gregg (who was in attendance at the convention) both in his "Prophet of Palmyra" (pp. 337-8), and also in his "History of Hancock County," where he says that this particular resolution "is as much as the most ardent Anti-Mormon could ask (Sic!), and should forever shut the mouths of those Mormon apologists, who have regarded them as a persecuted people, only needing to be let alone." Of course! for have not their persecutors told them they were not persecuted? Considered from such premises there never has been such a thing in this world as persecution. No one has ever yet admitted he persecuted anybody. Every persecution named in history has either been denied or justified by the persecutors, and hence not persecution.

20. On this action Dr. Conyers comments as follows: "Instead of appealing to the legal tribunals of the country, and lending their influence to aid the Court in enforcing the law against all offenders whomsoever, here are learned members of the bar preparing resolutions, calling upon the Judical Court to step aside, and give full sway to the lawless, to be adopted by acclamation by hun-

The remaining resolutions related to providing for the publication of the Convention's proceedings, and for an extensive military organization" throughout the nine counties represented.

It will be observed from the whole proceedings of this Carthage Convention that those recently guilty of mob violence, house burning and otherwise destroying and confiscating the property of the Saints,[21] were to be protected from prosecution before the courts; and those who might have the temerity to prosecute them and vindicate the law, were threatened with a renewal of that same lawless violence from which they had already suffered so much.

Governor Ford seems to have acted upon the suggestions of the Carthage Convention. The pledges given to the Quincy Committee, and renewed to the Governor's Committee, *Messrs.* Hardin, Douglas *et al.*, to leave the state in the ensuing spring, was apparently deemed sufficient to pacify the county, and the troops which General Hardin brought with him, numbering four hundred, were withdrawn, except one hundred,

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in assaults upon the Saints in Hancock County is proven from the following statement of Sheriff Backenstos: "Many Mormons who were burnt out in the Southwest part of this county, were employed for the last ten or twelve days in removing their household furniture, other moveables, and grain to Nauvoo city. After they had finished hauling their goods, they proceeded to gather and drive their cattle from the infested district to Nauvoo, but could not find them. There are many who are willing to make affidavit that their cattle were left in the hands of the mob when they were exterminated, and when they went in search for their cattle afterwards could not find them. More than 200 head of cattle are missing in this way, according to complaints made to me. There are also complaints by several Mormons that horses have been stolen from them. There are also many articles of minor importance reported to me as having been stolen from the Mormons. Some 50 head of cattle are reported to have been stolen from the settlement about five miles east of Warsaw, and about the same number near Carthage. The cattle which are said to have been stolen near Carthage and Warsaw, belong mostly to B. F. Marsh, Esq., and the *Messrs.* Chandlers, near Warsaw, and to *Messrs.* Mullen and Fails, and Mr. Alexander Barnes, near Carthage. There were also stolen from Ebenezer Rand, Esq., of Carthage, two bee gums; a Mrs. Hawley reports some clothing missing. * * * It is nothing more than reasonable to suppose that men who will burn houses, barns, grain and other property, and who will drive and exterminate United States postmasters and other officers, from their offices and homes with force of arms, under the penalty of death, are none too good to steal cattle, horses and sheep, too." Proclamation No. V.

21. The fact that other property than the burning of houses being involved dreds of men, many of whom were just out of a mob of house-burners, the smoke of which had not yet passed out of view" ("Hancock County Mob," p. 22). These same incendiaries demanding, it might be added, through one of the resolutions passed by the convention (No. 4), "as an indispensable condition to the pacification of the county that the old citizens of the county be permitted to return to their homes, unmolested by the present sheriff, and the Mormons, for anything alleged against them;" and this under the threat of "renewal of the late disorders"—mob-violence and house-burning!

principally from Adams county, which were left under command of Major Warren, to keep the peace and maintain order. According to Governor Ford, Warren's policy was not satisfactory to either side to the controversy. Warren "was ready to enforce arrests of criminals for new offenses on either side," says Ford, "and this pleased neither the Mormons nor the Anti-Mormons. Civil war was on the point of breaking out more than a dozen times during the winter. Both parties complained of Major Warren."[22]

During these days it must be remembered that Nauvoo was without municipal government, her charters having been repealed by the legislature; and anarchy existed in the county, and, for the Saints, in the state also; for there was no protection of life or property where they were concerned. Under these circumstances it is small wonder if irregularities existed in Nauvoo. Desperate and lawless men, not of Mormon faith, flocked to the city as to a rendezvous, because it had been falsely heralded abroad as the gathering place of thieves, counterfeiters and murderers; and it was all too easy to charge their crimes to the Saints and have them generally regarded as instances of "Mormon lawlessness."

It was in the midst of these conditions, and as some slight means of protection and defense that the somewhat famous "whistling and whittling brigade" of Nauvoo was formed. These consisted of troops of boys armed with strong jack-knives or bowie knives and sticks; and who, when a suspected or undesirable stranger was found upon the streets of the city, would gather round him and whistle and whittle vigorously, following him wherever he went. They spoke no word, they answered no questions, they just whistled and whittled, but constantly gathered closer round the stranger. They were too small individually for him to strike, but too many for him to fight; and finally exasperated and yet helpless the victim would leave Nauvoo. Thus many thieves and otherwise undesirable characters who, under one pretext or another, came to prey upon the city's misfortunes were gotten rid of without any real violence.[23]

22. Hist. of Ill., Ford, pp. 411-12.

23. Linn charges that this manner of getting rid of "undesirables" was employed against those who came to inquire for stolen goods ("Story of the Mor-

It was from the midst of such conditions also, that is in the absence of a city government, the general reign of anarchy that prevailed in Hancock county, and the almost certainty of death in the event of surrendering themselves to officers of the law, who had become but the agents of mobs, that some of the leading brethren at Nauvoo—notably President Brigham Young[24] and Elder John Taylor[25]—declared their determination not to submit to arrest, only to be dragged into the midst of their enemies to be murdered as were Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Moreover it was part of the understanding in connection with the promise of the Church leaders to leave in the Spring that all hostilities, and vexatious law suits should cease, and to this end the Carthage Convention had suggested the suspension of the courts in Hancock county in order to lessen the likelihood of collision between the Saints and their enemies, and also in order that the Church and its leaders might proceed freely with their preparations for the proposed great exodus in the Spring.[26] Yet in addition to the general record of repeated annoyances on the part of the mob towards the Church leaders, an editorial in the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* under the title "Treachery," could say in truth:

"*Treachery!*—The most solemn assurances made in the agreement for the Latter-day Saints to leave the United States next Spring, was, that all hostilities, vexatious law suits should cease; but it is reported, right in the face and eyes of the committees and conventions, that the mob had made complaints and got out writs in Iowa against the Twelve in order to demand them of Governor Ford under martial law. If there is anything like stopping the effusion of blood, or any honor in that move,

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mons," p. 261). There is no evidence that the action was directed to such persons, certainly none that it was confined to such cases. The fact was that the city was helpless in the presence of such evils as were being forced upon it, and the "whistling and whittling Brigade" was a device for protection against such persons as a police force, under normal conditions, would have controlled.

24. Journal of Discourses, Vol. V, p. 78; also Vol. II, p. 317; also "Historical Record," Jensen, p. 10.

25. Taylor's Journal—*Ms*—entry under April 13th, 1845. These declarations led Major Warren in the winter of 1846 to interview the brethren and upbraid them for what he called their "resistance to law."

26. See closing paragraphs of Brigham Young's answer to Quincy, Committee also made part of answer to *Messrs.* Hardin, Douglas, *et al* ante, this chapter; also Carthage Convention resolutions, No. 4.

we have forgot the meaning of confidence. We never have resisted law nor do we mean to, but we leave the world to judge what faith is to be placed in mob promises; or what confidence may be put in committee or convention pledges![27]

Thus while great efforts were being put forth by the people who were about to sacrifice the farms, gardens and homes they had redeemed from a wilderness, and in every way were trying to fulfill their agreement with the mob forces, the conditions of removal were constantly violated by the mob party of the old settlers, and threats even made of following the Church leaders into Iowa to effect their arrest under martial law in that Territory.[28]

Notwithstanding this, however, every exertion was made by the citizens of Nauvoo to be ready for the great exodus in the spring[29]

The Temple had been so far completed that a conference was held in it on the sixth of October. Among other things done at this conference was the making of a convenant proposed by Brigham Young and unanimously carried—"That we take all the Saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and property." After the motion was carried unanimously President Young remarked "If you will be faithful to your covenant, I will now prophecy that the Great God 'will shower down means upon this people to accomplish it to the very letter.'" Elder W. W. Whelps was appointed to make provision for the writing of books for the education of the youth in the new location. It was ordered by the conference that a perfect settlement with the Trustees in Trust of the Church and with the Temple Committee be made, both as to tithing and Temple offerings, that the Saints might "not go away indebted to the Lord." It

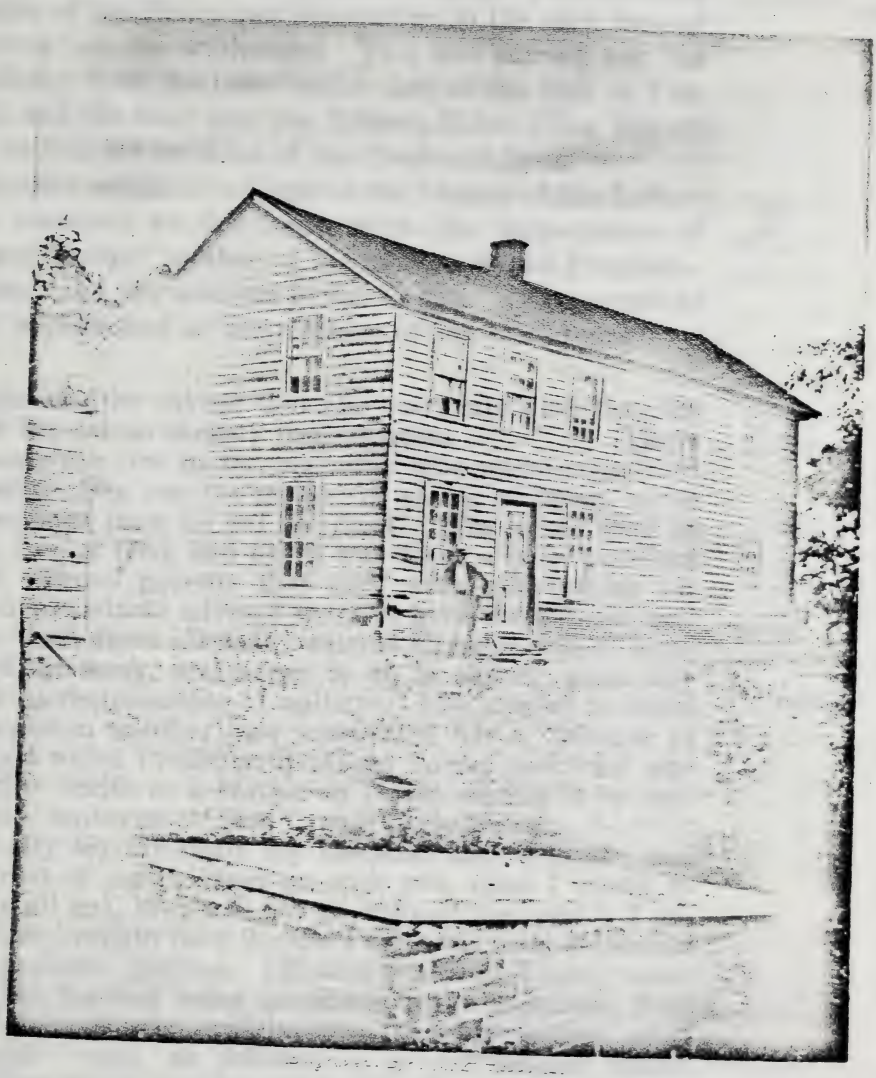
27. *Nauvoo Neighbor,* Oct. 29, 1845. Following the paragraph in the text is this notice, and it deals with events occurring after the Mormon agreement to leave in the Spring, and after the preservation of peace had been committed to Major Warren and his troops: "We understand some eight or ten buildings have been burned by the mob, in the south part of the county, but Major Warren said he would probably be there in a few days, with the governor's troops!"

28. Governor Ford makes reference to this threatened arrest of the Twelve by military authority. See note 2, end of chapter.

29. In the *Times* and *Seasons* for 15th of December, 1845 (p. 103), it is reported that "at a meeting held in the 'Music Hall,' it was stated that 3,285 families were making ready with 1,508 wagons on hand, and 1,892 building." For outfits considered necessary for each family of five persons see note 3, end of chapter.

THE OLD SMITH HOME AT NAUVOO

This was the home of Mother Lucy Smith at the time of the exodus; and formerly the home of the Prophet. In the foreground is the grave of Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet; and it is near this grave that the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith are supposed to be buried.



The old Smith home at Nauvoo
And Grave of Emma Smith.

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was also voted to discontinue the Nauvoo *Neighbor,* but continue the publication of the *Times and Seasons* up to the very time of their departure into the wilderness. This was carried out, the last issue coming from the press under date of the 15th of February, 1846, and the next day the Editor, Elder John Taylor, left the city to join his brethren of the Twelve in Iowa.

One of the most pathetic incidents in the history of the Latter-day Saints occurred at this conference—the appearance of "Mother Lucy Smith," mother of the now martyred Prophet—upon the stand, and her address to the Saints. The account of the incident is published in the minutes of the conference:

"She commenced by saying that she was truly glad that the Lord had let her see so large a congregation. * * * There were comparatively few in the assembly who were acquainted with her family. She was the mother of eleven children, seven of whom were boys [now all but one dead]. She raised them in the fear and love of God, and never was there a more obedient family. She warned parents that they were accountable for their children's conduct; advised them to give them books and work to keep them from idleness; warned all to be full of love; goodness and kindness; and never to do in secret, what they would not do in the presence of millions. She wished to know of the congregation whether they considered her a "Mother in Israel"—(upon which President Brigham Young said:"All who consider Mother Smith as a Mother in Israel, signify it by saying yes"—one universal "Yes" rang throughout). * * * Here in this city lay my dead, my husband and children; and if so be the rest of my children go with you, (and I would to God they may all go), they will not go without me; and if I go, I want my bones brought back in case I die away, and deposited with my husband and children. (Mother Smith said many more good things, but the rest being inaudible to the reporters, they are lost. Brigham Young explained to the congregation what "Mother Smith" said, as follows: . . . "Mother Smith proposes a thing which rejoices my heart; she will go with us. I can answer for the authorities of the Church; we want her and her children to go with us; and I pledge myself in behalf of the authorities of the Church, that while we have anything they shall share with us. * * * And I pledge myself if Mother Smith goes with us and I outlive her, I will do my best to bring her bones back again, and deposit them with her children, and I

want to know if this people are willing to enter into a covenant to do the same? [unanimous vote in the affirmative].[30]

Nauvoo presented a busy scene those days. Men were hurrying to and fro collecting wagons and putting them in repair; the roar of the smith's forge was well nigh perpetual, and even the stillness of the night was broken by the steady beating of the sledge and the ringing of anvils. Committees were seeking purchasers of real estate and converting both that and personal property into anything that would be of service to those just about to plunge into an unknown wilderness; and purchasers were thronging Nauvoo, intermittently, to take advantage of those bargains in houses and lands which the necessities of the Saints threw in their way; and which they could purchase "lower than the prices at a Sheriff's sale."[31]

To give an earnest of the intentions of the Mormons to leave the state where they had suffered so much, and to thereby remove all occasion for the implacable wrath of their enemies, who were so impatient that they could not wait for Spring to come for the sacrifice of their victims, the Twelve and the High council, with about four hundred families, crossed the Mississippi on the ice on the 11th of February, 1846; and were soon lost to view in the wilderness of Iowa. Other companies continued to follow as fast as they could make ready, until by the latter part of April, the great body of the Church had left Nauvoo; to them, since the martyrdom, the beloved *"City of Joseph."*

NOTE 1. BRIGHAM YOUNG AND JOHN TAYLOR'S "RESISTANCE TO LAW" AT NAUVOO: On the occasion of Mayor Warren going to Nauvoo to protest against the alleged "Resistance to the Law" by President Young and John Taylor, Elder Taylor replied to him at length, and among other things said: "Major Warren, I stand before you as a man who has received deep injury from the citizens of this state, and consequently have some feelings. You talk, sir, about 'the majesty of the law, and maintaining the law:' why, sir, the law to us is a mere farce. For years past the law has been made use of only as an engine of oppression.

30. *Times* and *Seasons*, Vol. VI, Nov. 1st, 1845.
31. Ford's Hist. Ill., p. 412; and note 4, end of chapter.

We have received no protection from it. I have suffered under its cruel influence. You talk about your troops being efficient, supporting law and preserving peace. This tale may do to tell some, but it fails to charm us. . . . You talk about the majesty of the law! what has become of those murderers? [i. e. of Joseph and Hyrum Smith]. Have they been hung or shot, or in any way punished? No, sir, you know they have not. With their hands yet reeking in blood, having become hardened in their deeds of infamy, knowing that they will not be punished, they are now applying the torch to the houses of those they have so deeply injured? What has been done to them under your administration? Have they been brought to justice, have they been punished for their infamous proceedings? No, sir, not one of them. They are still burning houses under your supervision; and you have either been unwilling or unable to stop them. Houses have been burned since your arrival here, men have been kidnapped, cattle stolen, our brethren abused and robbed when going after their corn. Are we to stand still and let marauders and house-burners come into our city under the real or assumed name of 'governor's troops,' and yet offer no resistance to their nefarious deeds? Are we to be held still by you, while they thrust the hot iron into us? I tell you plainly, for one, *I will not do it.* I speak now on my own responsibility, and I tell you, sir, I will not stand it, I care nothing for your decrees, your martial law or any other law, I mean to protect myself; and if my brethren are to be insulted and abused in going after their own corn, and pursuing their lawful business —if nobody else will go to protect them I will. They shall not be abused under pretext of law or anything else; and there is not a patriot in the world but what would bear me out in it." (Life of John Taylor, p. 165).

Note 2. Governor Ford on the Threat to Arrest the Twelve by Military Authority: The reference to this matter occurs in the following passage in Ford's "History of Illinois," (p. 413). "The Twelve Apostles went first [speaking of the exodus] and two thousand of their followers: Indictments had been found against nine of them in the circuit court of the United States for the district of Illinois, at its December term, 1845, for counterfeiting the current coin of the United States. The United States Marshal had applied to me for a militia force to arrest them; but in pursuance of the amnesty agreed on for old offences, believing that the arrest of the accused would prevent the removal of the Mormons, and that if arrested there was not

the least chance that any of them would ever be convicted. I declined the application unless regularly called upon by the President of the United States according to law. It was generally agreed that it would be impolitic to arrest the leaders and thus put an end to the preparations for removal when it was notorious that none of them would be convicted; for they always commanded evidence and witnesses enough to make a conviction impossible.[32] But with a view to hasten their removal *they were made to believe that the President would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring.* This had its intended effect; the Twelve, with about two thousand of their followers, immediately crossed the Mississippi before the breaking of the ice. But before this the deputy marshal had sought to arrest the accused without success."

There is not the slightest evidence in existence that "the Twelve" were in any way connected with alleged counterfeiting operations at Nauvoo, it was clearly a "trumped up charge." The passage from Ford's History discloses the fact, however, that by the subterfuge of making the Twelve believe—if they did believe it—that the U. S. army would be sent to Nauvoo in the spring, Governor Ford himself was a party to those annoyances from which the Saints suffered while making preparations for their exodus from the United States.

Note 3. Outfit Necessary for a Family of Five.

Bill of Particulars.

For the emigrants leaving This Government next spring.

Each family consisting of five persons, to be provided with

1 good strong wagon well covered with a light box.
2 or 3 good yoke of oxen between the age of 4 and 10 years.
2 or more milch cows.
1 or more good beeves.
3 sheep if they can be obtained.
1,000 lbs. of flour or other bread, or bread stuffs in good sacks.
1 good musket or rifle to each male over the age of twelve years.
1 lb. powder.
4 do. lead.
1 do. Tea.

32. Governor Ford is utterly unwarranted in this assertion by any evidence that may be referred to in the History of the Latter-day Saints in Illinois.

5 do. Coffee.
100 do. Sugar.
1 do. Cayenne Pepper.
2 do. Black do.
½ do. Mustard.
10 do. Rice for each family.
1 do. Cinnamon.
½ do. cloves.
1 doz. Nutmegs.
25 lbs. Salt.
5 do. Saleratus.
10 do. Dried Apples.
1 bush. of Beans.
A few lbs. of dried Beef or Bacon.
5 lbs. dried Peaches.
20 do. do. Pumpkin.
25 do. Seed Grain.
1 gal. Alcohol.
20 lbs. of Soap each family
4 or 5 fish hooks and lines.
15 lbs. Iron and Steel.
A few lbs. of Wrought Nails.
One or more sets of saw or grist mill Irons to company of 100 families.
2 sets of Pulley Blocks and ropes to each company for crossing rivers.
1 good Seine and hook for each company.
From 25 to 100 lbs. of Farming & mechanical tools.
Cooking utensils to consist of a Bake kettle, frying pan, coffee pot, & tea kettle.
Tin cups, plates, knives, forks, spoons, & pans as few as will do.
A good tent and furniture to each 2 families.
Clothing and bedding to each family, not to exceed 500 pounds.
Ten extra teams for each company of 100 families.

N. B.—In addition to the above list, horse and mule teams, can be used as well as oxen. Many items of comfort and convenience will suggest themselves to a wise and provident people, and can be laid in in season; but none should start without filling the original bill. (*Nauvoo Neighbor,* Oct. 19, 1845.)

NOTE 4. SACRIFICE OF PROPERTY BY THE SAINTS ON LEAVING NAUVOO: "During the winter of 1845-'6 the Mormons made the most prodigious preparations for removal. All the houses in Nauvoo, and even the temple,[33] were converted into work-shops; and before spring, more than twelve thousand wagons were in readiness. The people from all parts of the country flocked to Nauvoo to purchase houses and farms, which were sold extremely low, lower than the prices at a sheriff's sale, for money, wagons, horses, oxen, cattle, and other articles of personal property, which might be needed by the Mormons in their exodus into the wilderness." (Ford's Hist. Ill., p. 412).

Of this sacrifice H. H. Bancroft writes: "The arbitrary acts

33. The Governor is mistaken as to the Temple being converted into a workshop. The workshops of the temple, however, were used in making preparations for the move West.

of the people of Illinois in forcing the departure of the Saints lays them open to the grave charge among others of a desire to possess their property for less than its value. Houses and lots, farms and merchandise, could not be turned into money, or even into wagons and live-stock, in a moment, except at a ruinous sacrifice. . . . It was not a noble sentiment which had actuated the people of Missouri; it was not a noble sentiment which now actuated the people of Illinois, thus to continue their persecutions during the preparations for departure, and drive a whole cityful from their homes out upon the bleak prairie in the dead of winter.

"There was but little money in circulation throughout the west at that time. Over vast wild sections skins were the only currency, and at the settlements traffic for the most part assumed the form of barter or exchange of labor. It was, therefore, exceedingly difficult, as I have said, for the saints to get their property into portable form, even after selling their lands at half or quarter their value. The gentiles, of course, could pay what they pleased, being the only buyers, and the saints being forced to sell. . Moreover, there was more property thrown upon the market than could be taken at once, and the departure of so large and thrifty a portion of the population was of itself sufficient to depreciate property. The best they could do was to exchange their lands for wagons and horses and cattle, and this they did to as large extent as possible, scouring the country for a hundred miles around in search of livestock.

"And now, putting upon their animals and vehicles such of their household effects as they could carry, in small detachments the migratory saints began to leave Nauvoo. Before them was the ice-bound river, and beyond that the wilderness."

In a note, same page, Mr. Bancroft quotes from *MS*, sources the following: "The Mormons went up and down with their furniture, etc., and traded for anything that could travel, such as an animal or a wagon. . . .Another company went out in May, but they did not sell their property, leaving it in the hands of trustees to sell." Wells' Narrative, Ms., 37. "Their two-story brick house, which they had occupied but three months, and which they had denied themselves in every way to build, Mrs. Richards says was sold for 'two yoke of half-broken cattle and an old wagon.' *Reminiscences,* MS., 20. (Bancroft's Utah, pp. 216-7)."

CHAPTER LX

The Rise of Mob Forces—A State's Abdication of Government—The Battle of Nauvoo—Final Exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo—The Temple Desecrated and in Ruins

After the departure of the great body of the Church from Nauvoo, which, as I have said was accomplished by the latter part of April, 1846,[1] purchasers for the property of such as remained, and also of those who had departed without selling their houses and lands, became fewer, and prices lower, since prospective buyers from a distance and the people immediately surrounding Nauvoo saw no need of purchasing property at a fair price, which inevitably must become theirs at their own price. The result of this condition was that it became impossible for this remnant consisting, for the most part, of the destitute, the aged, infirm and sick, to remove. And surely a people who had still any faith left in humanity, would be justified in the belief that these could remain until an asylum was found for them by their friends, who had already gone in search of a new place of settlement. But in this, be it said to the shame of Illinois, they were deceived.

During the preparations for the exodus, Major Warren had been stationed with a small military force in Hancock county, to keep the peace; but about the middle of April he received orders to disband his force[2] on the first of May, as that was adjudged by "the public expectation," to use a phrase of Major Warren's, when the last of the Mormons would have left the state. As soon as it was understood that there were still left in Nauvoo a number of Mormons who would likely remain through the summer to continue efforts to dispose of property, an uproar

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1. Governor Ford says: "By the middle of May it was estimated that sixteen thousand Mormons had crossed the Mississippi and taken up their line of march with their personal property, their wives and little ones, westward across the continent to Oregon or California; leaving behind them in Nauvoo a small remnant of a thousand souls, being those who were unable to sell their property, or, who having no property to sell, were unable to get away." (Hist. Ill., p. 412).

2. At first these numbered 100 men; during the winter they were reduced to 50; and then again to ten men, which force was continued until the last of May" (Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 411).

was raised in the surrounding counties, meetings were held and resolutions adopted, demanding that they leave at once, under threats of "extermination."[3] When the governor saw this new furor breaking out, he countermanded his order to Major Warren, and ordered him to hold his position and to preserve the peace until he received further orders.

Major Warren took up his quarters at the "Mansion" in Nauvoo, and on the 14th of May sent a dispatch to the Warsaw Signal to the effect that "the Mormons were leaving with all possible speed: that the ferry was crossing as fast as possible; that an estimate of 450 teams and 1,350 souls had left within the week: that new settlers were taking their places, etc. Information was also received from LaHarpe, Ramus and other points, that the Mormons were fast leaving these neighborhoods. On the 22nd he reported: "The Mormons still continue to leave the city in large numbers. The ferry at this place averages about 32 teams per day, and at Fort Madison, 45. Thus it will be seen that 539 teams have left during the week, which average about three persons to each, making in all 1,617 souls."[4]

The new impetus given to mob violence, however, was not to spend its force without occasioning some outrage, and a number of cowardly attacks were made upon the Saints.[5] On the 11t

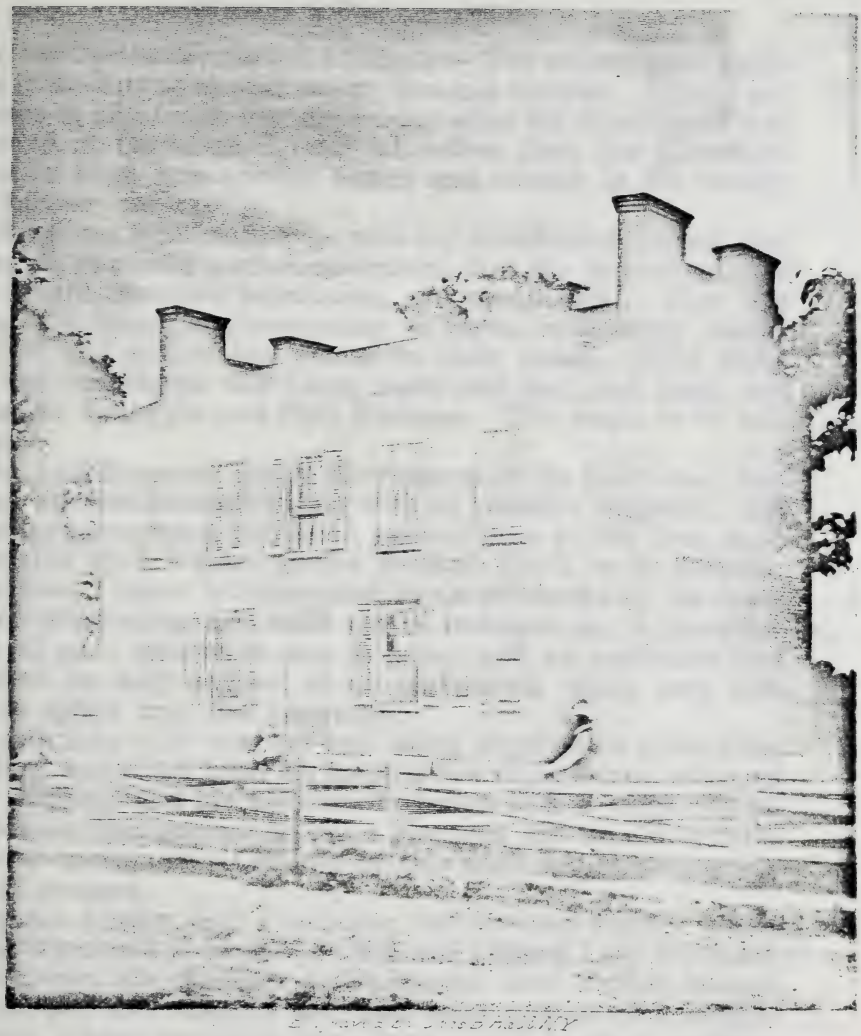
3. The Anti-Mormon meeting at Quincy, Adam's county, passed a preamble and resolutions exceptionally bitter. This on the 29th of April. In the resolution passed it was said that if any portion of the Mormons attempt to remain in the state "they will find, as they have always heretofore found, an overwhelming majority of the people against them." The advice of those who would encourage any of them to remain would be "a mill stone about their necks." An attempt for any of them to remain would "bring down upon them retributive vengence of the old citizens of Hancock and the surrounding counties and lead to their summary expulsion from the state, and we fear, *to their extermination.* * * * In case of hostilities between them and the old citizens they will find us [people of Adam's county], doing battle with the latter." Mormons in Adams county were expected to leave the state as well as those in Hancock county. The resolutions are found *in extenso* in the *Quincy Whig* of April 29th, 1844; also in "Hancock County Mob"—Conyers—pp. 26-28.

4. Hist. Hancock County—Gregg—pp. 346-7.

5. See Warren's Circular to "Citizens of Hancock County," 11th of May. See also copies of *Hancock Eagle* for June, especially Extra. The *Eagle* was conducted by Dr. Wm. E. Matlack, a "new citizen;" it was a Democratic paper, and appeared about the first of April. The *Quincy Whig* of the 17th of June said: "It seems from this extra," of the *Hancock Eagle,* that parties of the Anti-Mormons have assembled at different points in the county, and had commenced driving off the Mormons, and those who upheld them. * * * The Nauvoo extra says that several individuals have been scourged with a hickory goad—and that one woman had been so severely whipped that the blood ran down to her heels." Whipping the woman the *Whig* discredits, but adds: "We are willing to believe

THE HOME OF WILFORD WOODRUFF AT NAUVOO

Wilford Woodruff was one of the Twelve Apostles at Nauvoo and later became President of the Church in Utah, 1887-1898. His house in Nauvoo stood on the corner of Durphey and Hotchkiss streets. He who lived in this plain, old house became one of the first and greatest pioneers of the intermountain West.



The home of Wilford Woodruff
at Nauvoo

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of May, Major Warren found it necessary to issue the following proclamation, which appears in the *Quincy Whig* of May 20th:

WARREN'S PROCLAMATION

"*To the Citizens of Hancock County*:—The undersigned again deems it his duty to appear before you in a circular. It may not be known to all of you, that on the day after my detachment was disbanded at Carthage, I received orders from the Executive to muster them into service again, and remain in the county until further orders.

"I have now been in Nauvoo with my detachment a week, and can say to you with perfect assurance, that the demonstrations made by the Mormon population, are unequivocal. They are leaving the State, and preparing to leave, with every means that God and nature has placed in their hands. Five ferry boats are running at this place night and day, and many are crossing at Nashville and Fort Madison. This ought to be satisfactory.

"The Anti-Mormons desire the removal of the Mormons; this is being effected peaceably, and with all possible despatch. All aggressive movements, therefore, against them at this time, must be actuated by a wanton desire to shed blood, or to plunder. This course, I know, is deprecated by three-fourths of the Anti-Mormon population, and must not be indulged in. I therefore exhort all good citizens to stay at home, with an assurance that they shall be duly advised of all movements which may take place, in which they feel interested.

"A man near sixty years of age, living about seven miles from this place, was taken from his house a few nights since, stripped of his clothing, and his back cut to pieces with a whip, for no other reason than because he was a Mormon, and too old to make successful resistance. Conduct of this kind would disgrace a horde of savages.

"Captain Agnew, near Pontoosuc, has received written orders over the signature of Major M'Calla and Colonel Levi Williams, to rendezvous his company at Pontoosuc, next Friday, armed and equipped according to law, and other notices of a similar character, I have no doubt, have been issued to other portions of the county.

"How Squire M'Calla and Colonel Williams can reconcile con-

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that severe measures have been resorted to, in many cases to compel the absence of certain obnoxious individuals." So imminent appeared the danger of an attack upon the city at this time that Dr. Matlack boxed his press and type in preparation for hasty moving. The *Whig* article of 17th of June is quoted in Conyers "Hancock County Mob," pp. 33-34.

duct of this kind with the resolutions adopted at Carthage, a few weeks since, determining to await the action of the neighboring counties, (in the adoption of which resolutions they both acted a conspicuous part), is not for me to say. But, I beg leave to remind them, that an order was issued last fall, (when the troops came into the county), that not more than four armed men should assemble together, other than the State troops. This order has never been withdrawn, and will be enforced.

"The force under my command is numerically small; but backed as I am, by the moral force of the law, and possessing, as I do, the confidence of nine-tenths of the respectable portion of the old citizens, my force is able to meet, successfully, any mob which can be assembled in the county; and if any such force does assemble, they or I will leave the field in double quick time.

"To the Mormons I would say, go on with your preparations, and leave as fast as you can. Leave the fighting to be done by my detachment. If we are overpowered, then re-cross the river and defend yourselves and property.

"W. B. Warren.
"Major, Commanding Illinois Volunteers.
"Nauvoo, May 11th, 1846."

Major Warren's reference in the above proclamation to the fact, that there existed a previous military order "that not more than four armed men other than state troops" should assemble in Hancock county, and his declared competence and intention in Hancock County, and his declared competence and intention to enforce that order and make amenable to the law those who attempted mischief by mob violence, had the effect of quieting matters down for a time, but only until Major Warren's force was disbanded.

A meeting was held at Carthage on the sixth of June, to make preparations for celebrating the Fourth of July, the national holiday. It was suggested at that meeting that, as all the Mormons had not left the state, the people of Hancock county could not be considered free; and under those circumstances, they ought not to celebrate the Fourth with the usual rejoicings. The meeting was therefore adjourned to convene on the twelfth, for the purpose of taking into consideration why it was that all Mormons had not left the city of Nauvoo. That "happened" to be the day fixed by the Governor on which to raise volunteers for the Mexican war, which, in the meantime, had been declared; so that

there was considerable excitement among the militia of Hancock county; and the mob leaders doubtless thought the time propitious for making a demonstration against the few Saints still remaining in Nauvoo.

A large body of men were found willing to march into that city, but it was learned that the new citizens who had purchased much of the property of the now exiled people, were unwilling to allow the mob forces to enter Nauvoo. Meeting with this unexpected opposition, the mob-militia marched to Golden's Point, distant from Nauvoo some six miles down the river.[6] At this juncture, Stephen Markham returned to Nauvoo from the camp of the Apostles for some Church property; but it was rumored by the anti-Mormons that he had returned with a large body of men. "Several hundred . . . completely armed, prepared and determined upon fighting;" and as Markham's name was a terror among the enemies of the Saints, the mob took to flight.[7]

The military committee at Quincy having control of the mob forces, either chagrined by the cowardice of those who had collected at Golden's Point, or appalled at the prospect of innocent blood being shed retired from the position which had been assigned them.[8] This disorganized the mob and they dispersed to their homes, but agreed to assemble again at the call of their leaders; and laid an injunction upon the Mormons remaining in Nauvoo not to go outside of the city limits, except in making their way westward.

This order of the mob, later in the summer, was disregarded by a party of new citizens and a few Saints who went into the country several miles, east of Nauvoo, to harvest a field of grain.[9] While engaged in their work, they were surrounded

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6. This "was a point of timber projecting into the prairie on the borders of Lary's Creek, in Sonora township, named from Abram Golding, a settler there at an early day." Gregg, Hist. Hancock Co., p. 473.

7. See Bancroft's Utah, p. 225; also "Liverpool Route," p. 68. The Historical part of this work is by F. D. Richards—long the Church Historian and General Church Recorder. Anti-Mormon statement will be found in *Quincy Whig*, June 24th. This last is a long explanatory and apologetic account of the Golden's Point fiasco. It is given in full in Conyer's "Hancock County Mob," pp. 37, 8, 9.

8. Conyer's Hancock County Mob, p. 42.

9. According to the *Hancock Eagle* (Nauvoo) the field where the Mormons were at work had been bought by a "new citizen," who had sent out both Mormons and new citizens to cut the grain." Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 347, note.

by a mob and captured. They were deprived of their arms, stripped of their clothing, and cruelly beaten with hickory goads.[10] This outrage created intense excitement in Nauvoo, and the new citizens and Saints made a united effort to bring the perpetrators of it to justice. But while the parties accused of the crime were under arrest, in the hands of the officers, a second Mormon party, consisting of Phineas H. Young, his son, Brigham Young, Richard Ballantyne, James Standing and Mr. Herring were kidnapped, and held by their tormentors fourteen days as hostages for the "safety" of those who had assaulted the harvesters; during which time they were constantly threatened with death. They finally escaped, however, and returned to Nauvoo.

The parties accused of making the assault on those in the harvest field, took a change of venue to Quincy, but were never brought to trial.

Among those arrested for attacking the party of harvesters was Major M'Calla; and in his possession was found a gun taken from the party of harvesters. The gun was recognized by several persons, among whom was Wm. Pickett, not a Mormon;"[11] and he it was who took the gun from M'Calla. For this action by Pickett M'Calla and his friends made out a charge of "stealing," and got warrants for the arrest of Pickett, Furness and Clifford. Pickett, it would seem, had incurred the hatred of the mob by Pickett, it would seem, had incurred the hatred of the mob by his bold resistance to their plans, and they desired to get him into their power. Word was brought to him by a friend that the warrant was merely a subterfuge to get him into the hands of his enemies; consequently, when one John Carlin, a special constable

10. The claim that this party of harvesters acted in a riotious and boisterous manner, shooting around the neighboring fields, using the stables of one of the old citizens for their horses, and feeding his oats, etc. (Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 347; also *Quincy Whig*, July 22nd, 1846, Ford's Hist. Ill., pp. 413-4), rests on insufficient evidence for credence. It is the statement merely of those who did the lynching and the affidavit of the wife of the man who collected the mob which made the assault (*Quincy Whig*, 22nd July). Moreover, as Conyers remarks, "If the Anti-Mormons were able to lynch them, . . . they were equally able to have punished them by legal process." (Hancock County Mob, p. 41).

11. History of Hancock County—Gregg—p. 347, where Pickett is referred to as among the "disorderly" new citizens of Nauvoo, because, apparently, he resisted mob-encroachment upon the rights of the people of Nauvoo. New citizens and remaining Mormons alike.

from Carthage, undertook to arrest him, he asked if he would guarantee his safety; being answered in the negative, Pickett resisted the officer and would not be taken. Though it is claimed afterwards, in company with several friends he went before the magistrate at Green Plains, who, it was said, issued the warrant for his arrest. But as this officer had no record of the warrant, he refused to put Pickett under arrest or hear the case. Of the other parties accused Furness was taken before the magistrate where he gave bail for his appearance and was set at liberty; Clifford, having been taken ill, was left at Nauvoo.

The mob, now, however, saw an opportunity to accomplish their purpose of destroying Nauvoo. An officer had been "resisted" by a citizen of that place, and his fellow citizens approved his course! "Nauvoo was in rebellion against the laws!" Carlin issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to come as a *posse comitatus,* to assist him in executing the law. And under this call the old mob forces of Hancock county were soon assembled at Carthage, and the command of the "posse" given to Captain Jas. W. Singleton, of Brown county, and J. B. Chittenden, of Adams county.

The citizens of Nauvoo petitioned the governor for protection, and he sent to them Major J. R. Parker, with a force of ten men from Fulton county; and also authorized him to take command of such forces as might volunteer to defend the city against any attacks that might be made upon it. He was also empowered "to pursue, and in aid of any peace officer with a proper warrant, arrest the rioters who may threaten or attempt such an attack, and bring them to trial;" to assist with an armed *posse* any peace officer in making an arrest, and with a like force to guard the prisoners, during the trial, and as long as he believed them in danger of mob violence. The commission bears date of August 24, 1846.[12]

Thus equipped, Major Parker went to Nauvoo and issued a proclamation calling upon the mobs then collecting, in the name of the people of Illinois, and by virtue of the authority vested in him by the Governor of the State to disperse. The issue, then, was

12. The commission is published in full in Conyer's Hancock County Mob, together with Parker's Proclamation announcing his appointment, etc., pp. 48, 49.

no longer between the mob forces and the Mormons; it was between the recognized authority of the State and this lawless banditti. Major Parker also announced that he was authorized and prepared to assist the proper officers in serving any writs in their hands.

In answer to this proclamation Carlin, "the special" Carthage constable issued a counter one to the effect that if he met with resistance from Parker, he would consider his detachment as a mob, and proceed accordingly. To which Parker replied, if the forces under Carlin undertook to enter Nauvoo, he would treat them as a mob. Parker also wrote secretly to Singleton, and expressed a desire to bring about a settlement of the difficulty without shedding blood. To this communication Singleton replied that in Parker's proposition he saw nothing looking to the expulsion of the remnant of the Mormon people left in Nauvoo; and "that is," said he, "*a sine qua non* with us." It will be remembered that Carlin's professed object in calling for a *posse* was to arrest William Pickett for resisting an officer; but now something more is demanded—the immediate removal of the Mormons, the surrender of Nauvoo, etc. Singleton concluded his terms to Parker, the representative and appointee of the Governor of the state, in these words:

"When I say to you, the Mormons must go, I speak the mind of the camp and the country. They can leave without force or injury to themselves or their property, but I say to you, sir, with all candor, they shall go—they may fix the time within sixty days, or I will fix it for them."

A basis of settlement, however, was finally agreed upon between Singleton and Chittenden, on the one part, and Parker on the other. The terms agreed upon were that the Mormons move out of the city, or disperse within sixty days. A force of twenty-five men to remain in the city during that time, half the expense of maintaining them to be paid by the people of Nauvoo; for which amount they were to give bond; that the Mormons surrender their arms, which should be returned to them after they left the state; that as soon as those arms were surrendered the forces under Singleton were to disperse; all

hostilities to cease between the respective parties as soon as the agreement was accepted.[13]

The singularity about this proposed agreement is that not one word is said about giving up Pickett, to arrest whom the forces under Singleton were ostensibly called out by Carlin, the special constable. Does it not reveal the fact that the Pickett episode was merely a ruse—a pretext for gathering a mob to drive away the helpless remnant of the Mormons, and sack Nauvoo?

This secretly arranged settlement concluded by Cols. Singleton and Chittenden on the part of the mob, and by Major Parker and others on the part of the citizens of Nauvoo, according to Gregg, was "unanimously rejected" by Singleton's forces, both by "His officers and men amid great excitement."[14]

At this Singleton and Chittenden withdrew from their commands, and one Thomas S. Brockman of Brown county, was put in command by Carlin. Parker also withdrew from service,[15] and Major Clifford succeeded him in command at Nauvoo by a commission from Governor Ford.

Brockman—now raised to the dignity of a "general"[16]—and

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13. The text of the treaty is given in Hancock County Mob, pp. 54, 55.

14. Hist. Hancock Co., p. 348. Ford's Hist. Ill., p. 417. Conyers is very severe in his criticism of Singleton and Chittenden, holding that this rejected "Singleton Treaty," was merely a scheme for their escape from the responsibility of attacking Nauvoo which began to loom up large to their vision. "These men," says Dr. Conyers, "had by a false proclamation, and in other ways, stirred up the excitement which called that mass of thoughtless people together. They knew well they were assembled in an unlawful manner; consequently they feared to accompany them further. Hence this treaty was brought up, behind which they retreated from the field, hoping and believing, no doubt, they had prepared for themselves a safe retreat."

He intimates that Singleton and Chittenden did not themselves present the treaty they had concluded to Carlin's *posse*, alias the mob forces at Carthage, numbering then about 800 men; but left that to be done by "an instrument who was ready to pervert truth." "Home they went," says Conyers, "with a treaty in their pockets, while they had left their companions ignorant of their designs, or, if to learn them at all, through an instrument who was ready to pervert the truth, and if possible, more desperate and reckless than themselves." (Hancock County Mob, p. 57).

15. Parker was undoubtedly a weak man, and an incompetent officer. Ford lamely apologizes for giving him the command of his *posse*, and the volunteers at Nauvoo, but insists that it was the best choice he could make, since such officers as had served upon former occasions, General Hardin, Major Warren *et al*, had enlisted in the U. S. Army and had gone to Mexico. Ford's Hist. Ill., p. 416.

16. Brockman and his antecedents are given by Governor Ford as follows: "This Brockman was a Campbellite preacher, nominally belonging to the Democratic Party. He was a large, awkward, uncouth, ignorant, semi-barbarian, ambitious of office, and bent upon acquiring notoriety. He had been county commis-

placed at the head of about eight hundred men,[17] with six pieces of cannon, made active preparations for an assault upon Nauvoo, taking a position on the south side of Mulholland street, about one mile east of the city.

At this juncture there appeared upon the scene what is frequently called the "Quincy Citizens' Committee of One Hundred," but which more properly should be called the "Quincy Anti-Mormon Committee," for it was selected by an Anti-Mormon public meeting held at Quincy: "Said Committee," remarks Dr. Conyers, was chosen and sent by "a meeting of Anti-Mormons of Quincy, in which meeting it was publicly proclaimed that none but decided Anti-Mormon men go on said committee."[18] "Nominally," says Conyers again, this was to be "a committee of meditation, but ostensibly to help the mob do what, to all appearances, they could not accomplish without the loss of blood."[19]

From his position at the head of Mulholland street Brockman issued his orders and the terms upon which he would grant peace. The terms he offered were much more outrageous than those proposed by Singleton and Chittenden:[20] and therefore rejected by the people of Nauvoo, both by Mormons and non-Mormons. Brockman addressed his insolent terms of peace to the "Commanding Officer of Nauvoo, and the Trustees of the

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sioner of Brown county, and in that capacity had let out a contract for building the court-house, and it was afterwards ascertained had let the contract to himself. He managed to get paid in advance, and then built such an inferior building, that the county had not received it up to Dec., 1846. He had also been a collector of taxes, for which he was a defaulter, and his lands were sold whilst I was governor, to pay a judgment obtained against him for moneys collected by him. To the bitterness of his religious prejudices against the Mormons, he added a hatred of their immoral practices [Sic!], probably because they differed from his own. Such was the man who was now at the head of the Anti-Mormons, who were about as numerous in camp as ever." (Hist of Ill., pp. 417-8).

17. The number under Brockman's command varies widely in the different accounts given of this assault upon Nauvoo. I follow Ford in my text (Hist. Ill., p. 416); Richards gives it as about 1,000 men; Gregg estimates it 700 men; (Hist. Hancock Co., p. 348) and the mob's report of the battle admits that 700 men were under Brockman's command, and 250 of Mormons and new citizens who opposed them. (Hist. Hancock Co., p. 350).

18. "Hancock County Mob," p. 61. Also *Quincy Whig*, Sept. 2nd. Ford also speaks of this Committee of 100 as "an Anti-Mormon Committee of one hundred from Quincy." (Hist. Ill., p. 423). Though called the "Committee of One Hundred" it "turned out to be less than sixty." Conyers' Hist. Hancock Co. Mob, p. 61.

19. Hancock Co. Mob, p. 59.

20. He presented two propositions in succession; the first dated Sept. 8th, and the second, called "Brockman's *Ultimatum*" on the 15th. Both documents are published in full in Conyers' Hancock Co. Mob, pp. 57 and 59, respectively.

Mormon Church." The "Commanding Officer" was Major Clifford, who had succeeded Major Parker in that position. He was vested with the Governor's commission as Parker had been, and it was to this representative of Illinois' executive that the demand of Brockman to surrender the city, and stack his arms, was addressed;[21] so that he and his mob forces were pitted against the laws and lawful authority of the state. Mobs, it would seem, had become more powerful than the state authorities; or, rather, the lawful authorities of the state were so lost to all sense of shame, so recreant to the trust reposed in them, so neglectful of the honor and dignity of the state, that, as the sequel will show, they permitted their own representatives to be driven in disgrace from the field by the mob led by Brockman: and furthermore those same authorities were so lost to every principle of humanity, that they permitted the helpless and unoffending people to be driven from their homes out into the wilderness, many of them to perish from exposure.

The citizens of Nauvoo were not willing to allow Brockman's mob to enter the city without making some effort to prevent him; and although their forces numbered not more than three hundred,[22] they presented a determined front to the mob. They

21. "Who was the 'commander' in Nauvoo, to which this demand to surrender, and stacking of arms was addressed? Was it not to Major Clifford, then in command, and who was acting under a commission and orders from the executive of the state, which orders, to our knowledge [Dr. Conyers with a number of other gentlemen from Quincy independently visited the scene of conflict, hence present on the occasion here referred to] were read to Mr. Brockman, but a few days before, in order that he might be apprised of whom and what he was warring against? Then, if it be true, that Major Clifford was ordered to defend that place, as none will deny, by the Governor, did not T. S. Brockman, on Sept. 15th, 1846, in his demand to all persons to march out and stack their arms immediately, as the Governor and commander-in-chief of Illinois had invested his name and authority in the person of Major Clifford, demand, through him, to the Governor of Illinois, to march out and ground his arms immediately? Will Governor Ford submit to this? Will the people of Illinois suffer such insolent indignities flung at them through their chief magistrate? 'March out and stack your arms immediately.' Will they, in sight of an intelligent world suffer this insurgent to run at large, in their midst, a triumphant conqueror (not of the civil only), but of the military power of this State? Are they willing that this shall be written as a part of their history?" (Hancock Co. Mob, pp. 59-60).

22. Governor Ford places the forces defending Nauvoo below the number of the text; "The Mormon party and their allies, being some of the new citizens under command of Major Clifford numbered at first about 250, but were diminished by desertions and removals, before any decisive fiighting took place, to about one hundred and fifty." (Hist. Ill., pp. 421-2). According to the same authority the mob under Brockman numbered "about eight hundred armed men, and six or seven hundred unarmed, who had assembled from all the country around from motives of curiosity, to see the once proud city of Nauvoo humbled, and delivered up to its enemies,

converted some steam-boat shafts into cannons—five pieces in all—and threw up fortifications on the north side of Mulholland street, facing the Mob's camp. These works were under command of Captain Andrew L. Lamoreaux.

On September 10th, 11th and 12th, there was some desultory firing on both sides, without much advantage being gained. On the thirteenth, however, the mob forces advanced in solid column from their encampment in the fields, making a desperate effort to reach Mulholland street, the principal street leading into Nauvoo from the east. If the onset was desperate, the resistance was equally determined. Brockman's column had nearly reached Mulholland street when a spirited attack on the part of the Nauvoo forces drove them back to the place of their morning encampment. This attack by the Nauvoo forces resulted in a number being killed and a still greater number being wounded.[23] When it is remembered that the attack upon Brockman's column of seven or eight hundred armed men, with six or seven hundred unarmed spectators—whom the attacking party from Nauvoo doubtless took also for the enemy—was made by a force of less than three hundred men; that they checked Brockman's column and drove his forces back to the place of their morning encampment, the achievement speaks well for the defenders of Nauvoo; for their courage, steadiness, and soldierly qualities. Among those who distinguished themselves in this engagement was Esquire Daniel H. Wells, one of the old settlers of Hancock county, on whose addition to the city plot the temple was erected, and who but a short time previous to Brockman's assault upon Nauvoo had formally accepted the faith of

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and to the domination of a self-constituted and irresponsible power." (Hist. of Ill., p. 424). Col. Thomas L. Kane gives the number of the mob troops that entered Nauvoo as 1,625, who "drove all forth who had not retreated before that time"—(i. e., 17th of September, 1846). (Address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26th, 1850.—Tyler's Mormon Battalion Introduction, p. 96).

23. Of the Nauvoo forces three were killed, Captain William Anderson; his son, Augustus L. Anderson, a lad but 15 years of age, both Mormons; and David Norris. Several were wounded. The number of the mob kill was always carefully concealed, none were reported by their surgeons, Drs. Berry and Charles, of Warsaw, but they reported twelve wounded, and gave their names. (Hist. Hancock County, p. 533). Dr. Conyers says one was killed on the Anti-Mormon side (Hancock County Mob, p. 80). Governor Ford says: "the Mormons claimed that they had killed thirty or forty of the 'Anties.' The 'Anties' claimed that they had killed thirty or forty of the Mormons." (Hist. of Ill., p. 423), which is doubtless an exaggeration as to the claims of both sides.

the Latter-day Saints by baptism (August 9th, 1846). The great injustice practiced towards the Latter-day Saints, as well by those who constituted the state and local administration of the law, as by the old citizens, aroused the fierce indignation of "Squire Wells," as he was familiarly called; and in all their conflicts and difficulties he was their ardent and undeviating friend; and now their brother by formal acceptance of the faith. He was a tower of strength to them in resisting the advancement of Brockman's forces in this day of battle, and the success of the attack which checked the forward movement of Brockman's mob was largely due to his brave and timely action in leading Captain Andrew L. Lamoreaux's company into action to the support of Captain Hiram Gates and William L. Cuttler's companies already hard pressed by the overwhelming odds against which they fought.[24] Henceforth he will be known as a prominent leader in all the affairs of the Church until the close of his eventful life.

Negotiations for peace were now renewed through the agency of the "Quincy Committee." The citizens of Nauvoo, seeing that the state authorities would render them no assistance, but permitted even their own authority to be braved by a lawless mob, and knowing that they would eventually be overpowered, submitted to the following terms of settlement:

Treaty of Surrender

Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into, this sixteenth of September, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Haywood, and John S. Fullmer,

24. "The main shock of the conflict was sustained for a time by Gates' and Cuttler's companies, and they must inevitably have been overpowered by the superior numbers of the mob, had not Esquire Wells come up with Lamoreaux's company to reinforce them. The doughty squire had ridden across an open field exposed to the fire of the enemy, to where Lamoreaux's company lay behind their fortifications. He called upon them to advance at once to check the approach of the mob. There was one brave spirit who needed no second call to perform his duty. That was William Anderson, Captain of what was known as the "Spartan Band." He leaped from behind the trenches and calling on his men to follow, started for the front. The rest of Lamoreaux's company did not so readily respond, and manifested a disposition to retreat rather than advance. Squire Wells, observing this, and seeing Anderson and his few brave followers rushing head long into the conflict, raised in his stirrups, and swinging his hat, shouted: "Hurrah for Anderson! Who wouldn't follow the brave Anderson!" This rallied the spirits, of the rest of Lamoreaux's company, and they followed the 'Squire' to the front, where they were soon firing as steadily as their comrades. (Rise and Fall of Nauvoo, 1900, Roberts, p. 364).

Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the posse, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the posse of Hancock county, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

1. The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Col. Brockman, to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock P. M.

2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

3. The Quincy committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the state or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

6. Five men, including the Trustees of the Church, and five clerks, with their families, (Wm. Pickett not one of the number,)[25] to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy committee, to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper. We the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify, and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year first above written.

ALMON W. BABITT,
JOSEPH L. HAYWOOD,
JOHN S. FULMER,
Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
Chairman of the Com. of Quincy.
THOS. S. BROCKMAN,
Commanding Posse.
JOHN CARLIN,
Special Constable.

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25. Singular provision, this! The whole purpose of calling into existence Carlin's *posse comitatus* which merged into Brockman's mob was to arrest this man William Pickett. Now that the *posse* is to enter Nauvoo under a treaty for that City's surrender, a treaty which Carlin signs as special constable, and Brockman as commander of the *posse*, this man Pickett is so far from being "wanted" that instead of making his surrender to the officer a stipulation of the treaty, a demand is made that he shall not remain in the city! As remarked by Dr. Conyers, "They notified the world that he (Pickett) was still there; and instead of making a

As soon as these terms of surrender were signed, there was a hasty flight of the Mormon population and also of those new citizens who had taken part in the defense of Nauvoo, as they had no confidence that the terms of the treaty would be respected. Brockman and his force marched through the city in the afternoon of the 17th, and camped in the South side of it near the river. The march through the city is said to have been orderly, without the least "trespass upon persons or property." "The streets were deserted—the most obnoxious persons had left the city, leaving but little to provoke the resentment of the victors."[26] But if this orderly conduct was true as to Brockman's forces marching into the city and going into encampment, restraint was soon abandoned and a reign of riot, drunkenness and robbery took its place. And this upon the same authority as that which reports the orderly entrance into the city, Mr. Brayman, the special representative of Governor Ford, on this as on former occasions when the executive considered reliable information necessary on Nauvoo affairs.[27] The orderly entrance into Nauvoo was made on Thursday, the next day, Friday, the 18th, Mr. Brayman reports:

"On my return from Carthage to the city, on Friday about noon, I learned that the 'Quincy Committee' had closed its labors at sunrise, and left for home, leaving a sub-committee to complete the reception and delivery of the arms of those Mormons who had not departed.

"I also learned that, in addition to the duty which Gen. Brockman had assumed, under treaty of superintending the removal of the Mormons from the State, had issued an order for the expulsion from the State of all who had borne arms in defense of the city against his force, and all who were in any manner identified with the Mormons.

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demand for the surrender of his body, a condition is put in that he must take his body off, out of their reach. From all of which circumstances" our author concludes, *"we are forced to the opinion that Carlin never had a properly obtained writ in his possession against the said William Pickett."* (Hancock County Mob, p. 63).

26. Brayman's Report to Governor Ford, quoted in Conyers' Hancock Mob, pp. 73. Brayman also reports that Brockman exacted from every individual of his command, and even of the spectators of his entrance into the city, that "they would obey orders and respect persons and property" (Ibid).

27. Mr. Brayman was so employed as early as July, 1843. See Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, pp. 429-30; also p. 524. Also Ford's Hist. Ill., ch. XIII, *passim;* and Gregg Hist. of Hancock Co., p. 354.

"It could scarcely be believed that such an order, in such palpable and gross violation of the unanimous pledge which had been endorsed by the 'Quincy Committee,' had been given. But, on applying to Gen. Brockman, I learned that such an order had been given, and would be executed. This order was rigorously enforced throughout the day, with many circumstances of the utmost cruelty and injustice. *Bands of armed men traversed the city, entering the houses of citizens, robbing them of arms, throwing their household goods out of doors, insulting them, and threatening their lives. Many were seized, and marched to the camp, and after a military examination, set across the river, for the crime of sympathising with the Mormons, or the still more heinous offense of fighting in defense of the city, under the command of officers commissioned by you,* [*i. e. the Governor*] *and instructed to make that defense. It is, indeed, painfully true, that many citizens of this State, have been driven from it by an armed force, because impelled by our* [*state administration*] *encouragement, and a sense of duty, they have bravely defended their homes, and the homes of their neighbors, from the assaults of a force, assembled for unlawful purposes.*

"In the face of the pledge given 'to protect persons and property from all violence,' (excepting, of course, Mormon persons and property), it may be estimated that nearly one-half of the new citizens of Nauvoo have been forced from their homes, and dare not return. Thus far, these citizens have appealed in vain for protection and redress.

"It remains yet to be seen whether there is efficacy in the law, power in the executive arm, or potency in public opinion, sufficient to right this grievous wrong. It is disgraceful to the character of the state, and a humiliation not to be borne, to permit a military leader, acting without the shadow of lawful authority, but in violation of law and right, not only to thwart the will of the executive, but to impose upon citizens the penalty of banishment for acting under it.

"On Friday evening, the Anti-Mormon force was disbanded, and sent home, with the exception of one hundred volunteers, who remained to enforce the provisions of the treaty upon the Mormons, and to carry out Gen. Brockman's orders, for 'the protection of persons and property from violence.' "

Governor Ford corroborates the account of Brayman as to the conduct of the mob miscalled a *posse comitatus,* and adds some details which Brayman fails to mention:

"When the posse arrived in the city, the leaders of it erected

themselves into a tribunal to decide who should be forced away and who remain. Parties were despatched to hunt for Mormon arms and for Mormons, and to bring them to the judgment, where they received their doom from the mouth of Brockman, who there sat a grim and unawed tyrant for the time. As a general rule, the Mormons were ordered to leave within an hour or two hours; and by rare grace some of them were allowed until next day, and in a few cases longer. The treaty specified that the Mormons only should be driven into exile. Nothing was said in it concerning the new citizens, who had with the Mormons defended the city. But the *posse* no sooner obtained possession, than they commenced expelling new citizens. *Some of them were ducked in the river, being in one or two instances actually baptized in the name of the leaders of the mob,*[28] others were forcibly driven into the ferry boats, to be taken over the river, before the bayonets of armed ruffians; and it is believed that the houses of most of them were broken open and their property stolen during their absence. Many of these new settlers were strangers in the country from various parts of the United States, who were attracted there by the low price of property, and they knew but little of previous difficulties, or the merits of the quarrel. They saw with their own eyes that the Mormons were industriously preparing to go away, and they knew of their own knowledge of that effort to expel them with force was gratuitous and unnecessary cruelty."

In addition to atrocities above detailed the mob took possession of the temple and desecrated it by their drunken revels. Indeed it was here they made their headquarters and passed their sentence of banishment upon many of the new citizens.[29] At this juncture Colonel, afterwards General, Thomas L. Kane, of Pennsylvania, visited Nauvoo while Brockman's forces were still in possession of it with headquarters in the Temple, and thus describes the mob desecration of this Latter-day Saint holy sanctuary:

"In and around the Splendid Temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men were barracked, sur-

28. The fact is well attested. In the History of Brigham Young. *Ms.* (p. 345), quoted by Bancroft in his History of Utah, it is written: "They [the mob] took several to the river and baptized them, swearing, throwing them backward, then on their faces, saying, 'the Commandments must be fulfilled, and G—— d——n you!'"

29. The mob entered the Temple, instituted an inquisition in the temple, ringing bells, shouting and hallowing." (Hist. B. Young, Ms., quoted in Bancroft's Utah, p. 231, note).

rounded by their stacks of musketry, and pieces of heavy ordinance. These challenged me to render an account of myself, and why I had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band. Though these men were generally more or less under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. * * * They also conducted me inside the massive, sculptured walls of the curious temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which, having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain shrines they had thus particularly noticed.[30]

Col. Kane was conducted to the baptismal font which he was informed was held in the highest degree of affection by the exiled saints. "On this account," he remarks, "the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in."

They permitted him to ascend into the steeple "to see where it had been lightning struck the Sabbath before. . . . Here in the face of a pure day, close to scar of the divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragrants of food, cruses of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a bass drum and a steamboat signal bell, of which I afterwards learned the use with pain."

At nightfall Col. Kane crossed the river to the camps of the exiles. Here he could hear the sounds "of a revel of a party of the guard within the city:"

"Above the distant hum of the voices of many, occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this requiem should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into a high belfry of the tem-

30. "The Mormons," Kane's Lecture before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26, 1850. The lecture is published *in extenso* in Tyler's Mormon Battalion," Introduction; where it fills 42 pages. In citing the lecture of Col. Kane, allowance must be made for a keenly sensitive nature, and impulsive temperament, and a literary style too diffusive, poetic and imaginative for a plain historical narrative. With this allowance made the Lecture is a valuable historical document, on the subject of which it treats.

ple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang in charivaric unison their loud-tongued steam-boat bell."

The Historian of Hancock County, Mr. Gregg, is strangely silent upon these outrages of Brockman's mob, except for saying in his History that "The force left in the city, not satisfied with the withdrawal of the Mormons, dealt pretty roughly with the ring-leaders of the obnoxious new citizens. A few of them were ordered to leave."[31] In his "Prophet of Palmyra," however, published ten years later, after giving Col. Kane's account of his visit to the deserted City; also the vivid description of the "Deserted City" and the sufferings of its exiled inhabitants by a correspondent of the *Missouri Republican,* he adds:

"The enormity and folly of that last raid upon Nauvoo, and the unnecessary severity employed in the treatment of the fugitives, has never been fully estimated by those engaged in or who sanctioned it. Heaven grant that henceforth and forever, no county, or nine counties, or State, may adopt this method of dealing with its offenders."[32]

The new citizens appealed to Governor Ford to be reinstated in their possessions; and after investigations made by Mr. Brayman and his reports thereon, the Governor recruited one hundred men with whom he entered the county and proceeded to Nauvoo where he arrived on the 28th of October, encamped about the Temple, and there remained until the 14th of November, when he returned to Springfield, leaving part of his force in Nauvoo under command of Major Weber. Governor Ford's term of office expired with the closing year and he was succeeded by Governor A. G. French who was inaugurated on the 8th of December; and on the 12th the new Governor withdrew the militia force under Weber; announcing that withdrawal in a short note to the people of Hancock county, "exhorting to peace and quietness."[33]

After a time most of the new citizens returned to the homes they had purchased for little or nothing from the now exiled

31. History of Hancock Co., p. 345.
32. Gregg, Prophet of Palmyra, p. 345.
33. Hist. Hancock Co., p. 354.

founders of the City Beautiful—Nauvoo. But Nauvoo never prospered under its new masters. As if out of sympathy for those who had redeemed it from a wilderness, and some portions of it from a swamp, its fields and gardens reverted to well nigh to primitive conditions, to wilderness and swamp lands. Its decline was as rapid and disastrous as its rise had been sudren and glorious. A French communistic society, the Icarians, had purchased considerable property in the deserted city, and into their hands passed the splendid Temple, which the Saints at such sacrifice had erected. Externally, the building had been completed in the spring of 1846, even to the gilding of the angel and the trumpet at the top of the spire. During the winter of 1845-6 various rooms of the sacred edifice were dedicated for ordinance work, and there hundreds of the faithful Saints received their endowments—the sacred mysteries of the faith. The main court of worship was also prepared; and on the evening of April 30th, 1846, the building was privately dedicated, Joseph Young, the senior president of the First Council of Seventy, offering the dedicatory prayer. On the first of May, 1846, under the direction of Apostles Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, the Temple from basement to dome was publicly dedicated, according to the order of the Holy Priesthood, revealed through Joseph Smith.

The Temple was always a source of envy to the enemies of the Saints, and it was feared that if it continued to stand it would be a bond between its exiled builders and the city from which they had been so cruelly driven, and an inducement for them to return. On the tenth of November, 1848, an incendiary, therefore, set it on fire, and the tower was destroyed, and the whole building so shattered, that on the twenty-seventh of May, 1850, a tornado blew down the north wall. One Joseph Agnew, confessed to being the incendiary.[34] Finally all the walls were pulled down and the stone hauled away for building purposes, until now, not one stone stands upon another that has not been thrown

34 This upon the autohrity of M. M. Morrill Mayor of Nauvoo, at the time of the Writer's visit to the city in the summer of 1885, and who courteously conducted him throughout his sojourn in the place. Mr. Morrill, by the way, served five terms as Mayor of Nauvoo. See Historical Record—Jensen—p. 843. For the rest of the above information see "Liverpool Route," F. D. Richards, Church Historian, p. 69.

down. Even the very foundation has been cleared away, and the excavation for the basement filled up and the site covered with shacks of buildings.

In 1846, when the exodus of the saints was enforced, Nauvoo had a population variously estimated from twelve to twenty thousand;[35] and was one of the principal cities of Illinois in population, manufacturing enterprises, commercial possibilities, and the centre of a rapidly developing agricultural region, unsurpassed in the United States. We have already seen that Joseph Smith in the closing months of 1843 had suggested a petition to the national congress of the United States for the construction of a canal around the Lower Des Moines Rapids, at the head of which Nauvoo was situated; and that such a canal has since been constructed by the general government at a cost of $4,582,009;[36] and that he also took the preliminary steps for the erection of a dam in the Mississippi for the creation of water power for manufacturing purposes. Subsequently the "Nauvoo Water Power Company" took over the franchise granted to President Smith, and on the 29th of April, 1845, commenced the construction of a dam in the Mississippi for the creation of water power[39] that would undoubtedly have made Nauvoo one of the first manufacturing centres of the United States; and which with all its other advantages would easily have made Nauvoo the metropolis of the Mississippi valley; but all this prospect faded from above the horizon of possibility, under the repeated acts of injustice perpetrated by the people of Western Illinois upon the Latter-day Saints.

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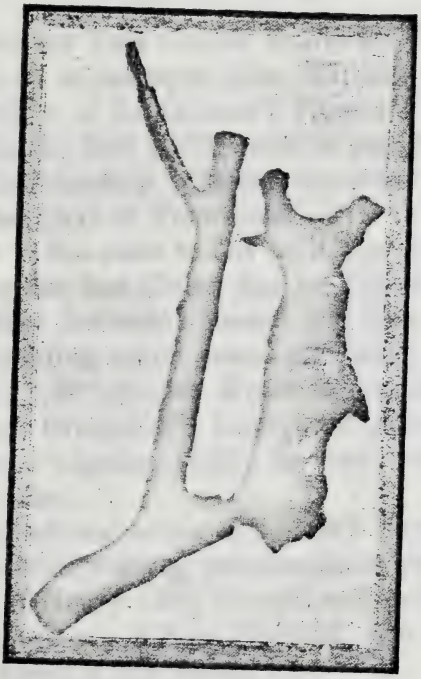
35. Governor Ford says that Nauvoo at the Exodus of the Mormons was scattered over about six square miles, and places the population at 15,000. Besides "there were several other settlements and villages of Mormons in Hancock county." (Hist. Ill., p. 403). Franklin D. Richards, long time Church Historian, places the population of Nauvoo at the martyrdom of the Prophet at 14,000. *Liverpool Route*, p. 65.

36. See AMERICANA for June, 1911, p. 551.

37. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of March 5th, 1845; also 12th of March same year. The mighty power of the Lower Des Moines Rapids, more than three score years after earlier essays of the Mormons at Nauvoo to that end, is about to be harnessed for the service of man, by the erection of a dam in the river between Hamilton on the Illinois side, and Keokuk on the Iowa side, about nine miles south of Nauvoo. The dam now in course of erection and nearing completion will be 4,700 feet long, 32 feet high, from the river bed; 42 feet at the base; built of solid concrete, and with the power house, creating 200,000 horse power, will cost $22,000,000. It is being constructed by the "Keokuk and Hamilton Water Power Company." The power will be transmitted by wire to St. Louis and to other Missouri and to Illinois and Iowa towns.

Nauvoo in 1910 (U. S. census reports) numbered but 1,020 inhabitants, many of whom are Germans. The principal occupation is grape-growing, vineyards covering some portions of the city plat, which was once the principal business center. The whole place has a half-deserted, half-dilapidated appearance, and seems to be withering under a blight, from which it cannot recover.



PIPE SIR WALTER RALEIGH IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE CARRIED TO THE SCAFFOLD

From London Graphic. (See Historic Views and Reviews)

Historical Views and Reviews

President Visits "Parson" Brownlow's Widow.

WHEN President Taft visited Knoxville, Tenn., last November, he called upon Mrs. William G. Brownlow, the widow of the famous "Parson" Brownlow. Nor was he the first public man to pay this tribute to her, for the Brownlow home is a Mecca for every person of eminence who visits that part of Tennessee.

The Brownlow home is the same to-day as it was when it won the distinction of flying the last Union flag in Knoxville before the war. Parson and Mrs. Brownlow moved into it in 1849 when it had already been standing many years and when Knoxville was a village of scarcely 1,800 people. From 1849 until the present day it has been Mrs. Brownlow's home, and quite naturally there have been gathered together within its walls countless interesting and historic relics.

There is an autographed engraving of Zachary Taylor, whose mother and Mrs. Brownlow's great grandmother were sisters. There is an engraving of Henry Clay, Brownlow's political idol; one of Daniel Webster, and one of Sam Houston, who was at one time entertained as a guest in the house.

In point of rarity the most notable is a full-length portrait of Andrew Jackson as President in citizen's clothes. The Hermitage Society of Nashville has endeavored for years to procure this picture, but Mrs. Brownlow prizes it much too highly "for old time's sake" to part with it. When she was a school girl in Kingsport, Tenn., President Jackson rode through in his coach and four on his way from Washington to Nashville, and she was one of the girls chosen to present him with a bouquet of flowers and shake him by the hand.

During Brownlow's life there was scarcely a time when some prominent man was not a guest in the house. Among these may be mentioned Andrew Johnson, before he became President; Gen. Grant, after the battle of Chickamauga; Gen. Sheridan, and Gen. Sherman. Since her husband's death Mrs. Brownlow has been honored by a call from every President who has visited Knoxville.

Phillips Brooks' Thanksgiving Letter

A recently-discovered letter of Phillips Brooks to his brother throws an interesting side-light upon the character of the justly-celebrated and thoroughly human Bishop of Massachusetts:

Thanksgiving Day, 1857.

Dear George:—As nearly as I can calculate, you are at this moment—I have made all due allowance for difference of longitude—sitting down to the turkey and plum pudding. Allow me to take my slice with you, making my own welcome and finding a seat where I can. What a stunner of a fowl! See John measuring it solemnly with his eye, and trying to make out whether he or it is the biggest. We won't quarrel about drumsticks. You shall have one and I the other. What a pity the beast wasn't a quadruped! To think of having dined only yesterday on cold mutton, with rice for dessert, and now—my eye! do just look at that cranberry sauce. How quiet Pistols is! No matter, he is busy, and fast getting beyond the speaking point. Hullo, my plate's clear; another piece of turkey, if you please. Don't look frightened. Thanksgiving only comes once a year. Gracious! Do look at Fred. Now do be a little moderate, my dear. Don't you see how hard Arthur is trying to keep up with you? The poor boy will kill himself. Here comes the pudding! Father, of course, proposes to have it saved till to-morrow. He has done it every Thanksgiving Day I can remember for the last twenty-five years. But you don't! We finish it now if we never eat again. We never have any supper, you know, on Thanksgiving Days, and we shall be all right by breakfast time. . . . Well, dinner's over and Pistols is laid upon the sofa, and John's jacket just covers the small of his back, and Fred is trying to look as if he hadn't eaten too much, and Father is looking for somebody to go to walk with him. You had better go, and I will

leave much love to all and take the next train of thought for Virginia. O reservoir!

Your loving, busy brother,

PHIL.

WHEN ART ADVERTISED

Mr. Ashley T. Cole, in writing to *The New York Sun,* refers to the time when art did not feel it beneath its dignity to advertise. His letter follows:

A copy of the *Long Island Star* published in Brooklyn August 24, 1809, by Thomas Kirk which recently came to the writer's notice contains an advertisement which because of the distinction of the advertiser and the light it sheds upon the conditions of art in the early days of the last century in New York may be interesting to your readers. The advertisement reads:

JOHN W. JARVIS,
Portrait Painter,
No. 1, Wall-Street, next door to the corner of
Broad-Way, New-York.

Believing many persons are prevented from having Likenesses, from not knowing where to apply, or at what price they can have them done, I make this statement of the several manners, prices, and sizes, in which I paint them.

Whole Length Portraits	$300
Portraits with Hands	60
Portraits without Hands	40
Miniatures on Ivory	50 & 30
Sketches on Paper with Hands	15 & 20
Sketches on do, without do	10
Coloured Profiles	3

Those who wish to have Portraits of their deceased friends, should be particular to apply time enough before they inter them.

WILLIAM PENN: HIS BOOK

A book from the library of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, was sold at Merwin-Clayton's on December 6. It is Edward Stillingfleet's "Origines Sacrae; Or, a Rational Account

of the Grounds of a Christian as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures," small quarto, London, 1666. The work contains on the verso of title the rare bookplate of the famous Quaker, and his autograph inscription on fly-leaf, "Ex-libris Wi. P."

Stillingfleet, who became Bishop of Worcester, wrote the "Origines Sacrae" in 1662, while he was rector of Sutton. It is said that no Bishop of his day was more prominent or more famous in England. He was also a book collector, and after his death, in 1699, his valuable library was offered for sale. The historical manuscripts were bought by Edward Harley, afterward Earl of Oxford, and the books by Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh, it is stated that there were more than 2,000 folios, and that he paid more than $30,000 for the books and manuscripts, a great sum in those days to expend on a library.

The Cannibals of Florida

The London, 1700 edition of Jonathan Dickinson's "God's Protecting Providence," which was sold by Henkels in Philadelphia on December 5, is extremely rare. It describes the "remarkable deliverance of Robert Barrow, with divers other persons from the devouring waves of the sea; amongst which they suffered shipwreck; and also from the devouring jaws of the inhumane cannibals of Florida. Faithfully related by one of the persons concerned therein, Jonathan Dickinson."

Dickinson and his wife, who resided at Jamaica, West Indies, joined the Society of Friends only a short time before embarking on the voyage described in this book. Two editions of it were printed in 1700, one containing 89 pages and the other 85 pages. The present example is the one with 85 pages, and it is said to be rarer even than the first edition, which was printed in Philadelphia. There seems to be only one other copy known with 85 pages, and that is in the New York Public Library.

Passing of the Old Courthouses

The dedication of the new Owen county courthouse at Spencer recently served no doubt to recall to many familiar with the Indiana county seats the passing of the old style courthouse. The Owen county courthouse was one of the most distressing of the old type, and no doubt from the time it was built it was an eyesore, says the Indianapolis "News." It never had that comeliness and good care that give the old style structure at Paoli such a charm, or the good architectural lines which made that at Lebanon, now being replaced, one of the most pleasing structures of any kind in the state. Its only rival in late years was the old courthouse at Greencastle, which was painful to the eye, and the surroundings of which were obnoxious to the nose.

One by one the old houses that dated back to the days of circuit riding, with their old drum stoves, with boxes filled with sawdust close at hand for convenience of tobacco chewers and hitch-racks around them, have disappeared. Few of the old houses are left. The one at Nashville is of a somewhat ancient type, but it is good, and it would be a pity to lose the one at Paoli. The one at Rising Sun probably is the only one that really to-day carries with it the touch of Blue Jeans days.

Mrs. Hayes and Justice Harlan

The late Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States and the late H. Victor Newcomb, formerly president of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, were lifelong friends and they died within a few days of each other. Both were Kentucky men to the core. Mr. Newcomb lived for several years at the Hotel Netherland in New York city and in his palmy days he took an active interest in Republican national politics. One of his favorite stories illustrated his belief that the women of all ages have been very powerful factors in determining political events.

"I remember very vividly," said Mr. Newcomb to an old friend in those days, "how it came about that President Hayes

appointed my old friend Harlan to the bench of the United States Supreme Court. One day I received word in Louisville that the President desired to visit Kentucky, and without further ado I sent him my private car. This was before he had made up his Cabinet. I met Mr. Hayes a hundred miles out of Louisville and joined him in my car. Mrs. Hayes and my old friend Harlan were the only occupants of the car. Mr. Hayes greeted me very cordially and said that he wanted to discuss with me and other Kentucky people the right man to put in his Cabinet from the Southern States. He added that he desired very much to do something for the Southern people. He then asked me if I knew anything about Key, David M. Key, of Tennessee. I knew little of Mr. Key but promised to inform Mr. Hayes later on, Mr. Hayes remarking that he desired to put Key in his Cabinet. While this conversation was going on Mrs. Hayes and Mr. Harlan were at the further end of my car engaged in rapt conversation. I looked over toward them and said to Mr. Hayes, 'Mr. President, if you desire to please the Southern people let me tell you that no appointment would so please them as the selection of Mr. Harlan to the Supreme Court of the United States.'

"'You don't say so,' replied Mr. Hayes. 'Well, now, that's very interesting. I wish you would go right over there and take Mr. Harlan away from Mrs. Hayes and then tell Mrs. Hayes exactly what you have told me.'"

Mr. Newcomb did as he was directed, and he always believed that Mrs. Hayes's indorsement brought about the appointment of Harlan. Later on, however, President Hayes appointed Key to his Cabinet as Postmaster-General.

American Relics in London

The sale of autograph letters and historical documents at Sotheby's last December, included several American items. One letter written by Thomas Jefferson dated New York, April 8, 1790, to Alexander Donald, in which he said "A general war in the north of Europe seems possible; we shall have another golden harvest for our wheat," sold for $18.

A release of W. Whiting and Diana his wife, to George Washington, $290. The paper released 206 acres in Fairfax county, Virginia, and bore date June 19, 1764. It was drawn up by Washington himself. The whole of the body and the indorsement are in autograph.

Monument to Telegraph Union

Berne, being the headquarters of the International Telegraph Union, has very properly been selected as the most suitable place in which to erect a monument commemorative of the foundation of this union. There has been considerable difficulty in deciding upon the most suitable design out of the hundred or more submitted, but last September an international jury, on which Sir George Frampton, R. A., represented Great Britain, resolved to entrust the work to Signor Giuseppe Romagnoli of Bologna, who has just arrived in Berne, where he will spend the whole winter making preparations for the monument.

Signor Romagnoli's design shows Helvetia seated overlooking a fountain, with figures on either side of her representing Trade, Commerce, Labor and the Arts and Professions. The monument, which is not to be finished until 1915, will be erected in the Helvetia Platz, Berne. The year 1915 is very appropriate, because it will be the year of the jubilee of the founding of the union in Paris (1865); and these attending the jubilee celebrations are also expected to be present at the unveiling ceremony. Owing to the peculiarities—especially the dampness in winter—of the climate of Berne, Carrara marble cannot be used for the base of the monument, for which stone hardened by long exposure to the weather has therefore been chosen. The figures are to be executed in bronze, and the entire cost of the monument is to be £2,800.

Just Before the War of 1812

A long and interesting letter of John Quincy Adams, dated St. Petersburg, May 13, 1812, about one month before war was

declared by the United States against Great Britain, was recently sold by Henkels in Philadelphia. In part, it reads:

In reflecting upon your observations with regard to the policy of a war with England, I am happy to find your opinion perfectly concurring with my own. We want neither provocation nor cause for war. But, unfortunately, neither the most righteous cause, nor the most atrocious provocation are the principal objects of calculation, when this question is upon the policy of war. They decide indeed the question of its justice, but have very little weight upon that of its Prudence.

The effect of war upon our National character and institutions would probably be great, and I hope favorable. That we should be destined to enjoy a perpetual Peace, however ardently humanity might desire it, cannot reasonably be expected. If war is not the natural state of human society at all times, it is of the age upon which we have fallen.

The Spirit of Ambition, of Glory, and of Conquest burns in Europe with an intenseness beyond all former example. France and England are equally inflamed with it, and consuming under it. The present Prime Minister of England, who appears to be firmly rooted in that station, has openly avowed the purpose of endless war. France, without making the profession, has a Government whose temptations to war are far more alluring, and whose success by war has been far more fascinating than those which have inspired the British Delirium.

The result is, however, the same. War is now the permanent political system of both Nations, and Conquest is the object of both. Neither our distance nor the intervening ocean can or will protect us from the consequences of this European spirit and its application sooner or later to ourselves.

A New Postage Stamp

Philatelists are rejoicing in the prospect of a novelty that was put within their reach on January 1. It was the first issue of a set of postage stamps of the principality of Liechtenstein. This little country, which although a soverign State is in point of size smaller than the Borough of Brooklyn, being, in fact, only sixty-five square miles in area, is run under the complete influence of its big neighbor, Austria, and has hitherto contented itself with

Austrian stamps. The tiny principality has now followed in the wake of its fellow so-called independent States, the republic of San Marino and the principality of Monaco, in asserting in this way its postal "independence," and now the microscopic republic of Andorra, lost in the wilds of the Pyrenees, on the Franco-Spanish frontier, is the only remaining European State that has not its own postage stamps.

A Slight to Kossuth

It is a singular fact that the new English dictionary and some other dictionaries of importance do not recognize the Kossuth hat, though they admit cardigan, raglan, taglioni, mackintosh, etc. Probably few to-day call what is traditionally known as the Kassuth hat a Kossuth, and some dictionary makers might answer, "we might as well admit a 'Robert Burns' or 'President Arthur' cigar," says Philip Hull in the *Boston Herald.*

Nor do Farmer and Henley seem to know anything about the Kossuth, though they give curious information about other hats and meanings of the word "hat" in slang. George Augustus Sala once wrote a little book, "The Hats of Humanity, Historically, Humorously and Aesthetically Considered; a Homily." He wrote it for a Manchester hatter named James Gee. And Sala, who wrote fluently about everything and knew many things, does not allude to the Kossuth, although he refers to the Garibaldi—"an unmistakable 'pork pie' picked up by Garibaldi during his campaigns in South America, precisely as his red flannel shirt was borrowed from the ordinary attire of the American merchant seaman."

Sala also refers to the McClellan, the Confederate wide awake. Jim Crow and rip-rap. Perhaps the slight was deliberate, for in a footnote to the "Preliminary Discourse" Sala says: "I may here state, once for all, that I only recognize in a modified degree as hats the modern 'wide awakes,' 'Jim Crows,' 'pork pies,' and other varieties of what the Americans call 'soft' hats; things which you can sit upon, double up, and put in your pocket. A real hat, a hat of authority, should, to my thinking, be stiff, cylin-

drical, raven black or milky white, and shiny." Sala italicizes "shiny."

A War-Time Act

"Ever hear of a bill passed by Congress being signed by the President ten days after the adjournment of Congress and thereby becoming a law?" queried F. M. Harvey, a lawyer of Darke county, Ohio, to a group of friends, one of whom was a representative of the *Washington Post*.

"The question has often been mooted, in case a bill is presented to the President within the last ten days of a session of Congress, so that he cannot have the full ten days allowed by Article 1, Section 7 of the Constitution in which to approve or to return it to that house in which it originated, whether or not he may approve it after the adjournment or expiration of the Congress, so as to give effect to it as a valid law.

"The uniform practice has been, from the first organization of the Government, for the President not to approve after the adjournment of Congress any bills which he omitted to approve during the session, with the single exception of the act of March 12, 1863, entitled 'An act to provide for the collection of abandoned property, and for the prevention of frauds in insurrectionary districts within the United States,' commonly called 'the abandoned or captured property act.'

"That act was passed during the very last days of the Thirty-seventh Congress—by the Senate on March 2, and by the House on March 3, 1863. That Congress expired by constitutional limitation on March 4, 1863, and the bill was not signed until March 12, 1863, eight days after Congress had adjourned sine die.

"The parchment roll in the State Department shows that President Lincoln in affixing his name to it, wrote with his own hand, 'Approved March 12, 1863,' so that there cannot be any doubt as to the correct date of approval. It was President Lincoln's custom to write, himself the date of approval in all cases, and not leave that duty to a clerk.

"The validity of the act thus passed was never drawn in ques-

tion. The executive departments proceeded to act under its authority immediately after its approval, and continued to act under it so long as it was on the statute book without objection from any quarter as to their right to do so. The Court of Claims took jurisdiction of cases brought under Section 3 of the act, and the United States Supreme Court also took jurisdiction of appeals in those cases, and acted upon them as brought under a valid law.

"Congress itself recognized its validity by amending it and extending its provisions in the third section of the act of July 4, 1864, and by reference thereto in Sections 1059 and 3689 of the Revised Statutes. The judgments of the Court of Claims in favor of claimants under the act were always paid by the Treasury Department without question.

"Nearly 1,600 suits against the government under this act were brought in the Court of Claims; more than 500 were decided in favor of the claimants, and nearly $10,000,000 was paid out by the Treasury Department in satisfaction of such judgments."

The Rarest Silver Dollar

A United States silver pattern dollar, dated 1779 and valued at $5,000, which was exhibited at Chicago at the convention of the American Numismatic Association, brought to the immediate attention of both the general public and collectors a silver piece which for rarity, value and historical worth completely eclipses the celebrated 1804 dollar, or indeed any other coin in the United States series. Even in some respects it is more interesting than the excessively rare and valuable silver pattern dollar or "mark" of 1783, prosposed by Robert Morris, the "Financier of the Revolution."

This coin, which is known as the Continental Currency dollar, is owned by H. O. Granberg of Oshkosh, Wis., and represents unquestionably the very first metallic issue to bear the stamp of the United States, or United Colonies, as the confederation was originally known. The Continental dollar preceded by nine years

the issue of the first regularly authorized cent of 1787—the Fugio or Franklin cent—and the issue of the latter coin no doubt was largely influenced by this first dollar, for it bore its principal features of design.

The Continental Currency dollar is about the size of an ordinary silver dollar and contains 378 grains of silver. On the obverse the principal design is a sun shining on a sundial, with the word "Fugio" to the left. Below the dial is the motto "Mind Your Business," a saying attributed to Franklin. This central design is enclosed by two circles, while around the border in large letters is the inscription "Continental Currency 1776." On the reverse is a circle of thirteen links, each of which bears the name of one of the thirteen colonies. In the centre is a radiation, which encloses a double circle, in which are the words "American Congress. We Are One."

No definite information as to where the Continental Currency dollar was made can now be obtained. But it is thought to have been produced by one of the engravers of Birmingham, England, in which city were made many of the coins that were circulated in this country during Colonial days and the most of which are now highly valued by collectors.

The design of the dollar was evidently suggested by the devices of the first Continental currency paper issues. On the obverse of one of these notes was a representation of a sun as a human face shining upon a dial, with the word "Fugio." Just above was a representation of the moon, also as a face. (The latter, however, found no place in the design of the silver dollar.) Underneath the dial was the motto "Mind Your Business." The reverse design of the note showed almost the identical design borne by the Continental dollar and seems to have been embodied intact.

Several varieties of these Continental dollars are now known, and not only were there various designs showing trifling differences but they occur in different metals, silver, brass and white metal. The rarest of the series, the one owned by Mr. Granberg, shows marked differences from some of the others. Underneath the dial and above the motto is inscribed in small letters "E. G.

Fecit." "E G" are supposed to have been the initials of the engraver of the dies.

From what can be learned there are only two specimens of the above dollar known in silver, the one owned by Mr. Granberg and another said to be in the collection of an Eastern historical society. The variety is also known in brass and white metal. The specimens in the latter two metals are also rare and held at a premium. The one in brass is much rarer than that in white metal.

The Growth of American Banking

The growth made by the banking business of this country during the last sixty-five years is phenomenal. In the *Bankers Magazine,* which recently celebrated the sixty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, a comparison is made between the figures for 1846 and for the present year.

Sixty-five years ago the national banking system had not been born, and it was long before the trust company had taken its present place in the world of finance. In 1846 the number of banks, according to Knox's "History of Banking," was 707; their combined capital was $196,000,000; their individual deposits $96,000,000 and their circulation $105,000,000. There are now over 7,000 national banks alone, and they have $5,489,000,000 of individual deposits.

Last year there were reported 12,168 State banks, with $2,700,000,000 individual deposits; 638 mutual savings banks, with $3,360,000,000 individual deposits; 1,121 stock savings banks, with $709,000,000 individual deposits, 934 private banks, with $124,000,000 individual deposits; 1,091 loan and trust companies, with $3,000,000,000 individual deposits, or 15,950 banks, with nearly $10,000,000,000 of individual deposits. Adding the national banks the total number of institutions would be nearly 23,000 and the aggregate individual deposits about $10,500,000,000.

Lincoln as a Law Student

"Where Lincoln Studied Law When a Boy" is the inscription on a monument erected near Boonville last week by Robert A. Breckenridge of Austin, Tex.

When growing to manhood Abraham Lincoln visited the Warrick county court and there met John A. Breckenridge, an attorney. Lincoln formed an acquaintance with Breckenridge and told the latter of his desire to familiarize himself with Blackstone. Breckenridge invited the young man to visit him.

On one of his visits to Breckenridge Lincoln asked for and obtained employment at the Breckenridge farm. This enabled him to read almost every book that comprised the Breckenridge library, which is now owned by a Boonville attorney.

President Lincoln's Optimism

Dr. Burleigh was one of the earliest settlers of Dakota and Montana, and was a boyhood friend of Abraham Lincoln. The doctor used to tell this Lincoln story on himself, says the *Saturday Evening Post.*

When Lincoln was nominated Burleigh was in Minnesota on his way to a logging camp. He laughed at the thought of Lincoln running for President, and went into the woods. He stayed in the woods until the following summer, when he came out he found that Lincoln had not only been elected but inaugurated.

Burleigh hurried to Washington and demanded a job.

"What kind of a place do you want?" asked President Lincoln.

"Any kind—where there's not much work and big pay."

"I'm afraid," smiled Lincoln, "that most of those jobs are gone. I'll have my secretary look round and see what we can find for you. Come back to-morrow."

Burleigh went back.

"Burleigh," said President Lincoln, "there isn't much left. The best thing I can offer you is the agency of the Yankton Sioux Indians. It pays fifteen hundred dollars a year."

"But, Abe," expostulated Burleigh, "a man can't live on that salary! I'd either have to starve to death or rob the Government."

"Well, Burleigh," replied the President, "you'll never starve to death."

Soil From Each State

Solomon Close of Stamford, a veteran of the civil war, has presented to the State of Connecticut, a cabinet containing samples of soil from every State in the Union, and from each of the possessions of the United States. For thirty years Mr. Close has collected specimens of soil, and he now possesses samples from almost every spot of interest in the world.

The cabinet presented to the State contains also samples from St. Helena, Napoleon's tomb at Paris, from the Scotch estate where Paul Jones was born, from the battlefields of Flodden and Bannockburn, and from Robert Burns's grave.

Interesting Van Buren Relic

A. H. Yeaton, the grandson of a Revolutionary soldier and one of the most ardent Democrats of Skowhegan, has a most interesting relic of the Presidential campaign of 1840. It is made of brass, about the size of an old-fashioned penny, with a hole near one edge to permit its use as a watch charm. On one side is the superscription "Martin Van Buren, Born Dec., 1782," with a picture of the then President. On the other side is the motto "Weighed in the balance and found wanting," with the picture of a pair of scales labelled Whig in one pan and Democrat in the other.

Origin of "Almanac."

Apropos of the annual appearance of calendars or almanacs, a Paris newspaper gives an account of the origin of the word al-

manac. The writer explains that the word comes from "the moon," for in remote times our forefathers engraved the courses of the moon on wooden cubes, which were known as al monaght," which signified "all the moons." The first almanac, as we know it, the writer further states, appeared in China and was the work of a Jesuit.

It is generally considered that the original of the word, as it appears in French, Italian and Spanish, was "al-manakh." Eusebius uses "almenachiaka," an Egyptian word with the probable signification "daily observation of things," but the derivation of the word cannot be said to have been settled beyond dispute, notwithstanding the dictum of our contemporary.

The Seal of New York City

A man who has done research work in New York city history explained the other day the significance of the two barrels on the seal of the city. Of the four spaces cut off by four windmill blades, set at right angles to each other, two beavers occupy the upper and lower, while a barrel is in each of the spaces to the right and the left.

"I can understand the meaning of the windmill arms and of the beavers, but why should the city of New York be represented by a couple of beer barrels?" some one asked.

The barrels are not beer but flour barrels. In early Colonial times under the English New York got the exclusive right to bolt flour, which brought the town such prosperity that the flour barrel was naturally an appropriate selection for the city seal.

A Memorial to Marshall

A bronze tablet in memory of John Marshall, first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was unveiled in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia on November 25. The tablet was erected by the Pennsylvania Bar Association. Six portraits of former Associate Justices of the

Supreme Court and of three Judges of the United States court here were unveiled at the same time.

Justice Lurton of the Supreme Court of the United States presided, and unveiled the Marshall tablet. Judge George Gray accepted the tablet and portraits. Nearly a thousand members of the bench and bar attended.

Book of Lincoln Poems

A book destined to be well-thumbed at home and at school is "The Praise of Lincoln." This is a reverent anthology of poems on the great and best-loved President—a collection arranged by A. Dallas Williams. It is a laurel wreath of poesy, sweeping in verse dating from the Lincoln-Douglas debate down to our own time. These pages celebrate every phase of Lincoln's life. Some of the poems are already famous; some are here rescued from old portfolios and scrap-books.

Raleigh's Pipe Sold

The idea that a man in the old days could go to his execution smoking a pipe amounts to a possibility, and has probably happened more than once in history, but though historians are dumb on the point, it would not be outrageously surprising to be assured on unimpeachable authority that Sir Walter Raleigh betrayed such outward and visible evidence of a defiant calm. It is just what the "historian of the world" would have been capable of, and if certain evidence, which is now forthcoming, is to be believed, Sir Walter did as a fact smoke a weird and wonderful pipe until the moment before his execution.

The pipe which was recently sold in London for about $400, is constructed of four pieces of wood, rudely carved with dogs' heads, and with the faces of Red Indians. On the bowl there is a cap about as large as the bowl itself, and attached to the stem is a string of beads made of the same wood as the pipe. In this stem a powerful whistle has been cut, and the suggestion is that

Sir Walter Raleigh used it to summon his servants. After smoking the pipe just previous to his execution he handed it to Bishop Andrewes, who administered the last Sacrament. The Carews of Beddington, Glovers of Croydon, and a William Andrew Bryant, an antiquarian, successively owned the pipe, and it is worth noting that they all claim descent from Bishop Andrewes. The Archæological Society exhibited it at the Guildhall in the 'sixties of the last century, the inscription accompanying it bearing these words: "The original pipe of the above celebrated 'Historian of the World,' and who first introduced 'tobacco and potatoes' into England." Tradition (corroborated by a parchment in the possession of the owner) states that this pipe was used by Sir Walter Raleigh on the scaffold just previous to his execution, and handed to one of his relatives as a memento of him. It has been pronounced by an American gentleman to be made of Virginia maple wood.

A Book for Philatelists

A delightful book that novices will enjoy as much as experts has been written by Fred J. Melville, president of the British Junior Philatelic Society in "Chats About Postage Stamps." He has mastered the truth that facts are interesting to those who care for them and wastes little time in verbiage. He tells about the origin of stamps, about Rowland Hill's struggles for penny postage; he discourses learnedly on the technical matters that keep stamp collectors busy, on rare and famous stamps, on great collections. He elucidates obscure points, decides doubtful matters, speaks with authority but not dogmatically and always informs. His book is unusually good for one designed for a "series," and more remarkable because it is English.

To Perpetuate De Peyster's Name

That the name of Gen. John Watts De Peyster, statesman, soldier and author, may be perpetuated, John Toler, one of his great-grandsons, was renamed on January 1. Under an order

signed by Justice Morschauser, John, who is six years old, will become John Watts De Peyster Toler.

The child's father, John Watts De Peyster Toler, died a few years ago and his mother petitioned Justice Morschauser for an order changing her son's name.

The little boy is one of the last descendants of the famous De Peysters. Gen. De Peyster, who was born in the home of his mother's father, the Hon. John Watt, Jr., at 3 Broadway, New York, in 1821, served as adjutant general of New York State under Gov. Clarke, he being appointed in 1854. A bronze statue of one of Gen. De Peyster's ancestors, Abraham De Peyster, stands in Bowling Green, New York, opposite the site of the General's birthplace. Gen. De Peyster, who owned a vast estate in the town of Red Hook, Dutchess county, died about six years ago. He was military adjutant of the State of New York in Europe in 1851-53.

New Prize for Paintings

Former Senator William A. Clark, of Montana, has again offered to give $5,000 for prizes for paintings to be shown at the fourth exhibition of contemporary American oil paintings which will be held next winter at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington. These exhibitions, held biennially at the national capital, rank as an American salon and the "William A. Clark prizes" are offered by the donor in open competition to all American artists.

This is now the third time that Senator Clark has donated these awards to be made at the Corcoran exhibitions as an encouragement and an incentive to the American artists. The awards are determined by a jury of artists. The Corcoran exhibitions usually contain from 300 to 400 paintings selected by the jury from work submitted. The exact date for the opening of the exhibition has not yet been fixed, but it will take place at about a year from this time.

The authorities of the Corcoran gallery will issue next spring a circular giving full information as to the prizes and the con-

ditions of the award. These circulars may be had by all American artist on application. Senator Clark's donation of $5,000 will be divided into four awards as follows: First prize, $2,000, to be accompanied by the Corcoran gold medal; second prize, $1,500, to be accompanied by the Corcoran silver medal; third prize, $1,000, to be accompanied by the Corcoran bronze medal; fourth prize, $500, to be accompanied by the Corcoran honorable mention certificate.

Edison Sent His Voice

"When I see what wonderful developments in electricity are going on to-day I feel that I should like to start all over again as an electrician and an inventor."

So said Thomas Edison to the members of the Modern Historic Records Association, at its first meeting at the National Arts Club. Mr. Edison was not there in person because, as he said in a letter which President Herbert L. Bridgman read, he made a practice of avoiding New York because it disturbed his nervous system, but his voice was heard in a record which he had presented to the association for its exclusive use and not by any means for general dissemination.

"I never made a practice of speaking for a record," he wrote.

Crater Monument Unveiled

A notable Blue and Gray reunion culminated at Petersburg, Va., on November 13, in the unveiling on the Crater battlefield of the handsome granite monument erected by the State of Massachusetts to its soldier and sailor dead who fell there in the war between the States. Gov. Foss of Massachusetts and Gov. Mann of Virginia participated in the ceremonies. At the battlefield Miss Otelia Mahone, granddaughter of Gen William Mahone, who led the Confederate charge at the Crater, drew aside the huge American flag placed over the monument. Gov. Mann delivered an address of welcome; then Col. Anderson, chairman

of the monument commission, transferred the shaft to Gov. Foss, who in turn presented it to the people of Virginia through Gov. Mann. A. S. Ree of Worcester, Mass., delivered the oration.

Praise for Lincoln's Wife

Speaking in support of the Rev. J. M. Spencer, President of Sayre College, Lexington, Ky., who is raising funds for the erection of a Mary Todd Lincoln memorial building at the college, Major Gen. Daniel E. Sickles gave many interesting reminiscences of the home life of President Lincoln and Mrs. Lincoln.

"It was my privilege to know President Lincoln and his consort," Gen. Sickles said, "through all the years they spent at the White House in Washington.

"I have never seen a more devoted couple. He always called her 'Mother,' and she always called him 'Father.' In their domestic relations and in their devotion to the children I have never seen a more congenial couple.

"After receiving my wound it was my opportunity to serve on the staff of the President, who intrusted me with many important missions and confidential duties. I often was at table with the President and his family, and knew their social and domestic life well. He always looked to her for comfort and consolation in his troubles and cares. Indeed, the only joys poor Lincoln knew after reaching the White House were his wife and children. She shared all his troubles and never recovered from that culminating blow when he was assassinated."

Newport's Old Landmark

Newport citizens indignantly deny the claim made by Windsor, Conn., that the oldest inhabited house in the country, built in 1640, is located there. That that claim to distinction belongs here is backed up by presenting as evidence the old "Governor Bull House," erected in 1639, and still used as a dwelling. New-

port's ancient landmark was built by Henry Bull, one of the original nine founders of Newport in 1639. His house was built that same year. It bears a bronze tablet, erected in 1906 by the State of Rhode Island.

Smithsonian Gets Polish Coins

The Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America has presented to the National Museum an extensive series of coins of the kingdom of Poland, issued during its independence, and it was placed on exhibition in the west hall of the old Museum building.

The series comprises 312 pieces, most of silver, ranging in size from a silver three cent piece to the present day silver dollar. The series begins at 1386 and covers 449 years, during which time many changes took place in Poland, an outline of whose history is recorded in the portraits on the faces of the coins.

Aside from its historical value, this collection shows the progress in numismatics during nearly five centuries; each ruler had his own idea as to coinage and the successive issues varied accordingly. The collection forms the most extensive exhibit of this nature in the museum, although there are many rare coins in its possession.

The paper donating the collection to the National Museum says the contribution "is made by the Board of Directors of the Polish National Alliance in the name of about 100,000 men and women of Polish extraction, now citizens of the United States of America, as a token of their loyalty to this country and as a remembrance of the ties of amity and mutual admiration, which existed between the Republic of Poland and the United States, in the second half of the eighteenth century and which found its best expression in the participation of the two greatest sons of Poland, Kosciusko and Pulaski, in the struggle of the people of the United States for independence."

Valley Forge Shaft Dedicated

A monument to the memory of the soldiers of Massachusetts who camped at Valley Forge, Pa., during the American Revolution was dedicated on November 19, with appropriate ceremonies. Immediately afterward a memorial screen for the pew occupied by George Washington in the Washington Memorial Church, and which is known as the "President's pew" also was dedicated. The monument is of gray granite and is semi-circular in form. In the centre of the semi-circle is a shaft ten feet high and three feet in width. The monument bears this inscription:—"This monument is erected by a grateful Commonwealth in memory of the soldiers of Massachusetts who served at Valley Forge, 19 December, 1777—19 June, 1778.

To Erect Columbus Statue

With a monster illuminated cross, which will send its rays far out to sea and will be seen before "Liberty's" torch in the harbor, a gigantic bronze statue of Christopher Columbus will be an accomplished fact if the Countess Annie Leary carries out her present plans for the coming year. The statue will represent the discoverer of America just as he is stepping triumphantly on shore from the Santa Maria.

"It seems to me fitting that the cross of Columbus should be seen by incoming travellers before the torch of Liberty, for without Columbus, Liberty would not have been possible," said the Countess.

In order to interest her friends in the project the Countess will give a "Columbus" evening during the Winter, at which selections will be rendered from a new opera, entitled "The Dreams of Columbus," which has been written at her request by two Italian composers. The expense has been borne by the Countess. Ultimately the Countess intends to establish a great university near the ground where the statue will be placed.

Abraham Lincoln

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Abraham Lincoln: An Example of Patriotism and Self Education

BY THOMAS S. LONERGAN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born of poor and humble parents, in a log cabin in a wilderness of Kentucky. When he was seven years of age, his family moved to Indiana, two years after which his mother died. Almost a half century later, when he was President, he said to Seward with tears in his eyes: "All that I am, all that I hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

For fourteen years the family lived in the backwoods of Indiana, during which time the future President worked as a farm laborer on his father's miserable acres or "hired out to" the neighboring farmers. His formal schooling did not amount to more than a year, but he had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and his real schooling continued for many years. Books were few in that community, but the Bible, "Pilgrim's Progress," "Aesop's Fables," Burns and a life of Washington came within his reach, and he devoured and studied the contents of those great books during his leisure hours. We are told that he traveled six miles to borrow an English grammar. Before he reached man's estate, he knew the poems of the Scotch ploughman by heart, and his mind was thoroughly saturated with the language and literature of the Old and New Testaments.

In 1830, the family moved to Illinois, and in the following year Lincoln made a second trip, in a flat boat, to New Orleans. While there he saw negroes sold under the hammer of the auctioneer, and heard the profane and obscene language of the bru-

tal wretches who surrounded the auction block. The sale of a beautiful octoroon girl was so revolting that it drove the iron into his soul and aroused all the chivalry of his kindly nature.

The first half of Lincoln's life was a hard struggle for existence and self-education. In 1834 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1836 was admitted to the bar, for law and politics went hand in hand in those days. He soon acquired an extensive practice and became a good all-round lawyer—never a profoundly learned lawyer, but an honest lawyer, which was much better. He took a keen interest in state and national politics and, within a comparatively short period after entrance into public life, became one of the best political speakers in Illinois.

From 1836 to 1860, the slave power, through the political sagacity and eloquence of Stephen A. Douglas, practically controlled the public sentiment of Illinois. Lincoln and Douglas were political rivals both in the Legislature, in Congress and in the forum of public debate.

During Lincoln's whole career he was heart and soul opposed to slavery. He recognized, to the full, the fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That doctrine was the bed-rock of his political principles, and like Wendell Phillips, he could never resort to subterfuge or deception in its interpretation.

The series of joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas, in 1858, attracted the attention of the whole country. Both men were skilful debaters and brilliant orators. Two intellectual giants met in the political arena, each with absolute confidence in himself. Lincoln's powerful arguments carried conviction everywhere. He saw with unerring accuracy that the coming conflict was irrepressible, and accepted the inevitable conclusion; for in one of the debates he used these words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." On another occasion he exclaimed: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

In February, 1860, Abraham Lincoln delivered a remarkable

speech in Cooper Union before a great audience which included many of the great men of the time. William Cullen Bryant presided, and the learning and culture of New York city were well represented on that occasion, to see and hear the rail splitter of Illinois. He electrified that great gathering and won a signal triumph for himself and the cause he represented.

We must bear in mind that, when Lincoln was elected President, the slave power, which had ruled this country for sixty years, would not accept the result. The commercial interests held aloof, and the financial classes bought government bonds at forty cents on the dollar. Had Lincoln relied on those classes, the Republic would have perished and slavery would have triumphed, but a million men came forward to defend the flag and save the Republic. Those men came from the farms, the workshops and the school-houses, and they swore by the Eternal that this Republic should live, or they would sleep in Southern graves. Every student of history knows, or ought to know, that no great social or political reform has ever yet been won by those who seek to profit from wrong and injustice.

When Lincoln assumed the duties of the presidency on the 4th of March, 1861, he faced responsibilities greater than those that fell on the shoulders of Washington; but he was equal to the emergency. There has never yet been a great crisis in the history of this country, when some man was not found equal to the occasion.

For four long years, Lincoln appealed to the plain people, whom he loved so well, to "rally round the flag," and he did not appeal in vain. The boys in blue were "his boys," and he watched over them with a father's solicitude. His sympathies went out to them, and to their wives and little ones, because he himself was one of them.

Early in the war a young soldier was sentenced to be shot for sleeping at his post as sentinel. His friends appealed to the President, and as usual a pardon was granted. One year later, the body of that self-same soldier boy was found among the dead on the battlefield of Fredericksburg, with a photograph of Lincoln nearest to his heart, on which he had written: "God bless President Lincoln."

On the 21st of November, 1864, Abraham Lincoln wrote with his own hand to Mrs. Bixby of Boston, the following touching letter:

"*Dear Madam*:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was a master stroke of statesmanship. That document alone would immortalize his name. If politics is the science of government, and statesmanship the art of government, then Lincoln was a politician and statesman of the highest type, as well as a patriot and lover of liberty.

The Civil War lasted for four long years. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost and billions of treasure spent to preserve the union and abolish slavery. All through that terrible conflict Lincoln was the guiding spirit, the master mind, and the first to recognize the military genius of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan.

The ninth day of April, 1865, witnessed the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, and, five days later, Abraham Lincoln was struck down by the hand of an assassin. What a cruel ending to so illustrious a career! But his fame is secure, and future generations will cherish his memory and eulogize his great achievements.

A man's greatness must be treasured by his services to humanity. One master mind is worth a million hands. Lincoln

was the "choice and master spirit of the age" and a glorious type of American Democracy.

We owe Illinois an eternal debt of gratitude for giving Lincoln to the nation and to mankind. It is fitting and proper that his ashes should repose in the capital of that great State, where for ages to come, pilgrims will visit his grave and decorate with flowers the noble monument erected to his memory by a grateful people.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous English litterateur once said that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel." That may be a good epigram, but, on general principles, it is not true and it never was. I believe that true patriotism is one of the sublime virtues, implanted by the Almighty in the heart of man. It was patriotism that immortalized Sparta and made Rome mistress of the world. It was patriotism that enabled William Tell to defeat 20,000 Austrians and set Switzerland free. It was patriotism that compelled the colonists to rally round the standard of George Washington, thereby winning American independence. It was patriotism that animated the heroism of Tone and Emmet to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of their country. It was patriotism that enabled Andrew Jackson to achieve a glorious triumph for American valor at New Orleans; and, last but not least, it was patriotism that fired Lincoln's imagination, inspired his majestic eloquence, and made him the idol of the common people.

The value of patriotism to a people is far more precious than silver and gold—far more important that than wealth and territory. Extinguish patriotism in the American heart to-morrow and the power and glory of our common country would soon vanish into thin air. In these times, which seem to be out of joint, it is most essential that we should keep the fires of American patriotism burning brightly in our hearts, so "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

I look to our public and parochial schools, throughout this broad land, to instill the true spirit of patriotism into the hearts and minds of the rising generation and also to infuse into their minds a sense of truth and justice, coupled with high ideals.

Character-building is the highest function of education. If our schools fail in that one particular, our whole system of education may become a curse instead of a blessing. Character was the secret of Lincoln's marvelous success. We may admire men of genius, but they must possess character before they can command our entire respect and confidence.

We have no idea how many men are spoiled by what is called the higher education. Some one has said that, if Shakespeare had gone to Oxford, he might have lived a quibbling lawyer, or a hypocritical parson. Had Lincoln gone to college, his education there might have ruined his natural genius and narrowed his broad, human sympathies.

By hard work and indomitable perseverance Lincoln rose from the lowest station in life to the highest position in the gift of a free people. His career is an inspiration to every poor boy who is struggling to rise above his surroundings, and proves, if proof were needed, that "America spells opportunity."

Genius has been defined as the capacity for taking infinite pains, and that kind of genius Lincoln possessed to an eminent degree. His intellect and character were developed not so much from books, as from what Schiller calls the "every day education." Lincoln was a born leader of men. He understood the human heart in all its moods and tenses. He was the personification of the hopes and aspirations of the common people, who believed in him and followed his leadership.

We find to-day, in the land of Lincoln, that the spirit of commercialism is eating like a cancer into the vitals of the American people, and the spirit of plutocracy is freezing up the genial current of the soul. Lofty ideals and pure patriotism are the safeguards of our free institutions, but commercialism has no lofty ideals and plutocracy knows no patriotism.

For the past quarter of a century, we have had a carnival of bribery and corruption in public office and a surfeit of immorality and irreligion in fashionable society. What better can we expect when God and the Bible are banished from the classroom? Our motto should be, "God and Country." Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. I verily believe that the Constitution of these

United States would not be worth the parchment on which it was written, unless it had the hearts and consciences of the common people behind it.

Lincoln was a God-fearing and a God-loving man. Strictly speaking, he was not a member of any particular denomination, yet he was intensely religious. We find that the religious strain runs through all his speeches and writings.

He was absolutely honest in his dealings with men. He was generous, kind, patient and forgiving. He was one of the noblest types of moral and intellectual manhood that this country has ever produced.

> "His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, this was a man!"

When I was yet a boy, three thousand miles from these shores, with what delight and enthusiasm I used to read the life and speeches of Abraham Lincoln! His Gettysburg address, which is acknowledged a classic, was my favorite declamation. That speech has placed Lincoln among the few really great orators of the English-speaking race. It contains only 263 words and 194 of those are words of one syllable.

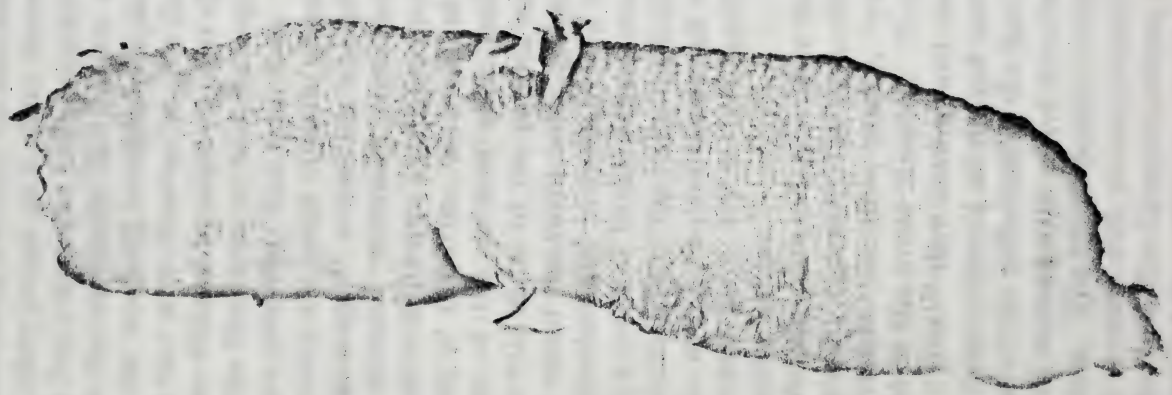
Abraham Lincoln was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest men of history; he was also a magnificent type of the genius, the heroism and the originality of the American people. He knew no race, no creed, no color, no class, but common humanity with all its faults and virtues, hopes and memories. He possessed sterling patriotism, keen sensibility, vivid imagination, genial humor, tender pathos, noble enthusiasm and lofty ideals. His mind was well stored with general knowledge, and thoroughly saturated with the political wisdom of Burke and Jefferson. His eloquence was like the song of Orpheus. The classic purity and poetic imagery of his oratory will bear favorable comparison with that of Webster. He was in many respects the Pericles of America, but he was, above and beyond all, the very soul of honor. There was no line long enough, or broad enough to shut out his sympathies from suffering humanity, or to prevent him from espousing the cause of human liberty in every land beneath the stars.

A Curious Indian Relic

FASCINATING alike to the archæologist, the historian, and to the mere patriotic American who views with sentimental regret the approaching extinction of the Red Man, the latest additions to the George G. Heye collection in the University of Pennsylvania Museum give glimpses heretofore impossible into the poetry, the mysticism, the elaborate ritual, and implicit faith of the superstitious beliefs of this dying race.

The War Bundle, or Pack, was more prized, more indispensable, than the shield, spear, or tomahawk. Without it defeat was held to be certain, all valor unavailing, all weapons useless. With it fanatical courage ran high, the warrior felt that the aiding presence of the dread Manitous, the gods of battle, would strengthen him and weaken his enemy. The only fear was that the other side might have possessed themselves of even more potent magic.

The owner of such a Bundle possessed the proud privilege of organizing and leading a war party whenever just or unjust provocation, or the thirst for military glory, or the mere desire for more horses called for hostile action against some rival tribe. When, after proper songs and ceremonies, the partisans set forth, the leader bore upon his back the Bundle upon which the success of the raid was thought to depend. It may be imagined that no pains were spared to care for it properly. Every night, or whenever the party stopped to rest, it was hung upon a tree or a lance thrust into the earth, so that it might not touch the ground, but it was never opened until the enemy was actually sighted. Once they came in view, even if very close, the warriors, singing the song appropriate to the occasion, opened the Bundle, stripped themselves, put on the magic head bands, plumes, arm bands, and other protective amulets it contained,



SACRED PACK OF THE OSAGE INDIANS—MUCH PRIZED ADDITION TO THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE
This Sacred Bundle Contains Many Human Scalps, Eagle Legs, Pipes, Buffalo Bladders, etc. It is Considered the "Holy of Holies."

applied the charmed war paint, and chewed and rubbed upon their bodies the mysterious herbs; then, while the remains of the Bundle were being wrapped up, and amid the shrilling of the war whistles, they joined in a short dance. At last they were ready for the foe, who might have been firing upon them all the while. After the encounter the amulets were returned to the Bundle, and the wounded treated with the herbs it contained. If their arms met with disaster, it was thought that some rule must have been violated by some member of the party, incurring the wrath of the Manitous, or that the magic of the enemy must have been more powerful than their own.

Very impressive are many of these ceremonies, with their solemn "opening songs," reminding one of passages in grand opera, their splendid costumes, clean and bright, their ritual dances, each with its own symbolism, skilfully stepped to the measured throb of the drum, the swish of the gourds, and the pulsating purr of the notched stick rattle, accentuating the rhythm of the wild chant of the painted singers, while through and above all sound the shrill notes of the war whistles. The deep-voiced speeches and prayers give a religious tone to the procedure, but a touch of humor is seen when selected members of the two rival factions of the tribe, the Oshkush and the Kishko compete in the eating contest connected with the feast, and, amid laughter and jeers, try to bolt scalding hot meat, fresh from the steaming kettles.

At last, the feasting finished, and after the legend of the Bundle has been gravely repeated, the host, rising, closes the ceremony. "My friends," he says, simply, "you have finished the food we offered to the great Manitou. You are now at liberty to leave us." "Hao!" they answer, and rise to go.

Perhaps the finest example of the old native art preserved in the war bundles of the collection is the Sac and Fox arm band, its fine quillwork, colored with native dyes, making it a rare and valuable specimen. The broad portion, intended to encircle the arm, is entirely covered with porcupine quill work, so arranged as to produce five bird-like figures in brown, on a yellow ground, intended to represent the "Thunders." At one end is a perfect example of the rare netted technique in quill work, while at the

other are long streamers made of strips of skin, so wrapped with bands of colored quills that when the strips lie parallel the bands form several human figures. The potency of the amulet lay not only in the representations of the Thunders, but in an eagle feather, a bit of buffalo tail, and the little packets of magic herbs, all attached to the streamers.

Another rarity, perhaps unique, is an archaic belt completely covered with the uncommon bird-quill decoration in red, white, and black, all native colors. To the back of the belt is tied a bird skin, decorated with porcupine quills, and hung with magic herbs—the powerful part of the amulet.

Two snake-skin sashes, profusely decorated with porcupine quills, are prominent among the fine specimens in the Iowa war bundles, but there are many other good things, including scalp-trimmed amulets and buffalo hair ropes. One becomes inured to handling scalps, of which so many are seen in the war bundles of these Indians, but it was somewhat of a shock to discover that some shrivelled objects, found in one of the bundles, wrapped up in a piece of cotton sheeting, were parts of a dried human face, the mouth and nose especially well-preserved. This ghastly relic was taken from a slain enemy as a war trophy, and was then offered to the presiding genius of the bundle. Fine old war-clubs may be seen attached to the outer covers of several Iowa and Winnebago bundles, which, besides their practical utility, oftentimes symbolize the crushing force of the lightning, and endow the owner with some of the Thunders' awesome power.

Grim, smoke-stained and forbidding, the very look of an Osage war bundle is nearly enough to deter the investigator's sacrilegious hand from exploring its inner mysteries, especially when he remembers that no Indian but a regular priest of the rite would dare open it—an impression not lessened by the human scalp and the dried eagle's foot tied to the blackened thongs which hold the outer cover in place. This cover is always a sack made from the coarser hair of the buffalo, twisted into yarn, and carefully woven, a splendid example of purely aboriginal fabric. Loosening the thongs and drawing away the sack, we find another, of buckskin similarly tied, and within this again a rolled mat of rushes, handsomely decorated with

woven-in designs, bound at the sides with red-dyed eagle quills, and held together with a long lariat, generally of braided buckskin, but sometimes of fibre, carefully and smoothly wound about the mat and fastened by tucking in the ends.

Unwinding the rope and unrolling the mat, we at last reach the contents and find a long buckskin sack containing tobacco, evidently for offerings, a number of buffalo heart-sacks or pericardia, and finally a grewsome-looking object, which is with difficulty extracted from its tight buckskin cover. On examination it proves to be the dried remains of a hawk, heavily smeared with red or blue paint, with the lower part of its body literally covered with small fragments cut from human scalps. This is all the Osage bundle usually contains, but the example on exhibition is exceptional, for within it were found, besides the usual set, a curious "war pipe," with disk-shaped bowl of red stone, and an archaic woven sash, possibly of buffalo hair, dyed red and yellow.

In battle a selected warrior bore the hawk, which is really more of a fetish than an amulet, slung on a cord about his neck, and its magic influence was supposed to protect the entire war party and to give them good fortune. Besides this the fetish had the power of granting wishes to the brave warriors who had borne it on the warpath—one wish for every brave deed. Various and complicated were the songs and rituals belonging to these bundles, so much so that some form of record, at least for the songs was necessary.

The First Annual Message of Abraham Lincoln

IT is fifty years ago this winter that Mr. Lincoln sent to Congress his first annual message—not his first message, for that had been addressed to the special session of Congress held in the previous July. A portion of the first annual message is reproduced here, as an important contribution to the study of Lincoln's character. It shows how courageously he put the best face possible on the war situation and found satisfaction in the patriotic support of the loyal states, while sorrowfully but justly excoriating the disloyal citizens of the United States, especially those endeavoring to embroil this country with foreign nations. It is noteworthy to observe, as an indication of Mr. Lincoln's breadth of thought, that he finds time for a discussion, brief but statesmanlike and far-seeing, of the condensation of statute laws, the establishment of a bureau of agriculture, and the relations of capital and labor.

This first annual message was in part as follows:

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 3, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the midst of unprecedented political troubles we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests.

You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs.

A disloyal portion of the American people have during the whole year been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures factious domestic division

is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party, if not both, is sure sooner or later to invoke foreign intervention.

Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations in this case, discarding all moral, social, and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion than by giving encouragement to it.

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small in compass as may consist with the fulness and precision of the will of the Legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This well done would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people, by placing before them in a more accessible and intelligible form the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls and in receipt of the bounty of the government are in the ranks of the insurgent army or giving them aid and comfort. The secretary of the interior has di-

rected a suspension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension rolls.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department nor a bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it in the government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as to not have demanded and extorted more from the government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an agricultural statistical bureau might profitably be organized.

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have therefore in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.

The inaugural address at the beginning of the Administration and the message to Congress at the late special session were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract to or from the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents.

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the

Union were not free from apprehension on the point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to *seem* against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and we were many days at one time without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the government; she already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy; and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any question. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly and, I think, unchangeably ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and, I believe, cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than 40,000 in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against us. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about 1,500, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionist north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the southern coast of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island (near Savannah), and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor* in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had

not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men, with their families —wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own lobor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close

the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have at one view what the popular principle, applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time, and also what it firmly maintained it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain 250,000,000. The struggle *of* to-day is not altogether *for* to-day; it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Continental Agents in America

By Alice Goddard Waldo, A. B.

V. Financial and General Organization.

THE financial transactions of the agents, like those of Congress, were extremely complicated. Like their superior officer, Robert Morris, they sometimes lent their private means to the public service;[41] and, like him, they were concerned in several different branches of the public business, so that it was often convenient—perhaps indeed imperative—to use one fund to supply the deficiencies of another, borrowing from Peter to pay Paul. In their capacity as prize agents, they were supposed to account from time to time with Congress through the Marine Committee;[42] but, owing to the compexity of their affairs, these accounts were not rendered with any regularity.[43] In the distribution of prize money to the officers and crews of the Continental navy, there was often much delay, due largely to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient sums of ready cash; and Congress was on at least one occasion obliged to order the payment of only half of the amount estimated to be due.[44] The Continental share of the prize money was ordered to be applied by the Marine Committee to the marine service;[45] and the agents received a commission which varied from two and one-half to five per cent.[46]

When the prize agents had developed into general Continental

41. Shaw to Francis Lewis, June 19, 1776, quoted in Caulkins, *New London*, 510.
42. Journals, Oct. 16, 1776.
43. Navy Board to Purviance, June 25, 1778, Purviance's *Narrative*, 218.
44. Journals, Oct. 4, 1776.
45. Ibid, Oct. 16, 1776.
46. Paullin, *Navy of Revolution*, 247.

agents, they were ordered to account also with the Secret Committee.[47] They made constant use of drafts on the different committees, on Morris, and on the Continental Loan Office in the various colonies;[48] these drafts were usually not honored at sight, but by special direction of Congress.[49] Congress also ordered special remittances to the agents, as on one occasion $40,000 to Bradford by draft on the Continental Loan Office in Boston, and a warrant for $5,000 on the deputy pay-master-general in Virginia in favor of John Tazewell, "the same being in part of the money heretofore granted to the marine committee."[50] When this committee closed the accounts of Washington's old prize agents, they were directed to send their remittances to the Continental Paymaster at Boston, to Thomas Cushing, to John Bradford or to John Langdon.[51] Navy commanders were instructed by the committee to call upon any of the Continental agents for limited sums of money.[52]

It is evident, then, that the agents formed part of a rude banking system, which grew up naturally, both to avoid the delay and danger incident to the transportation of money, and also to supply media of exchange which, it was hoped, would not depreciate as rapidly as the Continental currency. Morris, indeed, made a deliberate and definite attempt to use the agents to strengthen the credit of the Continental Loan Office, when, in the winter of 1776-1777, he persuaded gentlemen traveling to Boston to carry their funds in the shape of interest-bearing certificates on the Loan Office, and wrote to Bradford and the other New England agents to see to it that they were not disappointed of their money on their arrival.[53] As far as possible, the agents upheld the cred-

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47. Journals, June 6, 1777.

48. Journals, Oct. 16, 1777; Jan. 27, 1778; April 6, 1778; May 28, 1777; July 12, 1777; Nov. 18, 1777; Jan. 14, 1778, and many others.

49. Ibid, Oct. 16, 1777; April 6, 1778, and others.

50. Ibid, July 5, 1777. See also May 6, 1777, Oct. 7, 1777, Feb. 28, 1778, and others.

51. Marine Committee to Prize Agents, Oct. 18, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 1145.

52. Hopkins to Capts. Whipple and Biddle, June 16, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 931.

53. Morris to Bradford, Dec. 24, 1776, New England Historical & Genealogical Register, XXXV, 83; Morris to Continental Agents, Dec. 30, 1776, Force, Series 5. III, 1485.

it of the Congress; but in the very nature of things, many of their obligations must have remained unfulfilled.[54]

It was not always easy to decide upon whom a draft should be drawn for a certain purpose. The colonies were at all times anxious to shift the burden of their expenses to the shoulders of the Continental Congress, and the agents sometimes received instructions to that effect. A question of this kind, for instance, came up in Maryland; and Purviance, who had been purchasing pork for the troops, was informed that the governor thought that this expense should by all means be charged to the Continent.[55] It is small wonder that it took years of toil, and the hand of a financial genius, to classify and settle the obligations incurred in the Revolution in a manner even remotely approaching accuracy and justice.

The general relationship between the agents and the various colonies presents some points of considerable interest. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the Continental agents were among the very first civil officers representing Federal authority and residing in the States; and as such, their position is unique. What then was the attitude of the States toward these men, acting within their territories under the sanction and direction of an external body—a body, moreover, exercising functions which had never been formally delegated to it? Surely conflict and interference must necessarily follow.

At first glance, this would seem not to have been the case. We find the agents acting in constant and harmonious concert with the local and colonial authorities; we find the colonial governments acceding to requests and recommendations made upon the suggestion of the agents.[56] To all appearances, the Continental representatives find smooth sailing in the execution of their duties. The causes for this somewhat deceptive condition of affairs,

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54. Commercial Committee to Messrs. Purviance, Jan. 15, 1778, Purviance's *Narrative*, 216.

55. Gen. Smallwood to Messrs. Purviance, April 17, 1777, Ibid, 212.

56. In September, 1776, for instance, the Maryland Council of Safety, acting on the request of the Secret Committee, doubtless suggested by Purviance, loaned a quantity of powder for the Continental frigate building at Baltimore, "to save time and charges." (Secret Committee to Maryland Council of Safety, Sept. 13, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 310; Maryand Council to Secret Committee, Sept. 25, 1776, Ibid, 510; Morris to Maryland Council, Oct. 1, 1776, Ibid, 823.)

however, are not far to seek. In the first place, the work of the agents, while carried on under Congressional direction, was largely local in its character, and the interests of Congress and the colonies were often identical. Where they were not, there was considerable friction, as we shall presently see. In the second place, the most active of the agents were also high in the service of the colonial and local governments, and in their dual character must have avoided much confusion and conflict. Cornelius Harnett, for instance, President of the North Carolina Council, did not interfere with Cornelius Harnett, Continental agent at Wilmington; and amicable relations undoubtedly existed between Samuel Purviance, agent at Baltimore, and Samuel Purviance, Chairman of the Baltimore Committee. Nixon and Nesbitt were prominent members of the Philadelphia Committee of Safety; and in the summer of 1776, Nathaniel Shaw was appointed agent for the colony of Connecticut, "for the purpose of Naval supplies, and for taking of such sick seamen as may be sent on shore to his care."[57] This union of Continental and colonial business in the hands of one man was not universal, and was due rather to the fitness and ability of the men concerned than to any deliberate intention; but in the cases where it existed, it explains the surprising lack of friction and jealousy.

There were times, however, when the colonies interfered with the agents, although always preserving the semblance of respect to Congress. The New York Provincial Convention, for instance, instructed Van Zandt and his colleague to send to General Schuyler the cordage which had been purchased for the Continental frigates, promising to "justify them to the Congress."[58] On application of the Massachusetts General Court and of Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, Leonard Jarvis, deputy agent at Dartmouth, delivered to the militia of those colonies part of the arms in his care; he was excused by Congress on account of the emergency which existed, but was informed that he was, in the future, to deliver no stores except by Congressional order.[59] A more striking case of interference is that in which

57. Records of Connecticut Council of Safety, July 10, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 243-4; Trumbull to Shaw, July 15, 1776, Ibid, 360.
58. New York Provincial Convention, Sept. 19, 1776, Ibid, II, 705.
59. Journals, Jan. 23, 1777.

Rhode Island restrained her agent from obeying his instructions from Congress and sending to Philadelphia the cannon which had been brought from Nassau to Newport by Commodore Hopkins. These cannon were the undoubted property of the Continent, and as such should have been entirely at the disposal of the Continental agent; yet they remained in Newport while a long controversy took place between the Rhode Island Assembly, Tillinghast, Hopkins, the Philadelphia Committee of Safety and the Congress. When Congress tried to solve the problem by removing the New London cannon instead of those at Newport, Governor Trumbull and Shaw took a hand; and it was not until after a long delay that the matter was finally settled by taking a few cannon from Newport and the rest from New London—the victory in the dispute really resting with Rhode Island. In this quarrel the position of the two agents was passive and quiescent; they simply did nothing in the matter, and let the colonies and the Congress fight it out between themselves.[60]

Even in Maryland, where affairs ran so smoothly, Purviance himself got into serious trouble in the matter of the proposed seizure of Governor Eden, because he acted too promptly in anticipation of orders from Congress, without waiting for the action of the Maryland Council.[61]

The conclusion of the whole matter appears to be precisely what one would expect: relations between the colonies and the agents were normally smooth, because the colonial authorities had little cause to criticize the proceedings of the agents, or to interfere with them; but when they did have occasion to criticize and interfere, they did so without hesitation, and with entire success.

This interference was made more easy by the fact that there was no very definite organization of the agency system. The duties of the agents, as we have seen, increased and developed very rapidly, and became far more complicated and important than their creators had expected. One result of this unplanned growth was that the agents served many masters. Theoretically, they were under the direction of Congress, and subject to its

60. See Appendix B.
61. See Appendix C.

orders alone, transmitted to them through the Marine and Secret Committees; practically, they received and obeyed many commands from Washington, Hopkins and colonial legislatures. Theoretically, they were supposed to transact no business beyond the prosecution and sale of prizes, without orders from the proper authority; practically, they were obliged to do many things on their own initiative. Congress, however, did succeed to an amazing extent in keeping in its own hands the direction of these small concerns, and the minute details which became the subjects of orders and resolutions make us marvel that the larger business of the Continent ever got attended to at all. The orders issued by Washington and Hopkins generally recognized the position of the Congress, and were sent out either, "pursuant to the directions of Congress," or, pending the action of "the proper authority."[62] Some business was carried on under general orders of Congress, by which Washington was given discretionary power with respect to the disposal of certain specified supplies.[63] In his dealings with the agents, Washington had a somewhat freer hand than Hopkins; Congress, apparently without much justice, soon lost faith in its commodore, while, as we have observed, the commander-in-chief received, on the whole, a fairly loyal support, thanks to the strong good sense of Robert Morris.

The relations of the agents with each other depended upon their geographical location and the business in which they were engaged. There was nothing resembling an organized hierarchy, save that Jarvis, deputy agent at Dartmouth, was naturally subject to Bradford, who appointed him.[64] The agents in different ports were often instructed to apply to each other for assistance in their undertakings,[65] and they seemed to have worked together to a considerable extent. It is probable that there was more personal acquaintance among them than one would expect in that age of long, weary horse-back journeys over wretched roads. Harnett spent the summer of 1774 in the North.[66] Langdon, in 1775,

62. J. Ward to Bradford, July 27, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 625; Bradford to Washington, Aug. 12, 1776, Ibid, 927.
63. Journals, April 19, 1776; May 25, 1776.
64. Journals, Jan. 23, 1777.
65. Marine Committee to Bradford and Langdon, Sept. 21, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 428 and 429.
66. Connor, *Harnett*, 82.

served in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia; Shaw visited Boston and probably Philadelphia in the autumn of that year;[67] Purviance undoubtedly traveled more than once to the Quaker city. As merchants, moreover, many of them must have had business dealings with each other before the war, and Purviance and Clarkson were certainly known by name to Bradford in 1774, when they shipped provisions from Baltimore and Charleston for the relief of Boston.[68] The agents considered each other as friends working for the same cause, and were friendly and helpful to each other. Some jealousies arose, of course;[69] but the normal condition was one of harmony and co-operation. The Continental agents were, in short, a group of men with some sense of esprit-de-corps, working under a common superior for a common object. From the nature of their appointment and service, they may probably be reckoned among the most loyal supporters of the Continental Congress.

VI. Importance of the Continental Agents.

How great a service the Continental agents, as a body, rendered to the cause of the Revolution, it is difficult to determine, for their activities were of an exceedingly comprehensive character. As we have seen, they served many masters, who were concerned with as many different branches of the public business. Like master, like man; and in so far as the work of the Committee of Secret Correspondence, the Marine Committee and the Secret Committee, was essential to the success of the Revolution, so far were their servants important to the cause. The common activity of the three committees was the acquisition and disposal of military supplies; and it is along this line that we must look for real results in the service of their agents. As part of the rude banking system of the Continent, they were of some importance; very large sums of ready money came into

67. Shaw to Messrs. Wharton, Sept. 18, 1775, quoted in Caulkins, *New London*, 508.

68. Messrs. Purviance to Boston Committee of Correspondence, Aug. 4, 1774, Purviance's *Narrative*, 169; S. Adams to Gadsden and Clarkson, July 18, 1774, Adams, *Writings*, III, 143 (4 vols. Edited by H. A. Cushing, New York, 1904.)

69. Hopkins once rebuked Jarvis sharply for resenting the action of Tillinghast in assisting him to procure carts in his own district. (Hopkins to Jarvis, Dec. 28, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1470.)

their hands through the sale of prizes, and they were thus enabled to give a certain support to the failing public credit. This support, however, was totally inadequate for the emergency, and, in spite of it, all the forms of Continental currency depreciated at breakneck speed. As Federal officials in the States, the agents were interesting and unique; but they were the forerunners of no later officials, and nothing in their relationship with the local governments furnished any precedents for later action. In the service of the army and the navy, however—in the making possible the capture or importation of supplies—in the actual work of distribution—in this field the work of the Continental agents had definite and valuable results.

The most important fruit of the negotiations with France in the early years of the war was the secret assistance of Beaumarchais. His assumption of the name of Hortalez savors somewhat of the romances of Dumas; but the arms and ammunition which he sent to the West Indies were no figment of a sentimental imagination. In all this business the agents played an essential part. They provided and equipped the vessels which carried despatches between the Congress and the Commissioners; they did the same for those which went to the West Indies; and when the stores arrived, they assisted in their distribution. It was such business as this which made the creation and maintenance of the navy important. As an instrument of war, it was not very efficacious, in spite of a few brilliant engagements; as an instrument of commerce it was in constant and successful use. The man-of-war which sailed for Martinique or St. Eustatius, under the direction of the Secret Committee, with a cargo of rice and indigo, and returned laden with blankets and great-coats for the freezing soldiers, and powder and shot for their empty muskets, performed a more real though less spectacular service than the "Bonhomme Richard" in her memorable victory over the "Serapis;" while the agents who, directly or indirectly, made possible both adventures, must, in the last analysis, share in the honor of both.

Most important of all, however, because most direct and immediate in its results, was the great prize business of the New England agents. The value of the military stores which passed

through their hands to Washington's army must be determined, not by their quantity, which was undoubtedly great, but by the fact that they could have been obtained from no other source. There was no reserve supply on the Continent; importation was at best slow and hazardous; the great bulk of the arms and ammunition used in the campaign of 1776 must have come from British prizes, and been handled by the Continental agents. It is a fact much too well-known to need repetition, that Washington's army was never, at any time of the war, sufficiently supplied with arms, ammunition, clothing or food; it is inconceivable that the army could have continued to exist at all, had any one of its sources of supply been cut off. And when it is understood that the Continental agents were, by the nature and accidents of the case, the most considerable purveyors of arms and ammunition, their vital importance to the success of the Revolution follows as an immediate corollary. The Continental Congress was never very efficient in its administration of the war; but by a combination of many strange factors, it was enabled to be sufficient for its successful continuance. In like manner the Continental agents, the instruments of the Congress in many of its wisest undertakings, so aided the navy and eked out the scanty resources of the army, that both were kept alive to prolong the struggle until the nations of Europe came to their aid, the fortunes of war changed, and the independence of the colonies was established.

Cleveland's Birthplace

A Popoular Movement for a National Memorial.

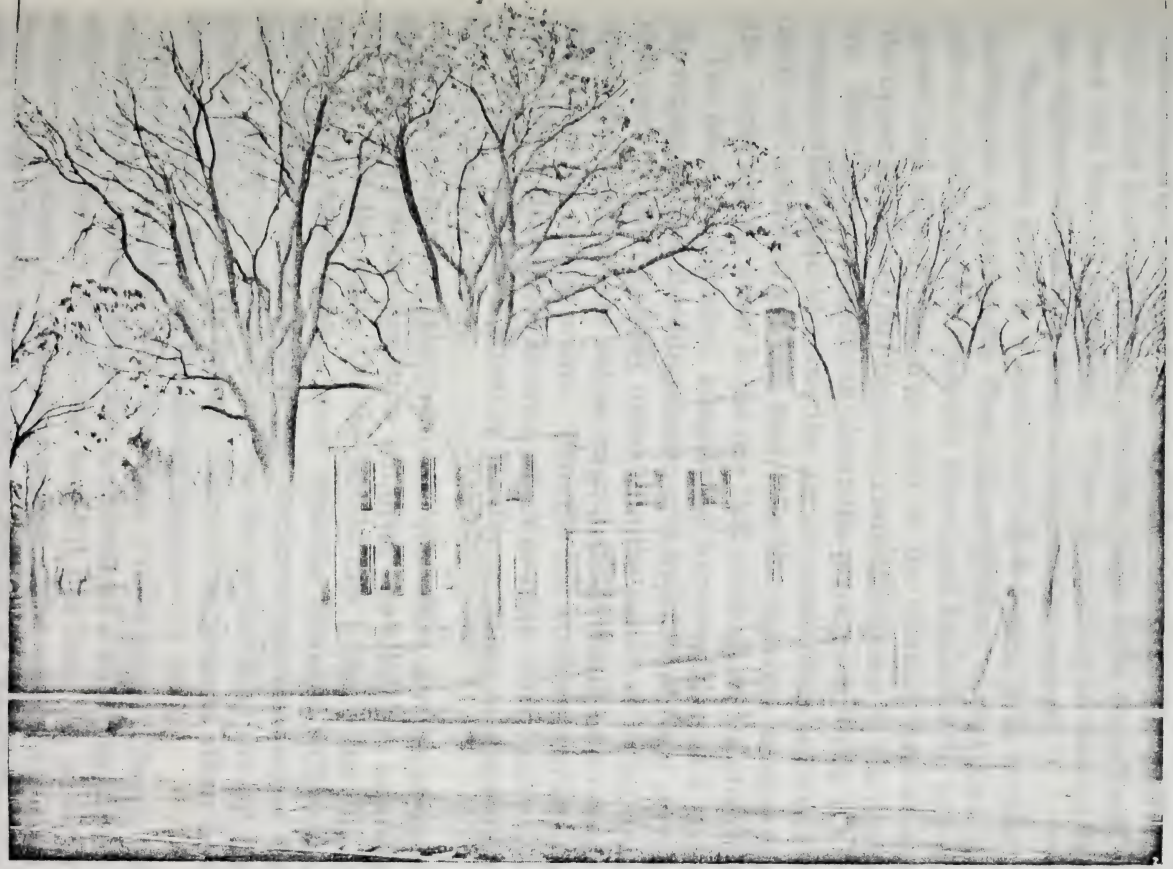
THE old manse where Grover Cleveland was born seventy-five years ago is about to become a national memorial of him. The citizens of Caldwell, N. J., have organized a committee to raise a local fund of $5,000 that is to be supplemented by a national fund of $45,000 for the purchase and improvement of the property, and they have already secured more than half of the required amount, and say the success of the enterprise is assured.

Dr. John H. Finley, president of the College of the City of New York, is chairman of the national committee, which will appeal to the many friends of Grover Cleveland throughout the country.

William H. Van Wart, editor of the Caldwell *Progress,* has been largely instrumental in organizing the local committee, which includes Mayor John Espy, Leon A. Carley, James R. Campbell and Cyrus Crane. The project contemplates the purchase of a plot of ground adjoining the Cleveland property as a site for a library that Andrew Carnegie has promised to give to the town. The adjoining plot was formerly a part of the Cleveland manse estate, but passed out of the control of the First Presbyterian Church several years ago.

The sum required for the purchase of both pieces of property is $25,000, and this amount will also pay for the necessary alterations and repairs. There will remain an additional $25,000 to pay the general expenses and care of the memorial estate and as a permanent fund for its maintenance.

The first attempt to mark the birthplace of Grover Cleveland took place in 1907, when Dean Andrew F. West of Princeton University, Dr. John H. Finley of the College of the City of New York and the late Richard Watson Gilder, the poet and former



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GROVER CLEVELAND'S BIRTHPLACE, CALDWELL

editor of the *Century,* prepared, with the cooperation of other friends of Grover Cleveland, a large bronze tablet which was set into the wall of the room where he was born. The tablet was unveiled on Mr. Cleveland's seventieth birthday. The wall where this tablet is set is bare of pictures. The little room itself has been left bare of ornament. There is nothing to detract from the impression that the tablet is intended to convey.

The manse itself is a small and aged house, with nothing to distinguish it externally from its neighbors, except that it is placed a little further from the street and flanked with two well grown and shapely elm trees that in the summer time obscure the upper portion of the building from the glance of the passer-by. But there is something about the place, possibly in the arrangement of the trees and the air of permanence afforded by their well achieved growth, that tells the sightseer at once that this house and no other is the one that must claim his attention.

The house is dignified, simple and unpretentious and it has the repose but not the dilapidation of a well assured and serviceable age. A short hallway opens into the parlor or living room, where the windows are not so large as they would be nowadays and where the ceiling is low. Through the windows can be seen the width of Bloomfield avenue, which in spite of its trolley cars is in many ways like a street in Hadley or Salem or some other old New England town.

Behind the parlor is the room with the tablet, a room so small that two steps in any direction will bring one's hand in touching distance with the wall. On the left of this room is the dining room, which opens upon a small veranda, screened with vines. Between these rooms another that is almost an extension of the hallway serves as a library and on the second floor are all the present bedrooms in the house. There is no veranda other than the small one in front of the dining room.

Between the manse and the First Presbyterian Church of which it is the rectory there lies a quarter of a mile. In practically all the history of this old house it has been the home of ministers. Nelson C. Chester, present rector of the Caldwell Presbyterian Church, has written an account of the manse. In 1832 it sheltered the Rev. Baker Johnson, who was associate

pastor of the Presbyterian Church, with the father of Grover Cleveland.

The house was a fine one in its time and cost nearly $1,500, which in the days when people crossed the continent in wagon trains, if they crossed at all, was a great deal of money to be spent in house building. There were few houses in Caldwell in 1832 which presented a finer appearance than the Cleveland homestead, and there have been no homes built there since that have made a better return for the money invested in them.

In the eighty years of its history the birthplace of Grover Cleveland has been unoccupied for three years only, which is a good tribute for the church of which it has been the parsonage. Nobody has stayed in the house so long as Grover Cleveland's father, but two of its occupants have exceptionally long records of service. Dr. Sprague lived there for nineteen years and many people still remember him with affection. Dr. Berry lived in the house for a quarter of a century, in which he became known to and loved by two or three generations.

Grover Cleveland was not the only person of distinction who was born in the old house. Three ministers and a well known man of business were also born there. At least two other children of the Cleveland family were born there, Richard Cecil, an elder brother of the President, and Margaret Louisa Folley, his younger sister. An elder sister who was 4 years old when the Clevelands came to the manse was baptized at the Caldwell Presbyterian Church.

Perhaps the liveliest period in the history of the manse took place during the pastorate of Mr. Berry. There was no railroad at that time to break the silence of the night and no flat wheeled trolley cars to awaken the town of Caldwell, but a number of young people in the manse and the adjacent homesteads kept the town from realizing these wants too deeply.

In a letter to Mr. Berry written in 1884 Grover Cleveland expressed his high regard for the town and homestead where he was born.

"I can sincerely say the spot is dear to me," he wrote, "as the place of his birth should be dear to every man. The name brings to mind scenes in the family circle when the incidents of Cald-

well life were recalled and dwelt upon with pleasure and gratitude. And when I remember that there my sainted parents had their home and there my godly father wrought and struggled in his Heavenly Father's mission the place to me seems hallowed and sacred.

"The Caldwell church, built up and prospered by the labors of such pious and devoted men as have been its pastors, has much in its centennial year to chasten and consecrate its history. In the days to come may it always remain true and steadfast in the work committed to its charge, truthfully teaching the pure doctrine of the Gospel and avoiding all malice and uncharitableness."

When the generation with which President Cleveland's parents were associated passed away the personal element of interest passed with it. Mr. Cleveland never visited Caldwell in his later years, and if he had done so he would have found little to remind him of the town his father knew. But the town has been loyal to his memory, and on the last anniversary of his birthday the Caldwell *Progress* proposed that a fund be raised to purchase the Presbyterian parsonage and to restore and preserve it "in honor of the only President given to the United States by the State of New Jersey."

The Death of a Famous Spy

THIS is a story of Pryce Lewis; not the whole story nor a great part of it, for that could scarcely be. It was Pryce Lewis who served this country as a spy in the civil war and who came as near death in the line of his duty as a man can well come and yet escape. It was Pryce Lewis too who followed many intricate matters through to the end in peril of his life, and to whom life was spared until he was 83 years old, and then he jumped from the dome of the Pulitzer Building to the stones of Park Row in New York City.

The story of Pryce Lewis begins in England, said The Sun. He was born there in 1828. He came to this country in his early manhood and at the outbreak of the civil war was a Pinkerton detective. Inasmuch as there was no properly constituted secret service which could undertake the great task of getting information for the Northern armies the Pinkertons were called upon to furnish men to serve as spies. At that time the Federal armies had not had time to develop the department of information which did such brilliant service later and on the rolls of which appear the names of men who made the utmost sacrifices for the Union.

The Pinkertons picked Pryce Lewis to go south. The headquarters of the army to which he was attached was at Cincinnati. The young Englishman already had a record for shrewdness and daring, and this so recommended him to his chief that he was given perilous duty from the start.

He had an accent and a drawl. He had also an excellent knowledge of the Crimean War, which he obtained as an agent in England for a history of the campaigns in the Crimea. It was suggested that he impersonate an English army officer who wished to see action with the Confederates. Lewis jumped at the idea.

It was what he wanted, an opportunity to use his wits and take a chance.

So he called himself Lord Tracy, hired a carriage and pair of horses, induced another Pinkerton man to go along as coachman and set out from Cincinnati. There was nothing lacking to create the illusion of high station. Lewis was a man who had seen much of life. He could assume the manners of politeness. And Pinkerton fitted him out with all the items necessary to carry off the play. He had fine clothes. He had a British silk hat and a monocle. He had a gold cigar case, which was engraved with an impressive crest.

Thus clad and with all the appearance of station he started South from Cincinnati, one of the first—perhaps indeed the very first—properly authenticated spy of the civil war. He had not far to go before he fell in with Confederate levies, for Cincinnati was not far from the border.

It was an easy task for the Englishman to convince the first Confederate officer he met that he was kindly disposed. The accent, the silk hat, the gold cigar case, the coachman, the familiarity with a great war and the assumption of regard for the officer's rank got a pass for Lord Tracy without a question. He wanted to go as far South as Charlestown, in what is now West Virginia, and the permission was granted.

As he approached the city he heard that Gen. Wise was scrutinizing all comers. No one not known to be a friend was allowed to stay within the lines. Strangers were sent North and those suspected of hostility were placed under guard. This did not daunt Lewis. He drove straight to the hotel, where the General had his headquarters, and had his coachman demand the best quarters for the English nobleman. Then he forced himself on the General and in the course of a hot interview demanded a pass further South. Gen. Wise refused. Lewis was indignant. A veteran of the Crimea and a student of military affairs—was he to be turned aside in this fashion?

But the General was not to be bulldozed. Tracey said he would appeal through his own Government.

"Do what you please," said Wise. "But you can't go any

further until you get permission from headquarters. You can't expect anything from me."

This gave Lewis what he wanted. In a short while he knew as much about the Confederate position as the Confederates did themselves. Then it was time to go back North. The messenger might return from the British representative in Richmond and then he would be dishonored. So under pretence of going to see about the pass he started away.

He found a Federal detachment at Ironton on the Ohio River and got quick transportation to Cincinnati. Gen. McClellan turned him over to Gen. Cox. Lewis told what he had learned about Wise's position. Cox refused at first to believe that Wise was as weak as the spy declared. At last Lewis carried his point and Cox attacked the Confederates. The result was that Charlestown was cut off from Confederate help and West Virginia fell into Federal hands. It was one of the moves that saved the border States to the North.

Lewis went to Washington with Pinkerton, who, as Major Allen, formed the United States secret service. Lewis was one of his trusted men. He undertook to hunt down Confederate spies in the Northern cities. But he did not stay in the North. Major Allen needed some one to go South to find out why Timothy Webster had not been heard from for weeks. Webster, employed by the Confederates as a despatch runner, sent his mail bags to Major Allen, who steamed open the letters, copied their contents and then sent them to their destination. The service was valuable and when it was interrupted it had to be started up again. Lewis was the man picked to go.

He used to say that the mission was equivalent to a death sentence. There were many men in Richmond who knew him. Some he had run down in New York and driven South again. Others remembered Lord Tracy. But he went. He found Webster in bed sick with rheumatism. He went to work to devise a new mail system, but before he had gone far Mrs. Morton, wife of the Governor of Florida, whom he had caught in Washington, denounced him. He was arrested and condemned to be hanged. After a hard fight the British Government succeeded in saving him from the gallows. The next nineteen months he spent in

prison, and before release came his hair had turned white, though he was but twenty-nine years old.

For a time after the war Lewis had an easy berth as a bailiff in Federal prisons. But he left because he could not, as he said, stand the graft. He worked for the Pinkertons for years. He ran down insurance frauds here and in Mexico. He worked on both sides at various times of the A. T. Stewart will case. Four years ago he was a process server for Alexander Simpson, a Jersey City lawyer. But Simpson had to let him go on account of his age. He had little money. An effort was made to secure a pension for him, but the claim was delayed owing to the fact that, while one of the most valuable factors in the Federal service, he had been a civilian. Disheartened by his misfortunes, discouraged by his inability to make a living—he jumped from the dome of the *New York World* building on December 6, 1911.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXI

The "Mormon" Exodus from the East—Voyage of the Brooklyn

THERE was an exodus of Latter-day Saints from the United State from the East, as well as from the West. Elder Orson Pratt of the Council of Apostles was presiding in the Eastern States when word of the hastened departure of the Saints from Illinois, as early in the spring as "grass would grow or water run," arrived. He promptly issued a message on the 8th of November, 1845, to the Saints of the Eastern and Middle states, calling upon them to join in the exodus enforced upon the Church in the west, by the ensuing spring. "We do not want one Saint to be left in the United States after that time," said the message. "Let every branch," he continued, "in the east, west, north and south be determined to flee out of Babylon, either by land or sea, as soon as then." "If all want to go," said he, "charter half, or a dozen vessels and fill each with passengers, and the fare among so many will be but a trifle." However, those who could get teams during the winter were advised to go by land. President Pratt announced in his message that Elder Samuel Brannan was appointed to take charge of the company that would go by sea. And all who might go with him were admonished "to give strict heed to his instruction and counsel."

Elder Pratt deplored the fact that some for want of means would not be able to join in the exodus either by sea or land:

"We love the saints, both in the east and the west," he wrote, "and it grieves our heart that circumstances should force any of you to tarry in the states after next spring. If it were in our power, our hearts would leap for joy at the prospect of taking you all with us: And thus would the fulness of the gospel be fully brought out from among the Gentiles."[1]

The remainder of this noble Epistle is devoted to admonition to righteousness,[2] a most affectionate leave-taking of the saints in the eastern states, and a prayer for their perseverance in the faith, and in life.

On the 12th of the same month a conference was convened in New York, over which Elder Pratt presided, and the departure of the saints from the United State was elaborated upon. The Saints in conference by resolution said: "We hail with joy the proclamation of our brethren from the City of Joseph (i. e., Nauvoo)[3] to make preparations for our immediate departure, and give thanks and praise to our heavenly Father that the day of our deliverance is near at hand;" also that "the church in this city (New York) move, one and all, west of the Rocky Mountains between this and next season, either by land or water;" also that "we prepare ourselves to enter into our chambers, and shut our doors about us for a little season, until the indignation be overpast!"

Elder Samuel Brannan laid before the conference his instructions from the authorities of the Church, directing him to go by water to California; and he called upon those who desired to go with him to give in their names.[4]

By the 29th of December Brannan was able to announce

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1. Elder Pratt elaborates the idea of the closing statement of the above paragraph in two articles in the Millennial Star, Vol. VI, No. 12, December, 1845.

2. The Epistle will be found *in extenso* in *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI. p. 1042, *et seq.* Elder Pratt's apostrophe to Virtue at the close of his admonition to the Saints is worthy of perpetuation; "O Virtue! how amiable thou art! strength and beauty and excellence and dignity and honor and immortality are thine offspring! Gentle peace, pure affection, unbounded love, and omnipotent power shall reign triumphant in thy habitations for ever more"!

3. See ante chapter LIX.

4. Minutes of this conference are published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. VII, p. 35-6. In addition to considering the question of removal of the eastern saints to the west, the conference denounced the course of William Smith, an apostle—the late president Smith's brother—while among them, and approved the action of the church authorities at Nauvoo in excommunicating him.

through the *New York Messenger*[5] that he had chartered the ship *Brooklyn,* of 450 tons, at $1,200 per month, the lessee to pay the port charges. The time announced for sailing was the 24th of January, 1846;[6] the fare was fixed at $50 per adult person, with $25 additional for provisions; children over five and under fourteen years of age to go for half fare.[7]

There were soon 300 applications for passage on the *Brooklyn,* and finally of that number 238 took passage, classified as follows: 70 men, 68 women, and 100 children. Some two or three not members of the church also went with the company. This company of Saints were chiefly American farmers and mechanics from the eastern and middle states.[8] They took with them agricultural and mechanical tools and equipment "for eight hundred men," consisting of plows, hoes, forks, shovels, spades, plow-irons, scythes, sickles, nails, glass, blacksmith, carpenter and mill-wright tools; materials for three grain mills, turning lathes, saw-mill irons, one printing press—the one on which the "*Prophet*" had been printed through the years of its publication; also dry goods, twine, brass, copper, iron, tin and crockery ware; two new milk cows, about forty pigs and a number of fowls. They also took with them a large quantity of school books, among which are named spelling books, histories, books on arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, geography, Hebrew grammars, slates, etc. A Mr. J. M. Vancott presented to the emigrants, through Mr. Brannan, 179 volumes of Harpers' Family Library. The ship was provisioned and watered for a voyage of six or seven months, though it was estimated that the jour-

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5. The *Messenger* succeeded the *Prophet,* and was edited by Parley P. Pratt. The appearance in Nauvoo of the first number was noticed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for July 23rd, 1845.

6. *N. Y. Messenger,* Dec. 29, 1845.

7. This was cheap passage; but there was some prospect at the time of a much cheaper rate. A merchant of New York in the Pacific trade proposed taking 200 "at $16 per ton" for the room occupied, "and fifty more for nothing," contingent, however, upon his obtaining the government freight consisting of naval stores to be carried into the Pacific. Not much dependence, however, was placed upon this offer. See *Times and Seasons,* Vol. VI, p. 1094.

8. A partial list of their names is given in *Times and Seasons,* copied from the *N. Y. Messenger,* but some changes were made in that list before the time of sailing, hence it is not complete or accurate. A complete list is given in Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. V, p. 546-7, *note;* and a biographical notice of each member will be found in that writer's *Pioneer Register and Index,* "History of California," Vols. II-V.

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ney to California via Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, would not occupy more than five months.

The Brooklyn is described by a writer in the *Times and Seasons* as "nearly new"[9] a first class ship, in the best of order for sea, and, with all the rest, a very fast sailor.[10] Captain Richardson, according to a statement in the *New York Messenger*, had the "reputation of being one of the most skillful seamen that has ever sailed from this [New York] port, and bears an excellent moral character." Captain and crew were declared to be "all temperance men."[11]

The day of sailing was changed several times, but finally, on the 4th of February, 1846, the *Brooklyn* cleared New York harbor and headed southward on her long voyage. Of course it was a mere coincidence that the date the *Brooklyn* left New York harbor was also the very day on which the exodus from Nauvoo began.[12] Except for severe storms—one encountered in the Atlantic and the other in the Pacific—the latter in the latitude of Valparaiso[12]—the voyage was a pleasant one. The vessel touched at the Island of Juan Fernandez, famous as the solitary residence of Alexander Selkirk, 1704-09, where after landing on the 4th of May, they spent five days; also at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 20th, where they remained ten days; 1846, having made the journey in five months and twenty-seven days.

Life and death were with them in their journey: there were two births and the children were named "Atlantic" and "Pacific" respectively; of deaths there were ten; and one, sister Laura Goodwin, thrown from the stairway in the second storm, causing the premature birth of a child, followed by her own death, was buried on the Island of Juan Fernandez.

Sin, too, followed them. From the outset at New York an

9. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 1127.

10. *Ibid*, p. 1113. The testimony respecting the Ship *Brooklyn's* "Newness," "first class ship," and a "fast sailor," etc., is not unanimous. See note 1 end of Chapter.

11. Quoted in *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 1113.

12. History of the Church, Cannon, Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XVII, p. 315.

12. Mrs. Augusta Joyce Crocheron locates the second storm "off Cape Horn," (Western Galaxy, Vol. I, March, 1888): Bancroft locates it in the latitude of Valparaiso—about 30 south latitude—Hist. California, Vol. V, p. 549.

elaborate set of rules—twenty-one in all—were made, governing daily conduct and religious observances on Sundays. But, alas for human frailty! rules, however excellent, never yet perfectly controlled human conduct.[13] So it proved in the experience of this *Brooklyn* company of Saints. Four leading members were excommunicated for improper views and conduct, "for wicked and licentious conduct," according to Brannan's report of the trial,[14] which was had before the vessel reached San Francisco Bay. Three more were excommunicated for the same cause soon after the ship's arrival at San Francisco.[15]

It is humiliating to have to record such an incident in connection with those essaying to be Saints; but such is human experience; good intentions, strict regulations, knowledge of what is right in conduct, and divine injunction thereto, are all inadequate at times to hold human nature true to the law of righteousness. It is a witness, however, this trial and the excommunication of the delinquents following, to the high ideals of this Latter-day Saint community. Iniquity, unhappily, appeared among them, but they had no fellowship with it, they would not condone or tolerate it. And thus far they gave evidence to the world that their religion pledged them to the maintenance of righteousness in the membership of the Church.

On arriving at San Francisco, then called "Yerba Buena,"[16] the *Brooklyn* company found the American flag waving over the fort, the guns of which had saluted their entrance into the bay, and to which the guns of the *Brooklyn* responded, "and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure," writes one of the passengers. On the announcement of the U. S. naval officer, who boarded the *Brooklyn* as she came to anchor, that the emigrants "were in the United States of America," three hearty cheers

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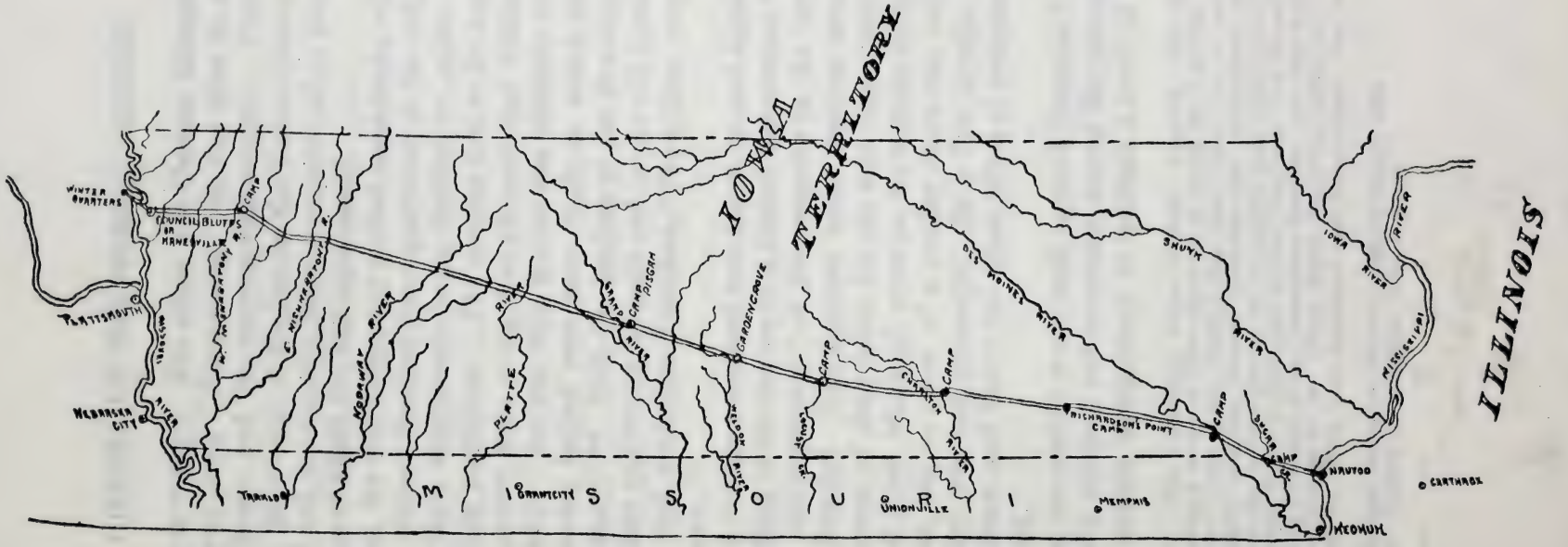
13. Said rules are published *in extenso* in *Times and Seasons,* Vol. VI, pp. 1127-8.

14. Mill. Star, Vol. IX, p. 307.

15. Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. V, pp. 549, 551; Also *Mill. Star* Vol. IX, pp. 306, 307; Brannan's letter, where the names of the transgressors are given.

16. Spanish, meaning "good herb."



Route of the Mormon Camp of Israel from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs—1846

were given in reply.[17] The officer was Captain Montgomery of the *U. S.* war sloop *"Portsmouth;"* he was then in command of Yerba Buena and the surrounding country. Three weeks previous to the arrival of the Saints, the United States flag had been raised and the country taken possession of in the name of the government which the flag represented.

On landing, the ship's company pitched some tents, which were soon filled; sixteen families were quartered in the old Spanish barracks, "their apartments being divided by quilts or other accommodating partitions." The cooking had to be done out of doors, and orders were given that all must stay within certain limits; for while "the war with Mexico was virtually ended, the vindictive enemy lurked ever near, ready to wreak vengeance upon the unwary."[18] With the landing of the *Brooklyn's* company, and their quartering in tents and in the old Spanish barracks of the fort, made San Francisco, "for a time, very largely a Mormon town."[19]

During the voyage a contract was drawn up and signed, instituting something in the nature of a limited communism "for the convenience and protection" of the company in the new settlement to be founded. The contract bound signing members to give the proceeds of their labor for the next three years into a common fund from which all were to draw their living. The plan, however, like so many of a similar character, before and since that day, was not successful. In a few months quite a number withdrew, and finally the whole effort at community life was abandoned.

On landing, complaints were made against Brannan by a few of the company, alleging bad treatment during the passage; and this caused Captain Montgomery to institute a court of investi-

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17. So writes Mrs. Crocheron, before noticed. Bancroft. Hist. Cal. V, p. 550, repeats the alleged saying of Elder Brannan on seeing the American flag waving over the Fort—"There is that damned flag again!" but gives no authority for the alleged remark; and for himself discredits the exclamation, by adding —"but it has been the fashion greatly to exaggerate their disappointment"—i. e., on finding the United States in possession of San Francisco. The *Brooklyn's* company had learned at Honolulu, from Commodore Stockton, just then departing for Monterey, of the prospect of the United States occupying California; and there is no evidence that the Saints were displeased with that prospect. See note 2, end of chapter.

18. The Crocheron narrative, *Western Galaxy*, March, 1888.

19. Bancroft's History of California, Vol. V, p. 551.

gation, before which the larger part of the company "were cited to appear for private inquiry." The trial resulted, however, in a victory for Brannan, against whom nothing of a serious nature seems to have been proved.[21]

The "*Brooklyn*" company of saints at "Yerba Buena" seem to have won a reputation as "honest and industrious citizens;" for orderly and moral conduct "both on land and sea;"[22] and this notwithstanding the delinquencies of the few already noted in these pages. They sought employment wherever it was to be had; but a party of twenty were detailed to start a settlement and put in crops, preparatory to removing the "*Brooklyn* Colony" to it in the spring. A site was chosen on the north bank of the Stanislaus, about a mile and a half from a larger river, the San Joaquin, which empties into San Francisco Bay. The settlement was called "New Hope."[23] A log house and a saw-mill were built, and eighty acres of land fenced and seeded; but beyond this nothing was accomplished. William Stout had charge of the enterprise at New Hope; and some aver that misunderstandings with him were the occasion of breaking up the settlement. It is most likely, however, that the uncertainty of the main body of the Church coming through to the Pacific coast was a large factor in the discouragement of the New Hope Colony.[24] Brannan, according to the account of William Glover,

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21. Brannan himself gives an account of this incident in a letter to "The Saints in England," *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, pp. 306-7. He felicitates himself on his acquittal in the exclamation, "but the truth was mighty and prevailed!" The "History of California" by Tuthill, p. 214-5, refers to this incident as "the first jury trial of California," and says that it was won by Brannan. In Ryan's *Judges and Criminals*," 59-60, is a burlesque account of the examination, and implies that the trouble was over funds. The *Monterey California* refers to the incident as a split in the Mormon ranks, which if it should result in scattering them, will be good for the country. In this last publication the Mormons are spoken of as "a plain, laborious, frugal people, not meriting the opprobrium heaped upon them." Bancroft's Hist. Cal. Vol. V, 552 and *note*.

22. Bancroft Hist. Cal. Vol. V, p. 551, where he says: "All bear witness to the orderly and moral conduct of the saints, both on land and sea. They were honest and industrious citizens, even if clannish and peculiar."

23. In California Annals it is called Stanislaus City. See Bancroft's Cal., Vol. V, p. 553 and note.

24. In the "History of San Joaquin County," (pp. 100-1) it is said that Stout claimed the farm that had been fenced, and advised others to enter lands individually, each for himself. This created trouble. Brannan was summoned to New Hope, and decided that the house and farm must be reserved for the Twelve apostles, whom Brannan at the time expected to arrive on the Pacific coast that season. Stout was dissatisfied with the decision and left the place, as did others.

finally got the land, oxen, crop, house, tools and river launch; "the company who did the work got nothing."[25]

In January, 1847, Brannan began the publication of the *Yerba Buena California Star,* using the press on which the *Prophet* had been printed in New York. It continued through the year 1847 and the next. It was published as a general newspaper rather than an organ of the Mormon Church, with occasional supplements or "extras" devoted to the special interests of that organization.[26]

One other item connected with his *Brooklyn* company and its leader belongs most apporpriately to this chapter. Before leaving New York Elder Brannan was made to believe, or feigned to believe, that serious objections would be made to the departure of the Saints from the United States, under the presumption that it might be their purpose to take sides either with Great Britain or Mexico against the United States, war with both these nations then being regarded as imminent; and it was not an unreasonable supposition, on general principles, that the serious wrongs endured by the Saints in Missouri and Illinois—and which the general government had taken no steps to mitigate or redress—had sapped the fountains of their patriotism, and rendered them susceptible to British or Mexican influence if only reasonable assurances were given them of immunity from those interferences in the establishment of their church and their community life in harmony with their ideals, which so far they had vainly sought for in the states named. Futhermore, it could be not unreasonably urged that it was not good policy to allow a people twenty thousand strong, armed, and with so much cause for resentment as the Latter-day Saints had against the United States, to go into an enemy's country,

25. Glovers' "Mormons in California," is in *Mss.*, and was written from memory, in 1884, at the request of Franklin D. Richards, then Church Historian. See Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 550-3 and notes.

26. It has been claimed that this was the pioneer newspaper of the "Golden State." This is an error, as it was preceded by the *Monterey California,* the first number of which was issued from the press on the 15th of August, 1846; and was removed to San Francisco in May, 1847. The most that may be claimed for Brannan's Star is that it was the first newspaper published in Yerba Buena, or San Brannan's *Star* is that it was the first newspaper published in Yerba Buena, or San According to Brannan it was to be "the government organ." Writing to the brethren in England, under date of Jan. 1st, 1847, he says; "We shall commence publishing a paper next week, which will be the government organ by the sanction of Col. Fremont, who is now our Governor" (*Mill. Star,* Vol. IX, p. 307).

lest they strengthen that enemy by the addition to him of their fighting force. But those who conferred with Brannan upon the subject at Washington were not actuated by any considerations of patriotism. Greed of gain through speculation was the motive that prompted what they did. They pretended to be aware of intentions on the part of the administration at Washington to prevent the departure of the "Mormons" from the United States for the above given reasons; but if the "Mormon" leaders would agree to transfer to a certain "A. G. Benson and Co., and to their heirs and assigns" the even numbers of all land units and town lots they might acquire in the country where they settled, then the all-powerful "A. G. Benson and Co.," would agree to prevent and secure them from all such interferences. It is evident that a strong coterie of Washington politicians were connected with this scheme, or conspiracy, for it deserves the latter title. No less a personage than Amos Kendall, Postmaster General in two former presidential administrations, the second of Jackson's and Van Buren's, 1835-1840, drew up the agreement with his own hand, which was signed by Brannan and witnessed by Elder W. I. Appleby, and sent to Brigham Young for final approval.

In his letter to Brigham Young announcing his action, bearing date of Jan. 26th, 1846, Brannan said:

"I haste to lay before your honorable body [the Twelve] the result of my movements since I wrote you last, which was from this city, stating some of my discoveries, in relation to the contemplated movements of the general government in opposition to our removal.

"I had an interview with Amos Kendall, in company with Mr. Benson, which resulted in a compromise, the conditions of which you will learn by reading the contract between them and us, which I shall forward by this mail. I shall also leave a copy of the same with Elder Appleby, who was present when it was signed. Kendall is now our friend, and will use his influence in our behalf, in connection with twenty-five of the most prominent demagogues in the country. *You will be permitted to pass out of the State unmolested.*[27] Their counsel is to go well armed, but keep them well secreted from the rabble.

27. In a letter to Hedlock, President of the British mission, Brannan also wrote, under date of Feb. 1st: *"I have made arrangements with the government* (U. S. S.) *that we are to pass out of this country to California, by sea and by land, unmolested."* (Mill. Star, Vol. VII, p. 77.)

"I shall select the most suitable spot on the Bay of San Francisco for the location of a commercial city. When I sail, which will be next Saturday, at one o'clock, I shall hoist a flag with '*Oregon*' on it."

In a postscript the writer of the above adds: " 'Tis no gammon, but will be carried through, if you say amen. It was drawn up by Kendall's own hand; but no person must be known in it but Mr. Benson."

In a former letter to President Young, Brannan had represented that even the President of the United States, James K. Polk, was "a silent partner," in this disgraceful effort to prey upon the fears of an exiled people. Belief in the connection of the President of the United States with the affair, however, is generally discredited by Mormon writers.[28] Besides, the very questionable character of Elder Brannan, makes it possible to suspect him of misrepresentation and even of complicity in the schemes of the political sharpers at Washington.[29] That the use of the President's name was necessary to the success of the conspiracy is obvious to reason. It was his proclamation that could prevent the departure of the Mormons from the United States by asserting the likelihood of intention on their part to take sides with Great Britain or Mexico in the international controversies then pending; and thus find grounds on which to disarm them and order their dispersion. But as a "silent partner," to this infamous scheme he could withhold such a proclamation.

The whole plan, however, was rendered abortive by the action of Brigham Young and his associates. Brannan's letter reached President Young at his camp on Sugar Creek, Iowa, in Feburary, 1846. On the 17th a council of the Twelve was called and Brannan's letter laid before them for consideration. The following excerpt from President Young's private journal shows the final disposition of the matter:

"The council considered the subject, and concluded that as

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28. See Tullidge's life of Brigham Young, 1877, ch. iii. Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I, p. 251. Brannan's first Letter is recorded in Hist. B. Y. *Mss.*, pp. 12-13.

29. See note 3 end of chapter, on the character of Brannan.

our trust was in God, and that, as we looked to Him for protection, we would not sign any such unjust and oppressive agreement. This was a plan of political demagogues to rob the Latter-day Saints of millions, and compel them to submit to it by threats of Federal bayonets."

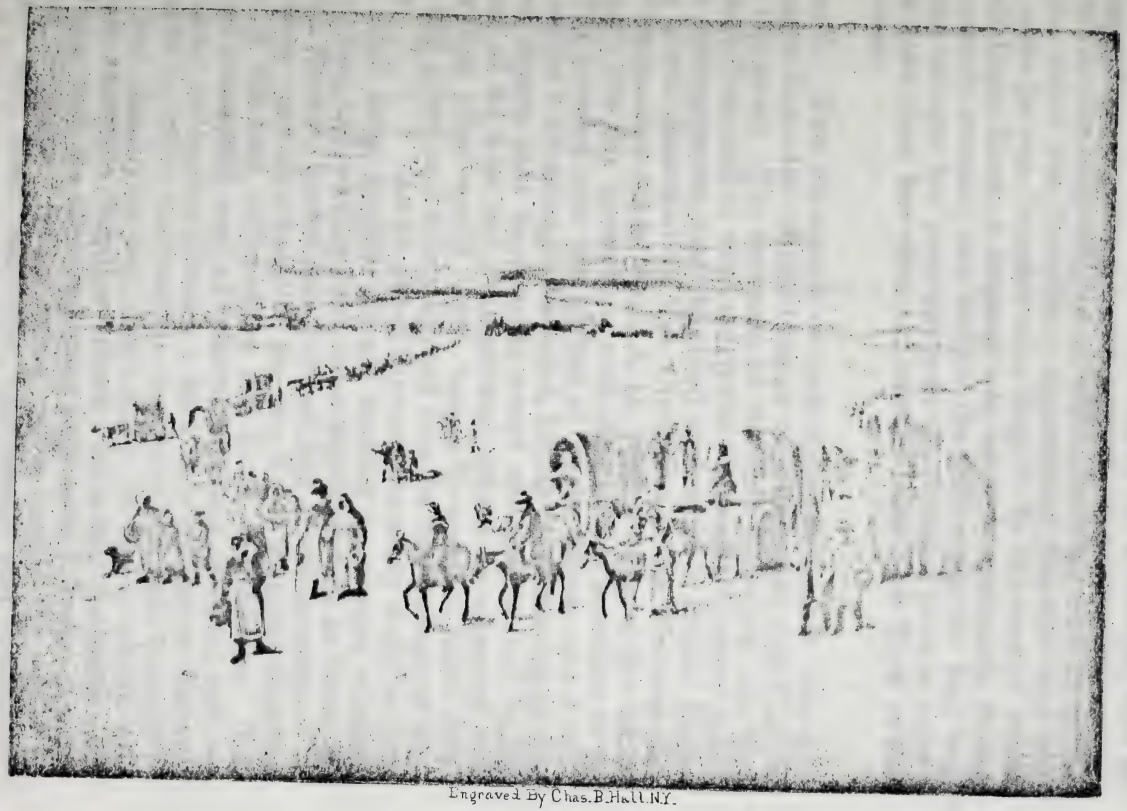
The council did not even deign to reply to "Mr. Benson and Co." or take further notice of the incident; it was closed, so far as the Twelve were concerned, and it is not traceable further.

Of this *Brooklyn* company of Saints nearly one hundred adults with some forty children found their way in different parties, chiefly in 1848-50, to the Salt Lake valley, and to the main body of the church; the rest remained in California, and most of them, among whom was the leader, Brannan, left the Church, though a few afterwards joined later Mormon colonies established at San Bernardino and in Arizona.[29]

In a later chapter, when other parts of our history shall have been developed, I shall have occasion to refer again to these Latter-day Saints on the Pacific coast, and point out how, at what they regarded as the call of duty, they turned away from the immediate prospect—nay, the absolute certainty of great wealth, to share the toils and privations of their brethren, constituting the main body of the Church, in the semi-desert valley of Great Salt Lake.

NOTE 1: OF THE SEA WORTHINESS OF THE SHIP BROOKLYN: Sister Augusta Joyce Crocheron, who accompanied her parents on the voyage, and in later years was numbered among Utah's poets, and a pleasing writer of early California incidents and experiences, gives a very different account of the *Brooklyn* from the one quoted in the text from the *Times and Seasons*. She describes the vessel as "old and almost worn out; she was one of the old time build, and was made more for work than beauty or speed. She had done her duty well and had borne her burdens without complaint. But she was old and showed unmistakable signs of weakness and decay. * * * Her roster was well officered, and she was well manned, but the hull was rickety, and she was chartered because she could be had cheap." (Com-

29. Bancroft's Hist., Cal. Vol. V, p. 554, and same author's Hist. of Utah, p. 593.



Engraved By Chas. B. Hall. N.Y.

Migration from Nauvoo.

munication to the *Western Galaxy,* Tullidge, March, 1888). It should be remembered *per contra* of this, however, that Elder Brannan entrusted himself and family to the *Brooklyn;* that according to Mrs. Crocheron's own account she successfully weathered two severe tempests, one of which, from her own narrative, was the worst the *Brooklyn's* experienced Captain had ever seen, since he was "master of a ship." In the second storm, met off Cape Horn, a seaman was washed overboard, though subsequently rescued, and besides the ship made the long voyage, and brought her passengers to the destined port in safety, and in good time, less than six months from New York to San Francisco.

NOTE 2: THE ENTRANCE OF THE SHIP BROOKLYN INTO SAN FRANCISCO BAY—JOY OF THE COLONY ON BEHOLDING THE FLAG OF THEIR COUNTRY: The entrance of the ship Brooklyn into San Francisco Bay, and in what spirit the "Mormon" colony greeted the announcement that they had arrived in a United States harbor is well described by Mrs. Crocheron in the *Western Galaxy*: "On the 31st day of July, A. D., 1846, we passed the 'Golden Gate.' The day opened not with the glorious sunshine to us, for a fog hovered over the harbor of Yerba Buena, and a mist like a winter's robe hung all around, hiding from our eager eyes the few objects that were made weird and enigmatical in the dearness of the firm and solid ground, where we expected that soon willing labor would begin, homes be erected, fields cultivated, and peace and safety spread over us their wings of protection. * * * As we gazed through the misty walls we perceived dimly some familiar shapes looming up, sloops, whalers, ships of war, and waving from their masts as well as from the barracks, the well known and glorious flag of our country.

"A boom—and its echo filled the air: it was a salute from the cannon of the fort, ordered by the U. S. Commander. The Brooklyn responded, and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure. Look! in the dim distance a dark body gliding on the water towards us, while the familiar strokes of the oars brought it swiftly and steadily to our ship's side. It was a sturdy row boat, that seemed a familiar friend. In a few moments uniformed men trod the deck; we knew they were friends—Americans, not Mexicans. In our sweet native tongue the officer in command, with head uncovered, courteously and confidently said in a loud tone: "Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that you are in the United States of America." Three hearty cheers were given in reply from faint and weary

lips, but rising from hearts strong, brave, hopeful and loyal still.

"They crowded upon the deck, women and children, questioning husbands and fathers, and studied the picture before them —they would never see it just the same again—as the foggy curtains furled towards the azure ceiling. How it imprinted itself upon their minds! A long, sandy beach strewn with hides and skeletons of slaughtered cattle, a few scrubby oaks, farther back low sand hills rising behind each other as a background to a few old shanties that leaned away from the wind, an old adobe barracks, a few donkeys plodding dejectedly along beneath towering bundles of wood, a few loungers stretched lazily upon the beach as though nothing could astonish them; and between that picture and the emigrants still loomed up here and there, at the first sight more distinctly, the black vessels—whaling ships and sloops of war, that was all—and that was Yerba Buena, now San Francisco, the landing place for the pilgrims of faith." (*Western Galaxy,* Tullidge, Vol. I, March, 1888).

Note 3: Samuel Brannan, Leader of the Brooklyn Colony from New York to California: It is clear from the regular text of our history that Elder Samuel Brannan was an unsatisfactory character. He was a native of the State of Maine, born at Saco, 1819; but moved to Ohio, in 1833, where he learned the printer's trade, and traveled as a journey-man printer. It was during this period of his career that he come in contact with "Mormonism" and accepted it. Afterwards he was sent to New York to assist in publishing the "*Prophet*" and to preach the gospel. Here his appointment to charter a vessel and conduct a company of saints to the Pacific coast reached him. "He was a man," says Brancroft, "of more ability and zeal than high principle; still, few better could have been selected to lead his people around Cape Horn to the land of Promise " (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 545). The first statement in the quotation finds strong support in both the course Brannon pursued and the principles he announced. According to Elder Parley P. Pratt Brannan in the eastern branches of the church was associated with Wm. Smith, brother of the Prophet, and one of the Twelve, Geo. J. Adams *et al,* "in corrupting the saints by introducing among them all manner of false doctrine and immoral practices, by which many of them had stumbled and had been seduced from virtue and truth. While many others seeing their iniquity, had turned away from the church and joined various dissenting parties" (Pratt's Autobiog. pp. 374-5).

"Acting under instructions from Brigham Young, Elder Pratt

directed Smith and Adams to return to Nauvoo to answer to the Church authorities for their conduct. Brannan and others he reproved and admonished to repentance, which apparently was effective, but a notice appearing in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* papers of Brannan being disfellowshipped, Elder Pratt urged him to repair to Nauvoo, acknowledge and frankly repent of his faults and seek restoration to his standing. Brannan accordingly went to Nauvoo, but apparently before his arrival there, upon the representations of William Smith, the order disfellowshipping him was reversed (*Times and Seasons, Vol. VI, p.* 879). He returned to the east in full fellowship and was entrusted with the leadership of the *Brooklyn* Colony as detailed in the text of the foregoing chapter.

"Elder Pratt in after years lamented the leniency shown to Brannan in New York. According to the Apostle's statement Brannan was "a corrupt and wicked man," and disgraced himself and the cause in his wider and more responsible career in California. And had there been less leniency shown him in New York "it would have saved the Church much loss," says Pratt, "and, perhaps, saved some souls which were corrupted in California and led astray and plundered by him" (Pratt's Autobiography, p. 357).

"In nothing does the frailty of his moral fibre appear than in the letter to Brigham Young accompanying his contract with "A G. Benson and Co.," mentioned in the text. "I am aware" said he, "it is a covenant with death, but we know that God is able to break it, and will do it. The children of Israel, in their escape from Egypt had to make covenant for their safety, and leave it for God to break it." Mr. Brannan had read his Bible to little purpose when he so judged of God. "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? * * * He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." Even though God's people enter into covenant to their hurt, yet are they expected to keep covenant. Such the stern lesson of Israel's covenant with the Gibeonites: though obtained by subterfuge, yet when Saul attempted to break that covenant, God sent the punishment of famine upon Israel (c. f. Judges IX and II Samuel XXI), showing most emphatically that God keepeth covenant, and demands that his people also keep covenant even though it be to their disadvantage.

"Brannan participated in the early scenes of California's pioneer life—the discovery of gold; the wild speculations in San Francisco real estate; became the organizer of mining, milling and railway companies; purchased a great distillery, and became a large landed proprietor both in California and in So-

nora, Mexico; and for a time was known as the richest man in California. Bancroft declares that "he probably did more for San Francisco and for other places than was effected by the combined efforts of scores of better men; and, indeed, in many respects, he was not a bad man." (*Pioneer Register and Index,* Brancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. II, p. 728). In the midst of these activities, however, he acquired habits of intemperance; "and he became as well known for his dissolute habits and drunken freaks as he had been for his wealth and ability," (Ibid). Domestic troubles led to divorce from his wife who had accompanied him to California in the *Brooklyn;* he afterwards remarried to a Mexican woman. Under unlucky speculations his vast fortune melted away, and for a number of years before his death he was "a sorry wreck, physically and financially" (Bancroft). He died in Sonora, Mexico, on the 6th of May, 1889. "He had some redeeming qualities," said the editorial of the Mormon Church organ commenting on his death, "and it is to be hoped that these will out-weigh the faults which were manifest in his adventurous and eventful life." (Deseret News-Weekly, May 18th, 1889).

CHAPTER LXII

The Camp of Israel's March From Nauvoo to Council Bluffs

It is time now that we return to the companies who led the exodus from Nauvoo. We have seen that the exodus began early in February, the first families crossing the river on the 4th. They were immediately followed by a large number of other families, because the river, meantime, had frozen over and they could cross on the ice. Their first encampment after leaving the west bank of the Mississippi was on Sugar Creek, about nine miles from Nauvoo. The cold attended by severe snow storms, became intense and remained so for some days,[1] and while this facilitated the exodus by enabling many to cross the river on the ice, it caused great suffering in the camps. Then, too, many left

1. The thermometer, according to notes in Orson Pratt's Journal ranged as follows:

February 26th, at 6 p. m., 10 degrees above zero.
February 27th, at 6 a. m., 5 degrees above zero.
February 27th, at 6 p. m., 21 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at midnight, 21 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at 6 a. m., 20 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at noon, 41 degrees above zero.
February 28, at 6 p. m., 26 degrees above zero.

the city ill prepared for life in the wilderness in mid-winter. In many cases their food supplies both for themselves and teams were exhausted in a few days, and they became a burden upon those who had proceeded with better judgment. Some confusion existed also as the camps had not yet received that efficient organization which characterized them later.

Many of the saints acted as if they feared the Twelve and other leading Elders would depart into the wilderness without the body of the Church. Then again, so anxious were certain overzealous ones to be with the very head of the movement, that they crowded themselves forward and upon these leaders in such state of unpreparedness that they hampered the movement rather than aided it. Eight hundred men reported themselves at the Sugar Creek encampment, during the last two weeks of February, without more than a fortnight's provisions for themselves and teams. The head camp had not made more than one hundred and fifty miles west of Nauvoo, when President Young and the rest of the Apostles who had started with a year's provisions for themselves and families had fed it all out to their less provident brethren.[2] It was evident from the very start that resources for subsistence for this modern Israel in exodus must be created as they traveled. And their leaders were equal to the occasion. There was no complaining, so far as our annals show, because improvident and over zealous persons crowded themselves into these first camps.[3] With commendable patience the great leader and dominant spirit of this movement, Brigham Young, took largely upon himself the cares and trials of his people. When he reproved them it was never for their being there and in destitute circumstances. Now and always Brigham Young stood by the poor. He it was who in the beginning

2. History of Brigham Young, *Mss.* under dates from 15th of February, when the leader crossed the Mississippi, with his family, to the camp on Sugar Creek, to March 1st. Also History of the Church, Geo. Q. Cannon, in *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVI, p. 293. This History by Cannon is written, as would be supposed from the title of the periodical in which it serially appeared, for young people, and, moreover, for young people of the church; but as it was written by one who participated in the events and scenes he describes, and by a man of unusual keen observation and brilliant aptitude in statement, it is a valuable source of information on many events in Mormon History, especially on the journey from Nauvoo to the settlement in Salt Lake valley.

3. The nearest approach to it that I have found is in a speech of President Young's to the Camp at Garden Grove, about midway between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, (see note I end of chapter).

of the exodus from Missouri, 1838, proposed that the brethren then enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of their abilities in removing from that state; that they would "never desert the poor, who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the state."[4] And at the last general conference of the Church held at Nauvoo, it was Brigham Young who proposed the covenant—"That we take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability;" and explained that "our ability" meant their "influence and their property;" and he it was who prophesied that the Great God would shower down means upon this people to carry out their covenant to the very letter.[5] It was not in character for him, then, any more than it was in the natural inclination of the man, to complain of the presence of the poor in the first Camps of Israel.

The Camps were passing through a new and for the most part a sparsely settled country. Money and labor and house-hold furnishings among those people were scarce. The Saints here and there had a little money among them, they were going where it would not be of much value; they had household furnishings, indispensable as they thought upon leaving Nauvoo, but which the simplicity of their camp life taught them they could do without. These, money and household goods, were readily exchanged for food supplies and cattle to strengthen their teams. They were rich in labor power, and the country on both sides of their line of travel was scoured for work that could be done by contract, and not too much delay their westerly movement. Contracts were obtained for husking corn, for splitting rails and fencing fields, for grading stretches of roads, constructing bridges over troublesome streams, for removing fallen dirt from coal beds, digging wells, building houses, clearing farms, and what ever else offered itself, that was honorable employment, by which they might exchange labor for means of subsistence, or increase the efficiency of their teams, by increasing the number of their animals.

4. This History, ante, ch. XXXII.
5. Ibid, ante, ch. LIX.

Their journey through southern Iowa was a fortunate circumstance for the settlers in those parts. It gave an impetus to the development of their farms and towns. These exiles from their city "Beautiful" and their homes[6] asked for no gratuities. Their basis of barter with Iowa and Missouri settlers was an even exchange of equal values, and their own pressing necessities often led them to give the settlers the best of the bargain in the exchange.

Then, too, they could convert their labor-power into values on their own account. Land was plentiful and nearly every where fertile. Much of it as yet was public land, unsurveyed and not yet in market. This could be settled upon, planted by those upon it in the spring and the crops left to be harvested by the companies which would come later in the season. Plant that others may harvest! Sow that others may reap! This the lesson of every civilization that is worth while; the sacrifice of present comfort for future ease; the practice of present self-denial for future gain; by that process the world's capital was amassed; and what is akin to this, but beyond it in excellence, is the impulse or principle which leads to labor, to apparent bootless toil and self-sacrifice, that others may gain by it—that sows that others may reap. This the spirit of this New Dispensation of the Gospel received by and exemplified in the lives of this modern Israel in its march towards and into a wilderness that as yet had no definite, objective point marked off in it as the future home of these exiles.

To get, if possible, some assurance of protection or word of encouragement from the governor of the then Territory of Iowa, for this plan of settling temporarily on the public lands, President Young suggested, and the council of Apostles approved, the drafting of a petition to the governor of Iowa, James Clark, stating the reasons for the passage of the Camps of Latter-day Saints through the Territory, and the probability of several thousand more following them; also the harshness of the conditions of their banishment from their homes. As conclusion to all this, they said:

6. The character of these homes, their solidity and comfort, may be judged somewhat by engravings of some of them that appear in recent chapters of this History.

"We, the presiding authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as a committee in behalf of several thousand suffering exiles, humbly ask your Excellency to shield and protect us in our constitutional rights, while we are passing through the Territory over which you have jurisdiction. And should any of the exiles be under the necessity of stopping in this Territory for a time, either in settled or unsettled parts, for the purpose of raising crops, by renting farms or upon public lands, or to make the necessary preparations for their exile, in any lawful way, we humbly petition your Excellency to use an influence and power in our behalf, and thus preserve thousands of American citizens, together with their wives and children, from intense sufferings, starvation and death. And your petitioners will ever pray."

The petition was approved by the Council of the Camp on the 28th of February. No reply was received to this communication. Iowa was on the eve of admission into the Union, and possibly the Governor of the Territory believed the passing of the Saints through the south borders thereof, would be a problem which the incoming state officers should be left to solve.[8]

It was the first of March when the encampment on Sugar Creek was broken up. Doubtless the exiles were glad to leave a place where they had endured so much suffering from cold and exposure. In this women and children had been the chief sufferers. "Fancy," says one who has done much to perpetuate in graphic narrative the pictures of this exodus—"Fancy may find abundant subject for graphic story of the devotion, the suffering, the matchless heroism of the sisters, in the telling incident that nine children were born to them the first night they camped on Sugar Creek, February 5th, 1846."[9]

On this theme, Eliza R. Snow, herself a woman of education and refinement, a poetess withal, and a woman of both high character and ability, says of these births in camp:

"We had been preceded [from Nauvoo] by thousands, and I was informed that on the first night of the encampment nine

7. Hist. of Brigham Young's Mss., p.

8. Iowa was admitted into the Union 28th December, 1846. The enabling act had been passed the year before.

9. "The woman of Mormondom," Edward Tullidge," 1877, p. 304.

children were born into the world, and from that time, as we journeyed onward, mothers gave birth to offspring under almost every variety of circumstances imaginable, except those to which they had been accustomed; some in tents, others in wagons—in rainstorms and in snow storms. I heard of one birth which occurred under the rude shelter of a hut, the sides of which were formed of blankets fastened to poles stuck in the ground, with a bark roof through which the rain was dripping. Kind sisters stood holding dishes to catch the water as it fell, thus protecting the new comer and its mother from a shower-bath as the little innocent first entered on the stage of human life; and through faith in the Great Ruler of events, no harm resulted to either.

"Let it be remembered that the mothers of these wilderness-born babies were not savages, accustomed to roam the forest and brave the storm and tempest—those who had never known the comforts and delicacies of civilization and refinement. They were not those who, in the wilds of nature, nursed their offspring amid reeds and rushes, or in the recesses of rocky caverns; most of them were born and educated in the Eastern States—had there embraced the gospel as taught by Jesus and his apostles, and, for the sake of their religion, had gathered with the Saints, and under trying circumstances had assisted, by their faith, patience and energies, in making Nauvoo what its name indicates, 'the beautiful'. There they had lovely homes, decorated with flowers and enriched with choice fruit trees, just beginning to yield plentifully.

"To these homes, without lease or sale, they had just bade a final adieu, and with what little of their substance could be packed into one, two, and in some instances, three wagons, had started out, desert-ward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time was, God knows."[10]

Reflecting upon the sufferings endured at Sugar Creek as the encampment was breaking up, Brigham Young had recorded in his *Journal,* these words:

"We could have remained sheltered in our homes had it not been for the threats and hostile demonstrations of our enemies, who, notwithstanding their solemn agreements, had thrown every obstacle in our way, not respecting either life, or liberty, or property; so much so that our only means of avoiding a rupture was by starting in mid-winter."[11]

10. Quoted by Tullidge, "Women of Mormondom," ch. XXXII.
11. History Brigham Young, *Mss.,* p. 40.

Referring to the misrepresentations of the Saints and their motives, which alone made possible this enforced expatriation, he said:

"Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, mills, public halls, magnificent temple, and other public improvements we leave as a monumnet of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose, and integrity of heart; and as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the Constitution of our country, idleness and dishonesty."[12]

It was high noon when the encampment on Sugar Creek was ready to move. Then five hundred wagons were put in motion moving painfully and slowly northwesterly along the banks of Sugar Creek. After making five miles through the snow they camped again. "After scraping away the snow we pitched our tents and, building large fires, we soon found ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit; . . . and after bowing before our Great Creator and offering up praise and thanksgiving to Him and imploring His protection, we resigned ourselves to the slumbers of the night."[13] At midnight the weather had softened a little; the thermometer stood at 28 degrees Fh. The above described incidents were repeated many times, only often made more disagreable by fierce, blinding storms and by alternating thaws and frosts, which rendered roads all but impassable by deep mud or frost-baked roughness. The second day's march brought the Camp to the east bank of the Des Moines river, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

With this advanced Camp of the great exodus there had come a brass band, led by Captain Pitt. After encampment was made and the toils of the day were over, the snow would be scraped away, a huge fire or several of them kindled within the wagoned enclosure, and there to the inspiring music of Pitt's band, song and dance often beguiled the exiles into forgetfulness of their trials and discomforts. Then was realized the picture drawn by the Hebrew Prophet—"The virgin shall rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together; for I will turn their mourning into joy; and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from

12. Ibid.
13. Orson Pratt's Journal entry Mch. 1st, 1846.

their sorrow." The men of Iowa, it is said, looked on with amazement, when witnessing such scenes and were told that these were the exiled "Mormons" from Nauvoo, "bound they knew not whither, 'except where God should lead them by the hand of his servant.' "[14]

A number of the citizens of Farmington visited the camp, and, witnessing these festivities—I see not how they can be called otherwise, incongruous as they may seem to the circumstances of the exiles—invited the band to come to their village and give a concert. And the band accepted. With which the people of Farmington were highly pleased. And that was a circumstance oft repeated by the band in the settlements along the route from Farmington to Council Bluffs, where they arrived about mid-June, and always with the same good effect. In this respect this modern, exiled Israel differed somewhat from the ancient, captived Israel. The latter "wept" when they remembered Zion, and "hanged their harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." And when their captors required of them a song and mirth, saying "Sing us one of the songs of Zion," the captives made answer —"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"[15] and wept. But not so this modern, exiled Israel; they sang and played and everywhere found favor, softened hearts, and changed the sentiments even of their enemies.[16] It is conceded that the difference between the circumstances of the ancient and modern peoples, here partially and momentarily thrown into contrast, was very great, and I am not pressing the contrast too literally; but truly it is remarkable, I submit, and scores heavily on the side of the "Saints" that they could thus forget all their sorrows and their wrongs and minister to the pleasure of those who, at best, had but small sympathy with them. And while they had much cause for the practice of aloofness from all except those of their own faith, it is to their credit that they were not soured, or hard-

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14. Tullidge—Life of Brigham Young, p. 33, also Bancroft's Utah, p. 220. "Beyond Sugar Creek, after prayer they held a dance, and as the men of Iowa looked on they wondered how these homeless outcasts from Christian civilization could thus praise and make merry in view of their abandoning themselves to the mercy of savages and wild beats."

15. Psalms, 137.

16. Hist. Brigham Young Mss. *passim;* and Tullidge's Life of Brigham Young, p. 33-36, Bancroft's Utah, p. 220.

ened into social indifference towards their fellowmen, above all their fellow countrymen. The fact held in it a prophecy that the then impending and enforced expatriation would be but a temporary condition; that the Saints would remain Americans in the sense of being loyal to the institutions and government of the United States, as the dominant power pledged to the maintenance of human freedom and civic righteousness in this western hemisphere—America! to these Latter-day Saints a larger land of promise for both Israel and also for Gentile nations.[17]

And as the exiles were patient and cheerful in their actual sufferings, so, too, were they moderate, as a rule, in their reports of their trials. Chief among those reports worthy of all respect is one made by the late President John Taylor who participated in the scenes he describes. What he says of these matters was in a communication addressed to the Saints in England.[18] In this article, while he dwells at some length upon the sufferings of his people from the fury of the pitiless storm—the drifting snow, the pelting hail and the icy chill of tempests, Elder Taylor does not forget to vindicate God, whose part it was to stand very near to His people in such trying times. In concluding his remarks on the exposure of the Saints to cold and storms, he says:

"We sustained no injury therefrom; our health and our lives were preserved—we outlived the trying scene—we felt contented and happy—the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon—from tent to tent; the sound reverberated through the woods, and its echo was returned from the distant hills; peace, harmony, and contentment reigned in the habitations of the Saints."

So, too, in speaking of the privations of camp life:

"It is true that in our sojourning we do not possess all the luxuries and delicacies of old established countries and cities, but we have an abundance of the staple commodities, such as flour, meal, beef, mutton, pork, milk, butter and in some in-

17. Book of Mormon II, Nephi, X; also "Mormon Views of America, in "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," Vol. I, pp. 401-441.
18. Mill. Star, Vol. VIII, Nos. 7 and 8.

stances cheese, sugar, coffee, tea, etc., etc. We feel contented and happy in the wilderness. The God of Israel is with us—union and peace prevail; and as we journey, as did Abraham of old, with our flocks and herds to a distant land, we feel that like him, we are doing the will of our Heavenly Father and relying upon His word and promises; and having His blessing, we feel that we are children of the same promise and hope, and that the great Jehovah is our God."

Such remarks as these lighten the rather sombre picture that is sometimes drawn by writers who relate the story of the expulsion from Nauvoo, and the subsequent journey in the wilderness; and who in their anxiety to give a vivid picture of the sufferings of the Saints, forget to vindicate the goodness of God who was with His people in those trying times, and who, by opening the way before them to obtain food and lands to dwell upon, and giving them strength as their day, made their afflictions light.

Accepting the theory that where the Douglas sits there is the head of the table, which translated here means that where Brigham Young is there is the "Camp of Israel," as this moving caravan of exiles was called, we trace the chief encampments as follows—"chief" because of the length of time they constituted the headquarters of the movement.

After Sugar Creek, *Richardson Point,* fifty-five miles west of Nauvoo, near a branch of Chequest Creek, and reached by Brigham Young on the 7th of March, became headquarters, and the Camp remained at this place until the 19th of the same month, as heavy rains made the roads and swollen streams impassable.[19] The next encampment was on the *Chariton River,* where the leader established his headquarters on the 22nd of March,[20] and remained until the Ist of April. Thence to an encampment on *Locust River,* reached by Brigham Young on the 6th of April. *Garden Grove,* so named by the Saints, was made headquarters of the Camp on the 25th of April,[21] about one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo. *Mount Pisa,* so named by Parley P.

19. History of Brigham Young *Mss.,* p. 82. This *"History"* is kept in Journal form.

20. History of Brigham Young, *Mss.* 110.

21. Ibid, p. 150.

Pratt,[22] became headquarters on the 18th of May;[23] and on the 14th of June, *Council Bluffs,* on the Missouri, was reached and became headquarters. The first encampment here was made in the river bottom, but at the suggestion of the leader the camp was moved back on to the bluffs overlooking the river both because they could there obtain spring water, and be a little further removed from the Omaha Indians, living in the bottoms.[24]

The arrival of the Camp at Council Bluffs marks the first stage in the larger journey to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. Its march across the territory of Iowa is a splendid illustration of what may be accomplished by men under organization, supplemented and aided by the religious sentiment to inspire mutual patience and charity. It is safe to say that nothing in the history of our country, and perhaps not in the history of the world, quite parallels this journey from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs,[25] except the subsequent march of the same people from the Missouri river to the shores of the Great Salt Lake, the Dead Sea of the intermountain west. It must be remembered that the ranks of the first camps were constantly swelled by

22. Elder Pratt was scouting ahead of his company sent in advance to seek a new location when he came upon the spot to which he gave the name above mentioned. Following is his own account of the incident: "Riding about three or four miles through beautiful prairies, I came suddenly to some round and sloping hills, grassy and crowned with beautiful groves of timber; while alternate open groves and forests seemed blended in all the beauty and harmony of an English park. While beneath and beyond, on the West, rolled a main branch of Grand River, with its rich bottoms of alternate forest and prairie. As I approached this lovely scenery several deer and wolves, being startled at the sight of me, abandoned the place and bounded away till lost from my sight amid the groves. Being pleased and excited at the varied beauty before me, I cried out, "this is *Mount Pisgah.*" I returned to my camp, with the report of having found the long sought river, and we soon moved on and encamped under the shade of these beautiful groves." Pratt's *Autobiography,* p. 381.

23. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Mss.,* p. 176.

24. Ibid, p. 197.

25. H. H. Bancroft in his History of Utah very boldly declares this to be his view. He says: "There is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo. The exodus from Egypt was from a heathen land, a land of idolaters, to a fertile region designated by the Lord for his chosen people, the land of Canaan. The Pilgrim Fathers in flying to America came from a bigoted and despotic people —a people making few pretensions to civil or religious liberty. It was from these same people who had fled from old-world persecutions that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, from their descendants and associates, that other of their descendants, who claimed the right to differ from them in opinion and practice, were now fleeing. True, the Mormons in various ways had rendered themselves abominable to their neighbors: so had the Puritan Fathers to their neighbors. Before this the Mormons had been driven to the outskirts of civilization, where they had built themselves a city; this they must abandon and throw themselves upon the mercy of savages." (Hist. of Utah, pp. 217-18).

fresh bands from Nauvoo, until by the fall of the year there were brought together, chiefly on the banks of the Missouri, but with some yet *en route,* "15,000 saints, 3,000 wagons, 30,000 head of cattle, a great number of mules and horses, and immense flocks of sheep."[26]

It has already been remarked that the organization of the Camps was not perfected in the early stages of the journey, and this resulted in some disorder and disappointments. But the defects, in the main, were amended at the encampment on the Chariton, on the 27th of March;[27] and thereafter more system and better order prevailed.

The first steps in organization, when it was decided that the Saints must leave Nauvoo, was to select twenty-five men called captains of hundreds; authorized in turn to select one hundred families, and see to it that they were prepared for their journey across the Rocky Mountains. The Captain of hundreds were also instructed to select captains of fifties, and of tens, with clerks, guards, etc., and making such division of camp work as gave best promise of success. But so many in the first companies came only for the purpose of assisting in getting the exodus started, removing the public or Church property, then returning to Nauvoo for their own families, that it resulted in some confusion. This, together with the divisions getting separated by storms, bad roads, and the necessity of leaving the camps to find employment, made keeping intact the plan of organization, as originally projected, at least for the first few weeks, impossible. At this 27th of March meeting, however, the Camp's affairs were set in order. Brigham Young was unanimously elected President over the whole "Camp of Israel." Three men were elected Captains of hundreds[28] (i. e. of families); six, captains of fifties; these captains of fifties took the place of the former captains of

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26. Taylor's "Address to the Saints in Great Britain," Mill. Star, Vol. VIII, p. 114.

27. The meeting at which the organization was made more thorough was really held about six or eight miles west of the Chariton headquarters, at the camp of P. P. Pratt on the Shoal Creek, where two council meetings were held upon the subject of camp organization. Hist. Brigham Young, *Mss.*, pp. 45-48.

28. Ezra T. Benson, John Smith, Samuel Bent were elected Captains of hundreds. Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen Markham, John Harvey, Howard Egan, Chas. C. Rich and John Crisman were chosen captains of fifties.

fifties,[29] who were promoted to Presidents over their divisions (except in the case of the first hundred which was left open for further consideration).[30]

Willard Richards was sustained as the Historian of the Church and of the Camp. William Clayton was appointed Clerk for the whole Camp; and a clerk for each fifty was also appointed. There was a Commissary General for the whole Camp appointed —Henry Sherwood; also for each fifty there was appointed a contracting commissary and a distributing commissary. The subdivision of the fifties into tens with their captains, guards, herdsmen, etc., was evidently left to be worked out by the officers of the respective fifties.

This organization greatly facilitated the movements of the camp, and evidently pleased the President; for some time after it was effected he remarked to some of the brethren whom he met in council, that "they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that Camp, but to the Saints who were still behind. He said he did not think there ever had been a body of people since the days of Enoch who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant circumstances. He was satisfied that the Lord was pleased with the majority of the Camp of Israel. *But there had been some things done which were wrong.*"[31]

When the Camp moved it was customary to send out an advance company called "pioneers," who blazed the trail to be followed by the wagons. Some times they detailed a squad from their company to build a bridge or clear a way through the underbrush of the timber tracts they crossed; while still others would be detailed to find a suitable encampment. Trading or foraging expeditions, under the direction of the contracting commissaries, were sent out to scour the country for corn and cattle, in exchange for cash and household goods, table furnishings, feathers, silverware, etc.; other parties were sent out to

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29. These former captains were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Haws, John Taylor, and Bishop George Miller.

30. I cannot find from our annals if the matter was ever taken up again.

31. History of the Church-Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor,* Vol. XVII, p. 315. Also Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.,* p. 112, 141-2.

Engraved by Chas. B. Hall, N.Y.

Council Bluff's Ferry

the camp organization on the 27th of March, leading spirits were better controlled.[36]

Some thefts occurred in the camps which brought forth the sternest reproofs from President Young. He even intimated that presistence in thieving might lead to capital punishment. Answering the suggestion that such a course might lead to violence upon himself by the thieves, he replied with spirit: *"I would rather die by the hand of the meanest of all men, false brethren, than to live among thieves."*[37]

A few men in camp had in their possession counterfeit money which they were base enough to pass off upon the Iowa settlers in exchange for corn and stock. On the occasion of a quarrel among these parties over the division of profits arising from their traffic, the affair reached the ears of President Young who at once went to their encampment. He reproved them for dealing in base coin and told the leader in the matter that *"unless he repented and forsook such dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him, and all those who partook of such corruption."*[38] It is noted that the words of President Young were fulfilled. The chief actor in the business, "and his whole family," remarks Geo. Q. Cannon, "became apostates and very disreputable people, and the hand of the Lord was visibly against him. The man also to whom he gave the bogus money to pass eventually lost his standing in the Church and went down."[39]

After entering the Pattawattomie country a piece of bogus money was passed upon an Indian. Making the discovery the Indian and his friends took an ox from the next passing company and killed it. When the matter was reported to President Young he declared, *"the Indian had done just right."*[40]

James M. Hemmick for some wrong sustained, fancied or real, challenged Wilber J. Earl to fight a duel—*"Let James M. Hemmick be discharged from the service of this camp forthwith, by order of the council—[signed] Willard Richards, Clerk."* Such was the prompt action of the council in that matter.

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36. Parley P. Pratt in his Autobiography refers to these matters at some length, pp. 379-80.
37. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, pp. 31, 32.
38. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, p. 171
39. History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVII, p. 393.
40. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, p. 204.

annually—and that the tithes be received and disbursed to the poor and the sick among them.

At Mount Pisga the scenes of Garden Grove were reinacted. A farm of "several thousand acres," was inclosed and planted, and the place became a permanent settlement,[34] of which William Huntington was made President with Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as his counselors.

This work accomplished President Young's camp moved forward until it reached the Missouri, as already stated, on the 14th of June. The season was now late for planting, yet preparations for enclosing lands and plowing and planting were begun, while Bishop Miller with a number of men detailed to assist him began the construction of a ferry boat with which to cross the Missouri, and continue the westward march. Thus the "Camp of Israel" had become a veritable marching, industrial column; founding settlements as it marched; planting for others to harvest, and leaving behind them within easy reach bases of supplies that insured their own safety in case of emergency.

That irregularities should appear in the course of this western march is to be expected. The leader praised the Camp of Israel for uniformly good conduct, and assured them that God was pleased with the majority of the camp; *"but there had been some things done which were not right,"* he was compelled to add. Among these things was a disposition on the part of a few—very few, however—to insubordination; a manifest desire to disregard camp regulations and draw off to themselves. Under his journal entry for March 21st, President Young says: . . . "I remarked today that Bishop Miller seeks to go ahead and separate himself from his brethren, but he cannot prosper in so doing, he will yet run against a snag and call upon me and the Camp for help."[35] We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the prediction was fulfilled. This disposition was severely reproved from time to time by the leader, and after the reconstruction of

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34. Parley P. Pratt's Aut., p. 381. Also History of Brigham Young Ms., p. 176, *et seq.*

35. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, p. 110.

make labor contracts, and thus all was orderly activity and intense life.

The Camp arriving at Garden Grove on the 25th of April, the time had come to put into effect the plan determined upon some time before, *viz,* to fence and put in a crop of large acreage, leaving it for other camps to harvest as they came up to it later. The camp divisions within reach were called together, and a division of the labor force made. Three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men promptly reported for duty, exclusive of commissaries and herdsmen. From these 100 were selected to split rails; 10 were appointed to build fences; 48 to build houses; 12 to dig wells; 10 to build bridges; and the remainder were directed to clear land, to plow and plant. There was no place for idlers there; indeed idleness persisted in was made cause for disfellowship from the camp. "The camp was like a hive of bees," says George Q. Cannon, "every one was busy. And withal the people felt well and happy."[32]

The appearance of permanency was given to this encampment by the appointment of Elder Samuel Bent to preside over the settlement, with Aaron Johnson and David Flumer as his counselors. It was voted also that each man who remained there should have his land assigned to him in proportion to his family. Thus notwithstanding the settlement was founded by community effort, and was possible only through this co-operation, yet individual ownership of property was contemplated and provided for. Only in one respect was it modified. "I advised," said President Young, "that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him."[33] These views he had of land ownership, as we shall see, governed him throughout his colony-planting career—"No man shall hold more land than he can cultivate." The Presidency of Garden Grove was instructed to carry out the above suggestions; to see that the crops were cared for and secured; that the people be taught the law of tithing—the payment of one-tenth of their increase to the Church

32. "History of the Church"—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor,* Vol. XVII, p. 325. Seven hundred and fifteen acres were broken up and planted at this encampment. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.,* p. 160).

33. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., p. 110. The same penalty was suggested if he would not gather his crop. "Let Father Bent"—the President of the settlement—"Let Father Bent put them [the crops] into his own store-house." *Ibid.*

On the Chariton a boy shot an otter but on picking it up he found it was in a trap. He skinned the otter and brought the skin into Camp. Soon afterwards a Mr. Davis, a trapper on the Chariton, came into Camp and declared that he had lost six out of eight traps he had set on the river, and intimated that they had been stolen. Next morning President Young had a thorough search made of the Camp for the traps, but none could be found. Col. Markham was instructed to take the otter skin and the boy to Mr. Davis—"I instructed Brother Markham to say to the man, that if one of his traps were found within one thousand miles of that place it should be sent back to him with the man that took it."[41] Speaking of the search made in the Camp for the traps, President Young said: "Previous to this I had said that if any man in this Camp was found stealing he ought to forfeit all his property."[42]

In addition to these manifestations of individual dishonesty there were those who would hunt and fish on the Lord's Day; some that were neglectful of prayer,[43] and given to boisterous conduct, much to the annoyance of the President of the Camp according to his mention of these things in his journal history, and his expression of the annoyance such conduct gave him. But while these things must be noted in a history of the great march, they represent but the aberrations in the community conduct, such as must be respected in any assembly of such numbers, and under such circumstances; and while regrettable as blemishes in the community life, and to be censured, they do not destroy the glory of achievement in this exodus, nor blot out the fact that this caravan of exiles was a righteous, god-fearing, religious people. Despite the individual delinquences noted they were honest, industrious, self-sacrificing, and won the esteem, and trust and applause of the settlers in the country through which they passed, and of the savage tribes among

41. History Brigham Young *Ms.*, pp. 120-1. When Markham went for the boy he could not be found, but that officer returned the skin with President Young's message, and Mr. Davis expressed himself satisfied with the action of the officer of the Camp (*Ibid*, 124).

42. P. 124.

43. It was the law of the camp that there should be daily prayer in every family; "Every family must call on the Lord night and morning at every tent or wagon," said President Young at the outset; *"and we shall have no confidence in the man that does not."* (Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., 21).

whom they had now pitched their tents on the banks of the Missouri.

NOTE 1: THE WESTERN MOVEMENT HINDERED BY DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE TO BE WITH THE APOSTLES. The near approach to complaining on the part of the leader of the Camps, referred to in note 3 of the text, was more in the nature of an explanation than of a complaint as to how the zeal and unpreparedness of some of the Saints were hindering the progress of the general movement. President Young said: "When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our [the Twelve Apostles] counsel, and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do with them as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed, then we could have fitted out a company of men, who were not encumbered with large families, and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the Priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters to be so conducted, none would be found crying for bread, or destitute of clothing; but all would be provided for as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course the Saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying, 'Do not leave us behind. Wherever you go we want to go, and be with you;' and thus our hands and feet have been bound, which has caused our delay to the present time; and now hundreds at Nauvoo are continually praying and importuning with the Lord that they may overtake us, and be with us. And just so it is with the Saints here. They are afraid to let us go on and leave them behind; forgetting that they have covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their property." (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, p. 162, also Cannon *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVII, p. 326).

"A. Lincoln, March 7, 1832," and Later

BY J. H. ROCKWELL

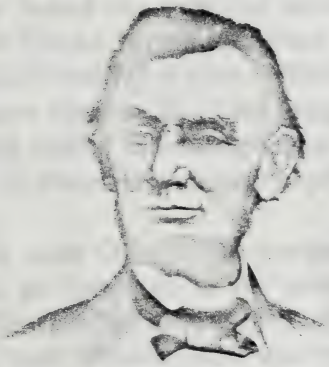
AS time passes and the distance widens between the present and the closing years of the Great Emancipator's life, few incidents, touching that life, are so insignificant as to be devoid of public interest. For this reason we submit the following narrative, vouching for nothing except that the men who made the discovery named are well known and thoroughly reliable persons. The log with the inscription can answer for itself.

A man by the name of Morgan—William Morgan—living at Osbernville, Illinois, a little town fifteen miles southwest of Decatur—the city, by the way, in which was held the state convention that presented Mr. Lincoln's name to the Chicago convention as Illinois' "favorite son," recently brought to the custodian of the State Historical Library a section of red-elm log, measuring about twenty inches in length and bearing on one side of it the inscription:

"A. Lincoln, March 7, 1832."

The log was discovered less than a year ago, in a pile of drift in the Sangamon river, and that the name and date carved upon it were carved by Lincoln there seems to be little doubt among those personally familiar with the history of Mr. Lincoln's early life and habits. It is recalled by these men that Lincoln was quite as much given, in those earlier days, to the inscription of his name, here and there, as he was in later years to sitting for his picture; not because of vanity—for he was anything but vain—but solely because it was a source of simple pleasure to him.

Mr. Morgan gives his story of the finding of the log in such



A Lincoln

a concise way that we have followed his own words in the transcription of it.

"Richard Cochran and I were together when the log was found. We were prying out some large pieces of wood from a drift that had formed in the Sangamon river at a bend just north of Osbernville, when part of a tree about twelve feet long was released and rose to the surface. I didn't notice anything in particular until Cochran exclaimed, 'My God, Morgan, look at that!' We both stared at it, as we saw the name. The part bearing the inscription included the fork of the tree, so we sawed off the upper portion where the two limbs branched, and then cut the log in two several inches below the inscription.

"The point where we found the log was less than a mile, I should say, from the old Hanks farm, just over the line in Macon county, where Lincoln lived for a time. The part of the log that remained was perhaps four or five feet long. The part having the inscription I took home, intending some time to take it to Springfield and place it where it could be kept for a while for people to see."

Morgan, who has lived near Osbernville—where he was born in 1839—all his life, has no doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription. He thinks the tree lay on the ground at the time the inscription was cut, and that Lincoln, who was engaged in making rails on the Hanks farm, probably sat on it while resting or eating his lunch, and on the day named, March 7, 1832, whiled away a few moments, as he rested from his rail-splitting, in cutting this inscription.

The style of the signature, "A. Lincoln," was the form Lincoln invariably used, and is an indication, at least, of its genuineness. The letters are evenly carved, evidently with a sharp knife, as, after all these years, they are still an eighth of an inch deep. Lincoln's name forms the first line, while the date is in a line just below it.

Robert Warnock, one of the oldest residents of Christian county—the county in which Osbernville is situated—believes fully in the genuineness of the inscription. He knew Lincoln when he—Warnock—was a lad of nine. Lincoln went to Macon county, and to the Hanks farm which was not far from where

there was something about the poorly-clad young man that foretold, to an observing mind, a successful future for him in public life.

"He was often in Springfield, while living in New Salem, and it was during one of these visits that I first saw him. My father and I took dinner at the same table with him in the common dining-room of the Rutledge Tavern. Later in the day I heard my father say to N. W. Edwards, his partner in a store at Huron—and long afterwards Mr. Lincoln's brother-in-law—'That young man Lincoln will some day be governor of Illinois.' I was then a boy of ten, but I remember thinking that my father must be insane to say such a thing. I had seen two governors, Ninian Edwards, of Belleville, and Joseph Duncan, of Jacksonville, and they were very different looking men from Mr. Lincoln. They were well dressed, drove about in their own carriages and were attended by servants. Mr. Lincoln made no such showing as this. My father's prophecy seemed ridiculous; but time proved his foresight to be much better than his son's."

But Lincoln's ambition was neither selfish nor mean. When he came to Springfield to enter upon the study of law, he made his home with Joshua Speed, a merchant and warm personal friend. One day in a conversation of a somewhat serious nature, he said: "Speed, when I am dead I want my friends to remember that I always plucked a thorn and planted a rose." His life certainly attested this in its fullest sense; but he was not a god, and, while he abhorred notoriety in its grosser forms, he did not disdain praise nor decline the friendship of the great. Although his tastes were simple, they were catholic, but catholic without being coarse.

After his debates with Douglas, and after he had been named for the presidency, he was still reluctant to be made conspicuous—so much so, indeed, that when Mr. Scripps of the Chicago Tribune came to him asking material for a campaign biography, he hestitated to aid him; first, because he disliked anything that savored of display; also, we may fairly take it, because he felt that there was very little in his life out of which such a biography could be constructed. In going over the matter with Mr. Scripps he said: "There is no romance—nothing heroic—in my

early life; the story can be condensed into one line, and that line you will find in Gray's Elegy:

'The short and simple annals of the poor.' "

But his later life was not lacking in heroism at least, and, as one recalls the somber and tragic circumstances of those later years, the words of the old Hebrew prophet seem to apply to him with singular fitness:

"He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him. . . . But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; and the chastisement of our peace was upon him."

"Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. . . . We turned every one to his own way; and there was laid upon him the iniquity of us all. . . . He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; . . . Who shall declare his generation; for he was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgression of the people was he stricken."

* * * * *

We are venturing to add two or three incidents Dr. Joyce was kind enough to relate, that have been commonly misunderstood and misstated. He was present at the marriage of Mr. Lincoln, "and to me, as a boy of sixteen," he said, "it seemed an exceedingly pretty wedding. My sister was Mary Todd's bridesmaid; they were inseparable friends from the beginning of their acquaintance. It was this same sister—Julia—and Miss Todd, who wrote the second letter signed 'Rebecca of the Lost Townships,' which so enraged Mr. Shields that he challenged Lincoln to fight the ridiculous duel of which so much has been said. Mr. Lincoln had written the first 'Rebecca' letter, poking fun at the Democrats. But Mary and Julia's letter was too personal, ridiculing Shields' vanity and setting everybody laughing at him.

"This was more than the little Irishman could endure composedly. Lincoln assumed the whole responsibility, and the challenge followed—Lincoln not being able to resist having his fun with Shields, even to the extent of a duel. The upshot of it

Osbernville now is, in 1831, and was twenty-three years old when he carved his name in the trunk of the old red-elm tree now in the State Historical Library at Springfield.

* * * * * *

Lincoln came to Springfield in 1837, five years after his labor on the Hanks farm alluded to above, and entered upon the study of law and the marvelous career that was to end in martyrdom. There are still a number of men living in Springfield who knew him even at this early period, and who knew him intimately in later years. Among this number are John W. Bunn, Dr. William Jayne and Senator Shelby M. Cullom. It is quite true, of course, that Mr. Lincoln was unassuming and of an extremely amiable disposition, but it is an utterly mistaken notion that he lacked dignity or was wanting in ambition.

In a recent interview with Mr. Bunn, touching this matter, he said: "Those who profess to have been familiar with Mr. Lincoln and speak of calling him 'Abe,' are presuming on ignorance. The people of Springfield knew him only as 'Mr. Lincoln.' He was a young law student when he came here in the spring of '37. He had already been a member of the legislature for two terms, and, as the leader of the 'Long Nine,' had done more than any other man to bring about the removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. Naturally, perhaps, many have wished to make it appear that they were intimate with Mr. Lincoln, but, unfortunately for their stories, when they speak of calling him 'Abe' they simply disprove their claim. They may have called him 'Abe' in Indiana, and out in New Salem where he spent his boyhood and youth, but not here in Springfield."

That he was ambitious to become a man of distinction in public life there can be no manner of doubt. In 1832 he was splitting rails in the Sangamon bottoms and dreaming dreams. Five years later, after having been elected twice to the legislature, he is everywhere regarded as a man of far more than ordinary promise. Dr. Jayne, who, by the way, was made Territorial Governor of Dakota by Mr. Lincoln during his first administration, met him for the first time in 1836. "At that time," said Dr. Jayne, in a little chat some time ago, "he was still living at New Salem, where he was surveyor and postmaster; even then

all was that Miss Todd soon became reconciled to Mr. Lincoln—they were believed to have been engaged—for Mr. Lincoln seemed to worship the very ground Mary Todd walked on. There had been a 'misunderstanding' of some sort, undoubtedly; he was sensitive and morbid, and she was sensitive and high-strung; so there was a mysterious 'estrangement,' as a result of which Mr. Lincoln had to give up everything and go away for his health. He visited the Speeds in Springfield, and then, it was understood, spent a short time in Louisville.

"Well, after Lincoln had so gallantly risked his life to shield Miss Todd, she relented, and they were married in the fall of 1842. It was about the first time the Episcopal marriage service was used here, and old Judge Browne, hearing the groom promise to endow his wife with all his 'worldly goods,' exclaimed, as soon as the ceremony was over, 'Grace to Goshen, Lincoln, the statute fixes all that.' "

It may be inferred from all this, that whatever of romance was lacking in Lincoln's early life, his later life supplied. When asked touching the truthfulness of the story that a previous wedding date had been arranged, when the guests were present and Lincoln failed to appear, Dr. Jayne said the story was wholly false—that there was not a particle of truth in it and that it was not told until after Mr. Lincoln's death and Mrs. Lincoln's hopeless illness. "True, Judge Herndon gives it currency in his 'Life of Lincoln,' " continued the doctor, "but there must have been some mistake about it. The judge and I were friends. He claimed that Mrs. Lincoln told him the story herself, but he and she were never very friendly—how the story got started, is one of those things that no one can explain. Those nearest to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln never heard of such a thing; it is simply one of the many fictions that have grown up around the life of this man of sorrows."

When questioned concerning the home life of the Lincolns, with which, as a lifelong friend, he was intimately acquainted, Dr. Jayne declared that "the Lincoln home was a most happy one; the husband was kind and considerate, the wife bright, impulsive, cultured, industrious and lovable—a good wife and a fond moth-

er. Any amount of fiction has been interwoven by historians and others in tracing and relating little incidents that are said to have occurred in the Lincoln home. Not a few of his neighbors, thinking Lincoln no better than themselves, if as good, were extremely jealous of his fame, and, as a natural consequence, vented their mean and envious spite on him and his family by circulating the most outrageous lies about them."

Was Lincoln an educated man—a trained lawyer? That he was both an educated man and a trained lawyer, there can be no doubt. He was not, of course, a college-bred man, but that fact does not alter the circumstance of his greatness as a man and as a lawyer. He was a thorough student from the beginning, quick-witted and resourceful, far-seeing and courageous, and when he came to Springfield in 1837, he had to contend with the brightest and ablest lawyers of the state—Logan, Trumbull, Douglas, Baker and Hardin; but that he contended successfully, both the history of his career and the testimony of those who knew him well, furnishes the most ample assurance.

It may be interesting to know that the house in which Lincoln lived at the time of his election to the presidency, and for many years before, is still occupied and cared for by the family of Albert S. Edwards, a son of Ninian W. Edwards, one of the "Long Nine," the husband of Mrs. Lincoln's sister in whose home Miss Mary Todd lived at the time of her marriage. The house is open to the public; the furniture in a number of its rooms remains as when the Lincolns left it when they quitted Springfield to take up their residence in Washington.

Historic Views and Reviews

Design for Perry Memorial

THE design for the Perry memorial at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, which was submitted by J. H. Friedlander of New York, with whom is associated A. B. Seymour, Jr., also of New York, has been selected by the Perry Memorial Commission. The memorial is to be dedicated in connection with the celebration of the centennial of Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie, extending from July 4 to October 5, 1913. The award carried with it a contract to erect the memorial at a cost of $600,000. The design selected is that of a Doric column 45 feet in diameter at its base, 35 feet in diameter at its top and 320 feet high, with a spectators' gallery and a light at the top.

Relics from the Maine

Several small relics of little intrinsic value, but of considerable historic worth, have been recovered recently from the wreckage of the battleship Maine, now lying in Havana Harbor, and the Navy Department is endeavoring to return them to the owners who survived the explosion or to the heirs of those who were killed. The relics include a watch chain, two pipes, a medal, and a stencil, all of which have been identified by some mark. The watch chain was the property of John R. Bell, and one of the pipes belonged to James Wallen, both of whom were killed by the explosion. Charles Bergman was the owner of the medal and stencil, and Harry McCann owned the other pipe. Both of these men were saved, but are no longer in the naval service.

Burr on Hamilton

An interesting document in Aaron Burr's handwriting, relating to his political enemy, Alexander Hamilton, was recently sold at Anderson's. The document is dated Philadelphia, August, 1797, and although unsigned, was unquestionably written by Burr. It reads:

"We certify that, in consequence of information which we rereceived in December, 1792, of a concern in speculation between A. H., then Sec. of the T., and one J. Reynolds, we had an explanation on the subject with the said A. H., who, by that explanation, supported by written documents, satisfies us that the above charge was ill-founded, as we declared to him at the time; that the impression, under which we left him, of our being so satisfied, was reciprocal and is still the same."

Burr evidently refers to the charge made against Hamilton that he had used his official position for private speculative purposes, and that in so doing he was aided by Reynolds. This statement was published by James T. Callender in 1796. Hamilton promptly denied its truth, Callender repeated the charge, whereupon Hamilton published in Philadelphia in 1797 a book entitled "Observations on Certain Documents," in which, while reiterating his denial of the charge of speculation, he frankly admitted his relations with Reynolds. The publication caused a sensation and Hamilton's friends suppressed the work.

Before the Pony Express

Before the establishment of the pony express, there were no less than three transcontinental mail routes, although the bulk of the mail between the East and Far West was sent by way of Panama. It was the endless demand for faster mails that led to the establishment of the Pony Express by the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. The time schedule between the terminals—St. Joseph, Mo., and San Francisco—allowed eight days for the trip one way. The first stations on the route were about twenty-five miles apart, but in the course

of time there were about 190. There were eighty express riders, each of them being expected to cover about seventy-five miles a day at top speed. The fastest trip ever made was the one made for the delivery of President Lincoln's inaugural address, the 950 miles being covered in seven days and seventeen hours. The service was frequently interrupted by Indian attacks and was finally discontinued on completion of the first line of the Pacific Telegraph Company.

Rare Americana Sold

Rare works about America were sold at Sotheby's in London. Among them was a large and fine copy, unbound, of "The Two Charters granted by King Charles II, to the Proprietors of Carolina, with the First and Last Fundamental Constitutions of that Colony." This was printed in London, without date, by Richard Parker.

Another work, printed in 1670, is entitled "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted, in the Tryal of William Penn and William Mead at the Sessions held at the Old Baily, against the most Arbitrary procedure," &c. An extract from it reads:

> They haled the Prisoners into the Baledock, and from thence sent them to New-Gate for non-payment of their fines; and so were their Jury.

William Mead, wealthy linendraper and member of the "Company of Merchant Taylors" of London, was Captain of a train band before joining the Quakers early in 1670. On Aug. 14 of that year he was present at a crowded meeting in Gracechurch Street, at which William Penn was the preacher. Both were apprehended and committed to Newgate. Their memorable trial, when they boldly defended the right of free worship, began at the Old Bailey on Sept. 1.

They were accused of disturbing the peace by unlawfully assembling together by agreement, and they pleaded not guilty. The jury, in spite of intimidation, pronounced on Sept. 5 that Penn was not guilty of breaking the law, and that Mead was not

guilty at all. Jury and prisoners, however, were committed to Newgate. William Penn's father, Admiral William Penn, is said to have paid fines to obtain their release. "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted" was published by Penn and Mead.

Mead afterward lived at Highgate and entertained George Fox there in 1677. He held a leading position among the Quakers, and several times waited upon the King, with George Whitehead and others. He wrote, in conjunction with Whitehead and others, several vindications of "the people called Quakers." He died at his estate Gorsehays, Essex, on Feb. 21, 1701, aged 86.

Rare, too, is the "Relation of a Discovery lately made on the coast of Florida by William Hilton, Commander and Commissioner, with Capt. Anthony Long and Peter Fabian in the ship Adventure, which set sayl from Spikes Bay, Aug. 10, 1663, and was set forth by several gentlemen and Merchants of the island of Barbadoes." This work was printed in 1664. It gives an "account of the sayle, Manners of the Natives * * * with Proposals made by the Commissioners of the Lords Proprietors."

Explains Historical Finds

At a recent meeting of the New York City branch of the Vassar Aid Society, Reginald Phelam Bolton, member of the New York Historical Society, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society and the City History Club, gave a graphic and interesting account of the recent historical discoveries in Washington Heights, on the old Dyckman estate, made by excavative and archaelogical work done by Dr. Edward Hall and himself. He told of the discovery of relics of the revolutionary days, colonial days and the time of the aborigines. He said traces of barricades built of old colonial and Dutch bricks at about 181st street were found. More than thirty-five different kinds of English and French military relics and tombs of Indians also were discovered.

How State Names Originated

Some curious information has been collected by the antiquaries concerning the origin of the names of certain of our States. Of Massachusetts, for instance, it is said that when John Smith explored the coast of New England in 1614 he found the shores of this State inhabited by a tribe of Indians called the Massachusetts. The word means "near the great hills," being composed of "massa," great, "wadchuash," hills, and "et," near. Thus the name in the Indian tongue was "Massa-Wadchuash-et," to which the first explorers added an "s" to make it plural, and shortened the name to its present form.

The origin of Rhode Island has been a puzzle to historians. Some writers tell us the name is a corruption of the Dutch words Roode Eylandt, signifying Red Island, given to it by the Dutch discoverers because its shores presented a red appearance. But they do not present a red appearance.

Others, with more probability, have traced the name to Road Island, meaning the island near the roadstead. Competent authorities have doubted the correctness of this explanation, because there is no piece of water near by which sailors would naturally call a roadstead. We should not know where to find a good "riding," in the sailor's sense of the term, without running into Narragansett Bay. The favorite derivation at present is more simple. One of the leading settlers of Newport was a man named Rhodes, and the island was probably named after him, perhaps in jest, perhaps in compliment. The original order fixing the island of Newport, dated 1644, decreed that the name should be "The Isle of Rhodes, or Rhode Island." The same appellation was afterward applied to the State, of which Newport was a part.

King Charles Had His Way

Connecticut, a name so baffling to foreigners, is Indian, and means "land on a long tidal river." The Indian form of it is Quin-neh-tukquet. In some of the early records it is spelled Quinetuckquet. The most curious thing about the name of

Pennsylvania is that it was not derived from the founder of the State, William Penn. It is William Penn himself who records the fact:

"This day (January 5, 1681) my country was confirmed to me by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the King (Charles II.) would give it in honor of my father." Penn wished to call the region New Wales, but the King persisted in naming it after Admiral Penn, then a man of far greater renown than his son, the Quaker, whose effigy surmounts the City Hall in Philadelphia.

It is the opinion of many authorities that the Indian word Kentuckee did not signify "dark and bloody battleground," as many have supposed. They incline to the belief that the word means "at the head of a river," and that it was used to designate the place where the Indians gathered previous to migration southward. This spot was near the source of the Kentucky River. The best conjecture as to the origin of the name Tennessee is that it comes from Tanasse, the name of an Indian chief whose tribe was settled upon one of the branches of the Tennessee River. This, however, is disputed. In the names of our States several languages are represented, the English, the French, the Indian, the Spanish and the Latin.

Unpublished Poe Letter

A letter by Edgar Allan Poe, and presumed to be unpublished, is in an autograph collection which was owned by H. Victor Newcomb, financier and railroad man, who died of heart disease at Atlantic City, N. J., on November 2, 1911. Mr. Newcomb was President of the United States National Bank in this city, of which Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was one of the Directors. The collection has just passed into possession of P. F. Madigan of 501 Fifth Avenue.

Poe's letter is dated Feb. 3, 1842, and is addressed to F. W. Thomas, Washington, D. C., whom he addresses as "My Dear Friend." The following pathetic allusion to Poe's wife occurs in the letter:

My dear little wife has been dangerously ill. About a fortnight ago, in singing, she ruptured a blood vessel, and it was only on yesterday that the physicians gave me any hope of her recovery. You may imagine the agony I have suffered, for you know how devotedly I love her. But to-day the prospect brightens, and I trust that this bitter cup of misery will not be my portion. I seize the first moment of hope and relief to reply to your kind words.

Another interesting thing is Poe's reference to his famous prediction, published in May, 1841, of the plot of "Barnaby Rudge" from the introductory chapters. This prediction is said to have caused Charles Dickens to ask Poe if he was the devil. In the letter Poe says to Thomas:

Did you read my review of "Barnaby Rudge" in the February No.? You see that I was right throughout in my prediction about the plot. Was it not you who said you believed I would find myself mistaken?

There are also in the Newcomb collection two Poe manuscripts, one a transcript of Mrs. Lewis's poem "The Forsaken," which Poe highly praises in his article on "The Literati," published in The Southern Literary Messenger, and the other is a part of the original manuscript of his tragedy, "Politian," the other part of which, it is said, is in possession of J. Pierpont Morgan. These two manuscripts were given by Poe to Mrs. Lewis, who in turn presented them to Daniel Ross, an amateur autograph collector.

High Prices for Stamps

Many record prices were paid for rare stamps at the sale of the Klemann collection held in New York city in January. A $5 black and green proprietary stamp of the 1871 issue, on green paper, and lightly pen-canceled, brought $340. Only one other copy on green paper is known, although fifty copies were issued, according to the official records. Another example, on violet paper, also lightly pen-canceled, sold for $137.50. A horizontal

pair on violet paper, the only pair known, brought $263. A $1 black and green, violet paper, unused copy, sold for $92.

A 1-cent black and green proprietary, violet paper, with inverted medallion, brought $25.25; a 2-cent black and green, green paper, inverted medallion, $45.25, and a 3-cent black and green violet paper, inverted medallion, $101.

For a postmaster stamp of St. Louis, 5-cent, black on greenish paper, issued in 1845, Die 3, used copy, $100 was paid. A 90-cent dull carmine of the special printing of 1880, an unused, perfectly centred copy, brought $63. An imperforate block of four of the 30-cent orange brown of 1883, unused, went for $57. An unused, well centred 2-cent carmine, issue of 1890, brought $38. A used dull brown 6-cent issue of 1895, watermarked U. S. I. R., sold for $72.50. A $5 yellow, green, and black Department of State stamp, unused, sold for $123, and a $10 specimen, unused, for $62.50.

The highest prices for Carriers' stamps were: $153 for a used 1-cent, Hopedale, Mass.; black on pink glazed paper, and $155 for a 1-cent Hopedale, black on yellow. The latter is a newly discovered type. Only three copies are known.

A 3-cent Playing Card Stamp, lightly canceled, and with large margins on all sides, brought $53.75; $1.90 Foreign Exchange, $35.50; $2 Probate of Will, $43; 5-cent Proprietary uncanceled copy, $50; 15-cent black and brown. Internal Revenue issue, inverted medallion, $226, (only four copies known) $1 black and green, lightly canceled, perfectly centred, inverted medallion, $136, and a $2.50 black and claret, lightly canceled, inverted medallion, $407, (only three copies known).

The sale netted about $7,300.

Lincoln's Order to Advance

At the limit of his patience over the inactivity of the Union troops, and especially exasperated by the monotonous report, "All is quiet on the Potomac," President Lincoln on January 26, 1862, issued his "General War Order Number One." This provided for a general advance both by land and sea on the fol-

lowing Washington's Birthday. The text of the order was as follows:

"That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces; that especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe, the Army of the Potomac, the Army of Western Virginia, the army near Munfordville, Ky., the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico be ready to move on that day.

"That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

"That the heads of Departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the General-in-Chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order."

Retiring Civil War Men

Congressman William A. Ashbrook of Ohio has introduced in the House a bill to retire with the rank of Major General the last of the civil war veterans now on the active list of the army, with the exception of Major Daniel W. Arnold, who, although a veteran, did not come into the army as an officer until 1901, thirty-six years after the close of the war, when he was appointed a Captain from civil life. The officers who will be retired by the bill, if it passes, have all been in continuous service since the war, and Mr. Ashbrook points out that the bill will not establish a precedent that might prejudice the promotion or prospects of any officer in the army, since "these men will have no successors, and it cannot be considered as establishing a precedent, for its conditions will never again exist in this country."

The three men named in the bill, each of whom has been in active service for nearly fifty years, are Brig. Gen. Daniel H. Brush, commanding the Department of California; Col. John L. Clem, who is famous as "the drummer boy of Chattanooga" and who is now Chief Quartermaster of the Western Division in Chicago, and Col. James N. Allison, of Governors Island, the

Chief Commissary of the Eastern Division. Major Arnold, like these officers, will be retired in September of this year as a Lieutenant Colonel.

Distinguished Service Records

Col. Allison's service stretches back to August, 1863, when he enlisted in the Thirty-ninth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry. Col. Allison served through to the end of the war as an enlisted man, and in 1867 was appointed a cadet at West Point, being graduated as a Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in 1871. As such he served through all the Indian campaigns under Gens. Crook, Mackenzie, Reynolds, and Smith, and he was of the command that in 1877 marched from the Union Pacific Railroad to the Yellowstone Valley, occupying the posts on the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers that had been established following the Custer massacre in 1876. Later, Col. Allison saw hard service in the Arizona desert, in the then Territory of Washington, and in Arizona he bore a conspicuous part in the operations for the pacification of the Apaches.

Gen. Brush was a classmate of Col. Allison at West Point, and also served in the civil war as an enlisted man, his regiment being the One Hundred and Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, in which he served as a private to the end of the war. He, too, has had an eventful career, and rounds out his active service as the commanding officer of the Department of California, with headquarters in San Francisco.

Last of the three and the youngest is Col. Clem, the genial Quartermaster General in Chicago. When the civil war started, Clem—they called him "Johnny" then—was an orphan boy in Ohio. He was only 10 years old then, and offered his services as a drummer, but they were declined because of his youth. Two years later he got in, and at Chickamauga his drum was shot to pieces while he was beating it, and that is why they call him "the drummer boy of Chattanooga" to this day. He took part in the battles of Chickamauga, Nashville, Atlanta, and Kenesaw Mountain. In 1871, the year that Brush and Allison were

graduated at West Point, Clem appeared at West Point for examination, having received an appointment from Gen. Grant, who was then President. Gen. John A. Logan and Gen. George H. Thomas had recommended the appointment of the drummer boy, and Grant had acquiesced. But Clem never was graduated; in fact, he failed right off in his examination, and never even got his name on the register of cadets.

Clem went back to Washington, a disappointed young man, and one day he went to see Gen. Grant to thank him for the chance that had been given to him.

"Hard luck," said Gen. Grant to Clem. "But you are not the first to fail on the mathematical examinations they turn out up there. What are you going to do now?"

Clem said he was going to study and try to get in by the civilian route.

"Why, I know a better way than that," Gen. Grant answered, "and we'll get round those West Point professors. I appoint you a Second Lieutenant now, and am going to send you to Fort Monroe to study. If you have any trouble let me know."

And that is how John L. Clem became an officer of the United States Army, and he has been a good one from that day to this.

First American Railway

The Quincy Railroad, or, as it was known in the beginning, the "Experiment Railroad," which was constructed to carry granite blocks for the Bunker Hill Monument, at Boston, was the first railway in America. The first cars on this primitive line were drawn by horses.

A line known as the Vlazie Railroad was put in operation out of Bangor, Me., in 1836, the Quincy road antedating this several years. The Bangor road began with two locomotives of Stephenson's make in England. On their arrival in this country, they had no cabs for the driver or fireman, but rude affairs were soon attached. Wood was used for fuel.

The first cars also were made in England, a carriage much like a big stage coach being placed on a rude platform and

trucks. The capacity of each car was eight passengers. In the beginning the one train on the line made about twelve miles in forty minutes, and the people of the country round about marveled at the speed it made. The rails on these pioneer railways were made of strap iron, spiked down to scantlings.

The Boston & Lowell, Boston & Providence, and Boston & Worcester Railroads were all opened for traffic in 1835.

Oldest Civil War Veteran

In a little basement room, down an alleyway, off Holloway road, Islington, lives Mr. Edward Munroe, centenarian sailor, who, born in Nova Scotia on September 3, 1809, believes he is the oldest veteran of the American civil war.

Mr. Munroe is wonderfully well preserved, and although riches have passed him by and he lives now on the little pension granted by the United States government, he is as cheerful as a care-free boy. He delights to talk of the battles of the civil war and speaks proudly of the admirals under whom he served, but he cherishes above all the memory of Admiral Farragut, and a faded photograph of the great sailor is his dearest possession.

Mr. Munroe, who spent seventy years on the sea, in the navy and in the merchant marine, like all sailors who hark back to the day of the clipper, has fought pirates, and when he lay in the hospital in Rio Janeiro, he says, an old pirate entrusted him with the secret of golden loot hidden by a master pirate. That secret is still locked in old Mr. Munroe's breast and the map showing the location of this treasure is always under lock and key.

The veteran wears his Grand Army badge proudly, and is really anxious to know if he is the oldest survivor of the great struggle between North and South.

The First Naval Flag

The United States Navy, as it appears to-day, was but dimly foreshadowed in the floating batteries which in September, 1775, were launched on the Charles River, Mass., and in October

opened fire upon Boston. They were two in number, says the "Bluejacket," scow shaped, and were made of strong timbers pierced near the water line for oars, and along the sides, higher up, for musketry and light.

A heavy gun was placed at each end and upon the top were four swivels, their ensign being the pine tree flag, which appears to have been the favorite flag in the New England Colonies. Colonel Reed, writing to Colonels Glover and Moylan, October 20, 1775, and speaking of the six schooners first commissioned by General Washington, says:

"Please fix upon some particular color for a flag and a signal by which our vessels may know each other. What do you think of a flag with a white ground and a tree in the middle, the motto, 'An Appeal to Heaven?' This is the flag of our floating batteries."

Colonels Glover and Moylan replied the next day, saying that Broughton and Selman had sailed that morning, having nothing but their old colors (probably the old English union ensign), and they had appointed as the signal by which they could be known to their friends the ensign at the maintop.

The suggsstion of Colonel Reed seems, however, to have been adopted, for the Franklin, sailing in January, 1776, carried the pine tree flag and Commander Samuel Tucker wrote to John Holmes, March 6, 1818:

"The first cruise I made was in January, 1776, in the schooner Franklin of seventy tons, equipped by order of General Washington, and I had to purchase the small arms to encounter the enemy with money from my own pocket or go without, and my wife made the banner I fought under, the field of which was white and the union green, made therein in the figure of a pine tree, made of cloth of her own purchasing at her own expense."

The London "Chronicle," in January, 1776, describing the flag of a captured privateer, says: "There is in the admiralty office the flag of a provincial privateer. The field is white bunting. On the middle is a green pine tree and upon the opposite side is the motto, 'An Appeal to Heaven.'"

April, 1776, the Massachusetts Council passed a series of res-

olutions for the regulation of the sea service, among which was the following:

"Resolved, that the uniform of the officers be green and white, and that they furnish themselves accordingly and that the colors be a white flag with a green pine tree and the inscription be 'An Appeal to Heaven.'"

In Memory of General Corbin

A bronze tablet in memory of Lieut.-Gen. Henry C. Corbin, U. S. A., who died on September 8, 1909, was unveiled on January 16, in Corbin Hall on Governors Island, the building which Gen. Corbin gave to the Eastern Division of the army, of which he was once commander. The memorial is the gift to the army of fifty of the General's friends, among them J. P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Whitelaw Reid, August Belmont, John Hays Hammond, Jacob Schiff, ex-Gov. Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio, Jacob G. Schmidlapp of Cincinnati, and the late Cornelius N. Bliss, Stephen B. Elkins, D. O. Mills and Thomas Walsh.

The tablet bears a seated three-quarter figure of the general, which was moulded by Evelyn Beatrice Longman of New York, to whom a committee of the subscribers directly gave the contract, and it is inscribed with this legend, for which Col. Heistand is responsible:

Of all things officers of the army should keep on good terms with themselves, enter all the obligations of life advisedly and discreetly, cultivating the habits of the simple life, holding aloof from all avarice and selfishness.

Major-General Frederick D. Grant, commander of the Eastern Division, accepted the memorial in behalf of the army. Mr. Schmidlapp presented the tablet. Ex-Gov. Herrick of Ohio, in an address recalled the fact that President McKinley said to Senator Root at the close of the Spanish-American war:

"If this war had been a failure I would have blamed Henry Corbin for it. As it was a success his should be the greatest credit of all in bringing about that situation."

Ancient Ball Invitations

The Berkshire Courier states that Miss Grace Whiting has in her possession several curiosities in shape of ancient ball invitations. Some of these are printed on the back of playing cards, and these old time cards, in vogue over 100 years ago, appear to be hand-made after a somewhat crude pattern as contrasted with the cards of to-day. The cardboard used is a rough unglazed surface. One of the cards reads as follows:

BALL.

Miss Whiting is requested to attend a Ball at Captain Pynchon's BALL ROOM on Friday evening next, at 6 o'clock.
Gt. Barrington, Dec. 24, 1810.

Another invitation was written over 104 years ago in a very legible hand on the back of the jack of hearts. Another was written on the back of the six spot of diamonds. One invitation written on the three spot of clubs over 103 years old reads:

A BALL.

The company of Miss Harriet Whiting is requested at D. & I. Leavenworth's Hall on Thursday, the 24th inst., at 5 o'clock P. M.
Gt. Barrington, Nov. 21, 1908.

Apparently a few years later more elaborate attempts in the way of invitations were sent out, as the following, over 100 years old, was printed in the centre of an elaborate black bordering, embracing garlands of roses and grapes intertwined leading to a covered tureen dish at the top of the oval, from the handles of which extended draperies in form of bunting caught up at the corners of the card with rosettes.

A narrow black circle surrounded the print, ornamented at the base with a cup resembling two crossed palm leaves. This elaborate ornamental invitation was printed on the back of a 2½ by 3½ playing card, the six spot of diamonds, and reads:

Miss H. Whiting is requested to attend a BALL at the Assembly-rooms in G. Barrington, on Tuesday evening, the 28th inst., Dancing to commence at 7 o'clock.

T. Arnold, R. L. Potter,
G. H. Ives, G. Pynchon,
Managers.

May 23, 1811.

A final card in this collection of ball invitations is printed on a card of about the same size as the others, but not upon a playing card. Its corners are rounded and it no doubt was intended in its day for quite a swell invitation card. The invitation is printed in the centre of what might be regarded in later days as a wide wreath of mourning with a somewhat lacy edged effect.

New Mexico a State

President Taft on January 6, signed a proclamation admitting New Mexico as the forty-seventh state of the Union. Four members of the Cabinet, the two Congressmen-elect and a dozen prominent citizens from New Mexico, several White House employes and three photographers witnessed the ceremony, which took place in the President's private office. The proclamation was signed in duplicate, one to be preserved in the records of the government, the other to go to the New Mexico Historical Society.

When Longfellow Wanted Work

Two letter of Henry W. Longfellow were sold recently by George H. Richmond. The earlier of the letters is dated Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, August 18, 1834, and is addressed to George P. Morris, editor of The New York Mirror. It was evidently written before the offer, through George Ticknor, of the Smith Professorship of Modern Languages at Harvard was received and accepted by Longfellow. In part, the letter reads:

I mentioned to you casually that I contemplated removing to your city. * * * It is proposed to me to take a situation in the New York University—a professorship of modern languages. This professorship, if created, will be without a salary. * * * I shall be obliged to look for my support, in part at least, to sources disconnected with the university, and I wished to inquire of you whether it would be possible and desirable for me to make some arrangements by which I could assist you in the discharge of your duties connected with The Mirror.

The other letter is dated Portland, Jan. 1, 1837, and is addressed to Prof. Cleaveland of Bowdoin College, Brunswick. Longfellow entered Bowdoin in 1821, being only fourteen years of age. In his class were Nathaniel Hawthorne, J. S. C. Abbott, and others, who afterward became well known to the public. Longfellow was graduated in 1825, second in his class, and six months after his graduation, when only nineteen years of age, he was appointed Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in his Alma Mater, a chair of which he was the first occupant. He remained there until 1835. In the letter he says:

To tell the truth, I have hardly courage to visit Brunswick yet. There are too many associations with the happy past connected with it. It would remind me too vividly of what has been—but is no more. A visit there at this moment would be too painful.

Speaking of his life at Cambridge, he adds: "Thus far they seem disposed to make everything pleasant for me there." Longfellow was then a guest in the "Craigie Mansion," an old-fashioned, square house with a broad piazza looking out upon its garden, and its front window commanding a view of the Charles River. The house was owned by a widow named Craigie. On her death, some seven years later, Longfellow bought the property and continued to live there with his family until his death, at the age of seventy-five, on March 24, 1882.

His reference in the letter to the past, "What has been—but is no more," no doubt included the death, at Rotterdam, in 1836, of his wife, whom he had married in 1831, while he was a professor at Bowdoin.

"Petticoat Lane"

The name "Petticoat Lane," familiar to all students of New York City history, was not a nickname, the "lane" was not a rambling lane, nor had the Dutch housewives anything to do with naming it. On the map of the original grants of village lots it is called the oblique road to the ditch (Broad Street,) and led from the fort in a straight line to the lower end of the sheep pasture. The market place was to the north and east of the fort.

"When names were given to streets in 1656 this road was called the Marckveldt Steegie, Steegie (German, Steig) being a sloping street. The English gave English names to the streets, and this was called Petticoat Lane after the same street in London. It is so named on the map of 1695. In it stood the first synagogue in the city.

"The old Petticoat Lane in London, now Middlesex Street, corresponds to our present Hester Street. After the Mill Street synagogue was erected and the Jewish inhabitants moved to the vicinity of the present Hanover Square, the character of the street changed and the old name, Anglicized, was restored."

Demand for American Documents

American documents and letters of interest were in recent sale at Sotheby's in London. A manuscript on seventy-five pages folio, dealing with the transactions between Great Britain and France relative to Hudson's Bay, 1687, brought $875. A scheme "to drive the French out of all the continent of America," covering nearly twenty-seven pages folio, signed by Thomas Cole, and dated Sept. 9, 1754, sold for $60.

A collection of papers, 1720-1745, dealing with Carolina and Georgia, went for $205, and a series of eight autograph letters, written between 1732 and 1738 by Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts, and addressed to Lord Wilmington, brought $150. Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, was a favorite of George II., and, on the latter's accession to the throne, Compton was commanded to draw up the King's first declaration to

the Council. This, however, he found himself unable to do, owing to his ignorance of the proper forms of expression used on such occasions. Horace Walpole, who had brought the King's message to Compton, wrote the declaration at the latter's request, and took it to the King. Compton was created Baron Wilmington in 1728, and raised to the rank of Earl of Wilmington in 1730. Jonathan Belcher was Governor of Massachusetts from 1730 to 1741. In 1747 he was appointed Governor of New Jersey.

One of the most interesting items in the sale was a two-page quarto letter of William Penn, written in April, 1710, and respecting some Swiss colonies for Pennsylvania. This sold for $160.

Amherst Men in Patagonia

After having passed six months devoted to scientific exploration in the wilds of interior Patagonia, the members of the Amherst College biological expedition are now returning. Letters recently received from Professor F. B. Loomis, who is in charge of the expedition, report that the party has discovered some entirely new biological specimens and gathered much valuable geological data. It has shipped to the college four more or less complete prehistoric skeletons, fifteen skulls and a large number of jaws, which include fine specimens of the Eocene—horse, elephant, rodent, primate, notostylopus and a large variety of other specimens taken from the bone beds discovered by the party. Professor Loomis reports that many of the specimens are entirely new to this country and suggest several new scientific ideas.

The present expedition is the third of a series which has been financed by the Amherst class of 1896, of which Professor Loomis was a member. In 1907 and 1908 he did some noteworthy work in Nebraska, Wyoming and the Dakotas among the fossil beds. At times he was accompanied by Professor Tyler and Professor Lull, of Yale. The present enterprise, however, is the first expedition of its kind sent out either from the United

States or Europe to explore the Chubut territory of the Argentine Republic. In 1896 Professor Ameghino, of La Plata, Argentina, traversed the whole of Patagonia from the Straits of Magellan northward. Since then the only scientific research done in this almost uninhabited region has been that of the Princeton and American Museum expeditions in 1901 and 1902. It covered the country from the straits northward to the Santa Cruz River. The Amherst party has done most of its work in the Gobernacion del Chubut, in the valleys of the Rio Chubut and the Rio Chico.

Chicago's First Dog-Cart

In the *American Magazine* is a sketch of Mrs. J. T. Bowen, of Chicago, a woman of wealth and ability, whose contributions toward the betterment of her city are described in an article by Jane Addams. Following is an extract from the article, showing how Chicago used to treat anybody who undertook to establish metropolitan standards there:

"Chicago, in spite of its size and somewhat world-weary aspect, is yet so absurdly young that inhabitants of old Fort Dearborn are still living and children and grandchildren recall spirited recitals of Indian forays repulsed from its first stockade. One of these, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, heard many stirring adventures from her grandfather, Edward H. Hadduck, who in the early thirties drove a prairie schooner from Detroit containing $20,000 in gold, which the United States Government sent to Fort Dearborn. The young Government employee, much impressed with the shipping facilities at the foot of Lake Michigan, returned to Fort Dearborn the following year, and this time the prairie schooner carried his bride and the household equipment of a pioneer.

"Louise Hadduck DeKoven, the subject of this sketch, was their only grandchild. The family lived for many years in a red brick house on the corner of Wabash Avenue and Monroe Street past which 'bunches' of cattle were continually driven on their way to the stockyards.

"Young Chicago was striving in many ways to be 'more fashionable' and Miss DeKoven at the age of fifteen assumed her obligation in this direction by appearing in the first high dogcart which the city had ever seen. Both she and the liveried man behind her were at times vigorously stoned as a demonstration of democracy, and on one occasion the groom, exasperated by these missiles and holding democratic principles of his own, jumped down from the cart as it was crossing Rush Street Bridge, flinging his despised coat and high hat into the back of it as he hotly announced; 'You can take this livery over town if you want to, but you can't take me.' The undaunted young girl drove on without looking back, sustained by the reflection that the incident only made clearer the necessity for metropolitan standards in Chicago."

Andrew Jackson and "O. K."

Andrew Jackson is generally credited with originating the expression "O. K." as signifying "all correct," says the *New York Times*. Jackson was notoriously deficient in spelling, some of his public documents making this fact brazenly apparent. During his time in the White House he fell into the way of indorsing both public and private papers "O. K.," under the impression that these were the proper initials for "all correct," (oll korrect.) The public quickly picked it up, first in a temper of jest, but soon came to use it as a convenient and sensible abbreviation. It is, therefore, typically an Americanism.

General Lee's Coffin

Mrs. Salle Corbell Pickett tells this story connected with the burial of Gen. Robert E. Lee: It seems that when he died at Lexington, Va., the North River, a tributary to the James, had overflowed its banks and Lexington was cut off from all communication with the outside world. A warehouse was washed

away and with it all the supplies contained therein, including all the coffins in the city.

"In this extremity," writes Mrs. Pickett in *Lippincott's*, "Prof. Nelson of the University of Virginia was consulting with some of the other professors as to what could be done. In the midst of their dilemma two boys came up to them in a timid way, hesitating to approach the group of dignified strangers, yet feeling the necessity of imparting the information they were bringing. Each feared to be the first to speak and pushed the other on, saying:

" 'You tell.'

" 'No; you tell. You saw it first.'

" 'No; you saw it at the same time.'

" 'Saw what?' asked Prof. Nelson, who was a judge of boys, and perceived that there was something of unusual importance on their minds.

" 'Yes; saw what?' repeated one of his companions.

"Encouraged by the readiness to receive their tidings, one of them replied: 'A coffin.'

" 'We saw it,' affirmed the other.

" 'Yes; we saw it there upon the shore, there by the island.'

" 'On the shore? A coffin? Where?'

" 'Just about three miles from town. We saw it,' said the boy who had first spoken. 'Maybe nobody's in it. We was too scared to do more than see the outside and then we tuck out. 'Taint's never been used. It's bran' spankin' new.'

" 'I wonder if they really saw it or only imagined it,' said one of the gentlemen.

"Prof. Nelson arose and turned to the boys, saying:

" 'Come and show us the way.'

"The boys led on and all followed, uncertain as to what they were to find but trusting that in some way heaven had graciously supplied their great necessity. Along the river bank they walked until their two guides stopped beside a long closed box that had floated down the swollen waters in the great flood and drifted ashore. In the box was a beautiful coffin."

They carried home the box and in that casket all that was earthly of the famous General was laid to rest in the college chapel.

"Old Dan Tucker"

Mrs. Martha McCulloch Williams, writing to the *New York Sun,* calls the *Journal of American Folk Lore* to account for having given its readers an "incorrect version" of old Dan Tucker. She says:

The *Journal of American Folk Lore* had better go out of business if it is by way of debasing and emasculating our classics after the manner of its "Old Dan Tucker." Here is a true and proper, if fragmentary, version of the ballad as chanted from my earliest youth, and derived, as is most immortal poesy, from North Carolina. Thence too comes the spurious initial stanza of the folk lore people—it is part of a moving tale, "Aunt Dinah's Tribberlations," and properly runs thus:

> Ole Aunt Dinah she got drunk,
> Felled in de fire and kicked up a chunk.
> Red hot coal popped in her shoe—
> Lordy a-mighty! How de water flew?

This is, however, a detail. Ole Dan Tucker was adjustable—you began singing it where you chose and could play both ends against the middle, or sing it backward, or forward, or improvise topical stanzas according to your mind and skill. It was a fine dancing tune, and the black fiddlers often sang it as they fiddled, the prompter meanwhile racking his wits to find new figures yet keep the proper rhythms. In Christmas dancing it often evoked the Wild Irishman, having indeed for that lively evolution but one real rival, a lilting ballad whose refrain ran:

> Sheepskin! Sheepskin! Dancin' on a sheepskin!
> Four and twenty Irish gals a-dancin' on a sheepskin.

Here is one of many versions, somewhat curtailed. Let me say further the singing was commonly in negro dialect, but not invariably so. That rested with the singers, who, singing for their own joy, neither knew nor cared if they sang in key, especially if they were roystering young blades riding home from a long dance around 5 o'clock in the morning. There were, as of most other dance songs, lawless and high colored versions for such tunes, versions which could not be given unexpurgated before ladies. But the sedatest could take no offence at the authorized ballad, which indeed was often used as a lullaby:

Ole Dan'l Tucker clomb a tree,
His Lord and Marster for to see.
De limb hit broke and Dan got a fall—
Nuver got to see his Lord at all!

Git out o' the way, Ole Dan Tucker!
Git out o' the way, Ole Dan Tucker!
Git out o' the way, Ole Dan Tucker!
You're too late to git your supper.

Miss Tucker she went out one day
To ride with Dan in a one horse sleigh.
De sleigh was broke, and de horse was blind—
Miss Tucker she got left behind.
Git out o' the way, &c.

As I come down de new cut road
I spied de peckerwood and de toad,
And every time de toad would jump
De peckerwood hopped upon de stump.
Git out o' de way, &c.

And next upon de gravel road
I met Br'er Tarypin and Br'er Toad,
And every time Brer Toad would sing
Brer Tarrypin cut de pigeon wing.
Git out o' de way, &c.

Ole Dan and me we did fall out,
And what d'ye reckon it was about?
He trod on my corn and I kicked him on the shins;
That's jest the way this row begins.
Git out o' the way, &c.

If Ole Dan he had corn to buy
He'd mo'ne and wipe his weepin' eye;
But when ole Dan had corn to sell,
He was as sassy as all hell.
Git out o' the way, &c.

The sample suffices. The Darby Ram, which is lugged into the printed version, had in our mouths his own Iliad, racy of the soil but still recognizable as derived from its English original. If time and inclination fall together I may send it later.

Old Letters Sold

Important Revolutionary letters and documents were sold by Richmond recently. A petition of George French of Boston for license to keep an inn, with recommendation signed by thirteen citizens, including Paul Revere, sold for $25; a letter from Count Pulaski, Dec. 4, 1777, to George Washington, $38; a let-

ter signed, but not written, by Washington and addressed to George Walton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, $81, and a document signed twice by Washington, April 27, 1775, $46.

A letter of "Mad Anthony" Wayne, in camp at Goods Bridge, July 27, 1781, brought $31; a letter of John Adams, Aug. 17, 1820, saying that Indian corn "is a nourishment of inestimable value—both to men and animals," $11. A fine war letter of Major Gen. Nathaniel Greene, April 29, 1779, $23.50; a three-page large folio letter of Patrick Henry, about Creek Indian affairs, dated Jan. 29, 1790, $36; a long and interesting letter of the Marquis de Lafayette, written in 1811 at La Grange, and in English, speaking of "our American transactions," $39.

An unsigned letter of Charles Lamb to P. G. Patmore, written in 1831, sold for $21; two letters of Longfellow, Jan. 1, 1837, and Aug. 18, 1834, respectively, $18 and $23.

Our National Motto

The motto "In God We Trust," which Colonel Roosevelt, when President, discovered was quite essential to American coins, has a curious history, says W. S. Walsh. Before 1865 it was unknown. In November, 1861, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, received a letter from a Maryland farmer urging that as a Christian people we should put some recognition of the Diety upon our coins. James Pollock, Director of the Mint, indorsed the suggestion and proposed as a motto either "Our Country—Our God," or "God Our Trust." Chase preferred the latter, and again and again urged its acceptance upon Congress. Thus in 1863 he wrote, "The motto suggested, 'God Our Trust,' is taken from our national hymn, 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' The sentiment is familiar to every citizen of our country; it has thrilled millions of American freemen. The time is propitious; 'tis an hour of national peril, an hour when our strength and salvation must be of God. Let us reverently acknowledge this sovereignty, and let our coinage declare our trust in God."

The appeal was successful. On April 22, 1864, the coinage of a two-cent bronze piece was authorized by Congress. On this coin the motto, "In God We Trust" appeared for the first time in lieu of the long standing "E Pluribus Unum." On March 3, 1865, the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Treasury, was authorized to place the new motto upon all gold and silver coins susceptible of such addition. And thus was fulfilled the suggestion of Francis Scott Key:

> Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
> And this be our motto, "In God is our trust."

As to the legend the new motto displaced, "E Pluribus Unum," that too has its story. A committee of three, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, appointed to prepare a device for the great seal of the United States, had formally proposed this legend on August 10, 1776. It was then rejected. Six years later, June 20, 1782, it was adopted as part of the successful device submitted by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress. In 1796 Congress further ordered that it should appear on certain specified coins.

The legend, however, was not original even with the committee headed by Franklin. For nearly half a century before our union English magazines had carried the motto, "E Pluribus Unum," or "Una," as an avowal that the publication was the work of many hands. In fact, it dates back all the way to Vergil. "Moretum," a poem ascribed to that writer on fairly good authority, describes a species of pottage which forms at once its title and its subject. This was made of various ingredients which the peasant grinds up in a pestle. "Est e pluribus unum" (It is one from many), sings the poet.

Dr. Eastman on Sioux Poetry

The 250 members of the Camp Fire Club who assembled at the Hotel Astor last month to feast with laughter remained to sing a hymn after they had sat still in their seats for more than half an hour and listened to the poetry of a real Sioux Indian's speech. The real Sioux Indian was Dr. Charles A. Eastman,

and the talk that he gave those members of the Camp Fire Club was instinct with the epic wonder of the unspanned heavens and the wide prairies.

Of course it is a new thing to listen to an after dinner speech by a Sioux Indian, particularly a speech that is rendered in perfect English. But the members of the Camp Fire Club found it a surprising thing last night to sit at the feet of an Indian and listen to an exposition of the red man's view of the white man's philosophy as put in practice during three or four hundred years pillage, called benevolent assimilation.

Dr. Eastman sat by the side of Ernest Thompson Seton and facing the "buckskin table" where sat thirty of the really mighty hunters of the club in their moccasins and blue shirts. He was dressed in the regalia of his tribe, full buckskin leggins and jacket and a towering war bonnet of eagle feathers concealed Dr. Eastman's short hair and threw into high light his sharply curved nose and high cheekbones. Under that bonnet all the years of his stay at Dartmouth and the medical school where he got his degree were obscured, and he was indeed the Sioux of the tribe of Spotted Tail and Sitting Bull.

Our Wrong Point of View

"This is a great age we live in," was the more or less trite introduction Dr. Eastman had composed for his speech, but he speedily got away from it. "You people of America—we people of America—look back on the civilizations that are past through the wrong end of a telescope.

"Men of my tribe once camped by the side of a stream," he said, "and they watched a mother beaver and her four beaver cubs at work. The beaver woman had one foot gone; it had been caught in a trap. But she told her cubs what to do and they swam out and picked up the driftwood that came down that stream and they dived and dived with each piece of driftwood. The beaver woman who had only one foot watched and watched and the dam was built.

"Good water was there then. The animals, antelope and buffalo came there to drink and to feed. There was good water, and it was because of the beaver woman with one foot and her

cubs. My tribe used to go there to camp because of the good water. Then came the white men and built a town there and made their electric lights.

"They knew so much more than had the beaver woman that they tore away the dam her cubs had built, and they built another to make their lights and their water power. But a freshet came. The dam went out—that dam which the white man had built—even though the dam of the beaver woman had withstood the freshets of thirty years. The beaver woman's dam was for the animals and for the children of the great God's wilderness, the white man's dam was for gain."

"Children of nature and happiness" was the way Dr. Eastman characterized the Indians that were. Now, he said, after these bitter years of transition and the dropping of old ideals, built of the allegory of nature and blossoming things, the Indian was beginning to find his place in the white man's scheme.

The "Pensacola" Discarded

After fifty-three years of continual service in the United States Navy, during which time it saw service in some of Farragut's famous battles on the lower Mississippi during the Civil War and later was flagship of Admiral George Dewey, then captain, in the Mediterranean, the battle-worn frigate Pensacola has been retired from service. It was replaced as receiving ship at Yerba Buena Island by the more modern man-of-war, the cruiser St. Louis, and, according to the ruling of the Navy Department, will be given over to some historical society to be preserved.

It is not the same stanch little vessel which threw open its ports and allowed its muzzle-loading guns to belch forth hot shot at the Confederate fortifications located at Jackson and Phillips and later at the battle of New Orleans in 1862. Instead, it is a battered and patched hulk, with its famous port holes nailed up and its upper decks built into a dormitory for the 200 or more apprentice sailors who have been its crew for years.

The Pensacola, more familiarly known as "The Jackass," has been stationed at Yerba Buena Island as receiving ship of the navy for nearly a score of years.

After being built at Pensacola, Fla., in 1858, the wooden frigate was stationed on the Atlantic coast and was affectionately known at one time as the "Pride of the American Navy." At the outbreak of war between the North and South it was sent to the Gulf, where it participated in all the battles at and around New Orleans and on the lower Mississippi. After the war it remained at New Orleans as receiving ship for several years.

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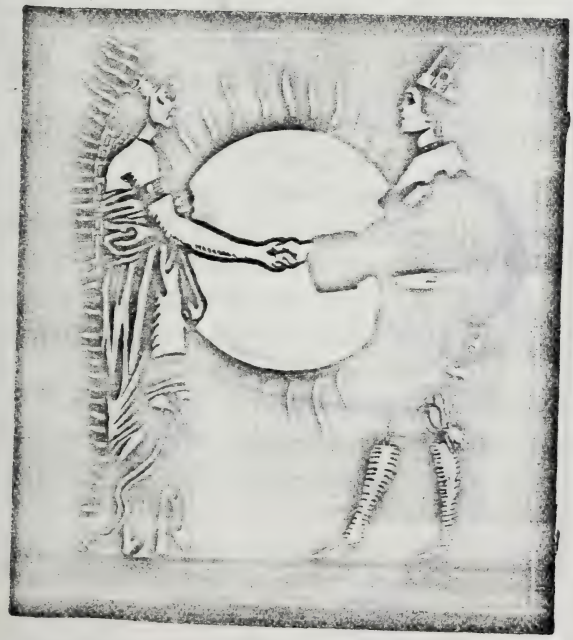

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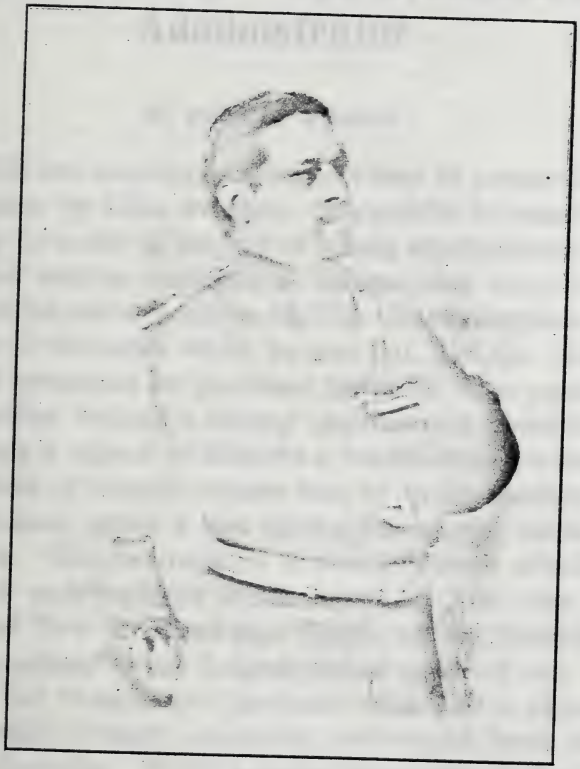

MAJOR M. A. RENO

AMERICANA

March, 1912

Jonathan Trumbull—The Evolution of an Administrator

BY FORREST MORGAN

FAME has sometimes a curious way of preserving a just balance by false weights. A rightful volume of repute may be made up largely of wrong attributions. The hero is not seldom endeared to the popular fancy by virtue of acts which he never performed, like Charlemagne or Alfred, or as a type of character which he was not, like the Cid, though the ascribed greatness or goodness be in no wise overcharged. The imagination, feeling a strong impress and uncertain of its source, invents a legend or distorts a tradition to account for it.

An odd freak of historic chance has, by quite another class of undue association, given a less known but worthy name its due remembrance. The heritage of a world-famous sobriquet not originally his and perhaps never borne by him—the Jacques Bonhomme of New England and finally of the United States, "Brother Jonathan"—has lodged in the quick of our national memory the old Connecticut governor who was a prime agent in the existence of such a memory, yet would have had little place in it otherwise. Vivid popular associations cling mainly about the picturesque, piquant, or imposing—intrinsic importance being as may happen. Now Jonathan Trumbull's character or speech had nothing racy or bizarre, his functions no showy elements or dramatic crises; he wrote or uttered no pungencies, generated no anecdotes (save the one which has immortalized him), had no dazzling actions to perform, occupied no supreme post to focus historic attention. It is a striking index of his great quiet force that with all these limitations, his per-

sonal greatness and that of his services were correctly estimated by contemporaries, friend and foe alike. Washington and a host of other burdened magnates leaned upon him for counsel and comfort as well as aid. The garland "Father of his Country" was locally transferred from the classics to his brow before it rested on Washington's. Abroad, it was thought worth while to attempt smirching his repute by venomous imaginary biography, like that of Lincoln at the South. But lack of saliency has blurred his image to later generations. Even his nickname hardly calls up an actual personality: he is a sort of *eponym.* He does not often tempt periodical writers to articles. No popular series of American "heroes" or "makers" has ever included him. The respectable ghost of a fame, he is mainly left, in most worthy companionship, to such "antidotes against the opium of time" as fleshless skeletons in cyclopaedias and short mentions in long histories—plus, however, a formidable biography long out of print, and its historical setting out of date in both matter and style.

Yet a large factor in a large fact always rewards full examination from some point of view—as an individual, a type, or a representative of efficient forces. Trumbull was one of the few men demonstrably indispensable to the success of the Revolutionary War, and whatever worth is attached to that success must be shared by him. That another in his place might have matched his achievement is possible, but only an assumption, and, with our materials for judgment, not a probable assumption. Moreover, his character and sentiments were as vital to his success as were his abilities; and had they been of another cast, he would not have been chosen to his office. How all three combined to afford him the training and the opportunity for his one memorable work, is not merely of biographical but of historical import; it mirrors a bygone age and polity. The causes of his final success in a field strewn with so many wrecks will appear. And I hope to show that the great business administrator was far from lacking the "outline," like Mr. Mantalini's countesses, for a recognizable portrait, or the individual flavor for a living interest.

A strain of superior quality was latent in the Trumbull stock. Both its unrelatable American branches have thrown up noted

families, all of Connecticut birth. From one line sprang a well-known house of unconventional power in our own day: the still living creator of the "Seven Dreamers," and her dead brothers—the antiquarian, Indian-scholar, and bookman, the missionary divine and editor, and the nature painter. From the other arose, in the 1700's, three closely related families, each assured of recollection through one or more members. The Governor was the earliest; alone of both stocks, his fame lies in action instead of expression. A cousin's son, Benjamin, wrote the first Connecticut history, its descriptive opening still readable as literature. Another cousin's son, John, the author of "McFingal," was the first American-born poet whose lines are still quoted. His own son John was the second American-born artist whose pictures are still classics.

Trumbull was born to an understood claim upon leadership, the aristocracy of his tiny rustic province—the upper citizenry whose means and education, in the days before universal schooling, concentrated general public affairs in their hands. Socially, they had the temper and the relative weight and culture of an aristocracy; politically, their policy had the deliberation, continuity, and foresight of that class; but its harmful elements were neutralized by its having no legal preserve. The community was very nearly the ideal of Mr. Bagehot's "deferential government," a democracy of intelligent freeholders who voluntarily committed state business to the few financially and intellectually able to discharge it. The government personnel was at the will of a vigilant *plebs* whose basis broadened automatically about as fast as fitness increased—the franchise grievance belongs to a later time and a different world. It was a régime of the leading families; but there was no artificial barrier to their rise and fall, and no co-optation to exclude merit without family influence or to shelter demerit with it. In the very heart of Trumbull's lifelong public service, some undiscoverable cause excluded him from the council for three years in succession—plainly not felt in his town, which sent him to the Assembly in all three; nor in his class, for the Assembly made him Speaker in two of the three.

Born in 1710, nearly five years after Franklin and over twenty-one before Washington, he was the second son of a prosper-

ous Lebanon farmer, general storekeeper, ship-owner and sea-trader on a moderate scale. His birthplace was a country village, but then English America's town centres consisted of very little else; and the conditions of his life were not petty despite the petty entourage. His father was a leading citizen, prominent in all civil affairs, and for many years captain of the town train-band—not then an outworn form amid standing armies. As they drilled, a coming struggle of all the northern colonies for English civilization against the encroaching French and their Indian allies was never out of mind. A civilized America against a savage America, an English America against a French America, a Protestant America against a Catholic America,—the ever-felt alignment could not but foster an enlarged political sense and a continental patriotism, to bear fruit later.

Jonathan, prepared for college under a private tutor, went to Harvard at thirteen. He was a studious, quiet, rather bashful boy, devout by temperament and reared in a like atmosphere. He joined a college secret society, formed for moral improvement (a chronological datum in itself); voluntarily and effectively added Hebrew to his curriculum, and looked to a clerical life. His nature, however, was the reverse of morbid; it was cheerful and even sanguine, though without much lightness or humor—there was hardly a joke in his composition. He took everything with a serious intensity—his studies, his principles, his duties, his politics. Apparently he devoted his entire energies to study: a type now reviled not only by pupils, but rather oddly by some professors as well. It is further significant of the change in times and ideals that, instead of being hazed and outlawed, he seems to have been liked and respected. Perhaps it is otherwise significant that, instead of turning out an invertebrate and unsocial pedant, he became a robust and capable man of affairs, a large-minded public man, and an excellent manager of men; the better, certainly, for sharing the religious bent so strong in his environment. Among his classmates was Thomas Hutchinson, as high-minded and sincere a patriot as himself, destined to much the same career and honors (attaining their climax in the same year), but a widely different fate: the one exalted as a patriot leader, in life and by posterity; the

other execrated, mobbed, plundered, driven into permanent exile from his beloved native land, with following generations taught to abhor him as little better than a traitor.

Graduating at seventeen, Trumbull joined the church at home, studied divinity, and was called to the ministry, then an alluring prospect even to a secular ambition. All his life he maintained an interest in theology as his choicest intellectual feast. With true Puritan democracy,—which is simply the scholar's democracy applied to religion,—he would discuss it with his workmen if they had ideas. That the immediate action and interest of God in human affairs was with him hardly so much a dogma as a concomitant of life, so commonplace that he attributed all public misfortunes to the anger of God for human sins, medicined every great public calamity and danger with a day of fasting and prayer, and announced good fortune in battle with phrases which modern taste disapproves and travesties—this was characteristic of his time; but his diaries and letters prove the spontaneous sincerity of it all in his own case. He chose the ecclesiastical functions of the government for his own handling as councilor. In his later years he loved to write amateur sermons and pass them around among his clerical friends for criticism. He was indeed a preacher by instinct; his mind was didactic; his letters are apt to be dissertations. This tone of mind and his doctrinal conservatism greatly forwarded and confirmed his leadership in a like-minded community.

But accident opened a very different career. The change from a clerical to an official life was common enough in those days, the preparation for the former being roundly serviceable for the latter; but in this case it was indirect. His elder brother, the father's chief helper, was drowned at sea, and Jonathan was called to assist in conducting the business, whose scope in time he greatly widened, alone or with partners. No training could have been better for his mental dangers. To the excellent drill in business practice, and the compulsory mixing and dealing with men, was added the enlarging dignity of great mercantile affairs, and the broader horizon of knowledge concerning other countries inseparable from so varied a foreign commerce, making him cosmopolitan in spirit. The very im-

maturity of the colony's industrial life opened a higher field for the few who handled those branches. The dependence upon Europe and the West Indies for all the luxuries of life, and most of its comforts and even utilities, compelled a thorough study of their markets and conditions. His own vessels carried to New York, Boston and Halifax, to the West Indies, to Liverpool, London, Bristol, Dublin and Cork, the products of Connecticut and the neighboring colonies, or were sold outright with their cargoes to buy foreign bills of exchange. He had mercantile correspondents in Hamburg and Amsterdam. From the latter he became in Revolutionary days the medium of furnishing information and arguments to an eager friend of America, Baron Van der Capellen. He hired the Mohegans along the Thames to hunt and trap for his trade in pelts. In his eighth year the first New England whale ship had sailed from Nantucket: Trumbull sent his own vessels to partake in the new industry, for oil, bone and "fins." He established semi-annual fairs at Lebanon, and made it one of the leading marts of the colony. As it lay on main thoroughfares between the two chief rivers, the Connecticut and Thames, he owned wharves on each, and storage sheds. His firm also contracted for supplying the English troops in the various wars, from Canada to the West Indies. By 1763, the climax of his fortunes, he had amassed the then considerable property of £18,000 sterling.

The upbuilding and management of such a commerce would have fully engrossed the time and powers of most men. But Trumbull had one of those first-rate business intellects which digest their experience into so-called intuitions; and he had the administrator's gift of choosing and instructing competent subordinates or companions. Further, business was far less exacting in this age of long sailing voyages and semi-annual fairs, of barter based on crops and scanty cash, than at present. The cargoes even of a great ship-owner might come in months apart. The average customer of a great merchant not only saw less money in a year than his successor of corresponding station often handles in a month, but received it with no such regularity. A large part of Trumbull's time and mental energy was left free; and his station and education, as one of the very few

men in the town with culture and leisure to represent it creditably, made public life a duty expected of him. Moreover, the public issues were far greater than now on the same stage. If the upper-class leaders had long leases of power, it was because supplanting them with the ignorant or uninfluential would have been thought grotesque even by those thus favored.

Still, his early choice and early rise were largely personal tributes. He had every gift to make him admired and liked. He was a handsome youth, with a fine figure preserved to old age, and praised even by his libeler; a striking forehead, with broad, strong upper face and Roman nose, and full dark eyes; a manner courteous though reserved, and a low quiet voice; and he possessed a kindly nature which later made him a gratuitous helper and provider of the poor, a balanced one which made him a local peacemaker and arbiter. We can imagine the general satisfaction in sending this cultivated and pleasing young theologue, of the strongest business connection, to the Assembly. First elected at twenty-three, and, with three years' mysterious intermission, regularly till 1740, he was made Speaker at twenty-nine. The following year he was chosen by the entire colony one of the twelve Assistants—the rulers of the upper house, acting as a council in the legislative recesses, and seven of them constituting a supreme court of appeals. This was unusual preferment for so young a man in Connecticut, where experience and seniority counted heavily; and he left the office only to go and remain higher. In 1745 he became a county judge, and thenceforward till his governorship he was a justice of county, probate, or superior courts, singly or jointly; becoming chief justice toward the close of the period, then one of the commonest steps to the governorship in the colonies—another marked change in values. It is interesting that he found divorce even then a considerable industry. As he had never practiced law, these appointments attest the general repute, even among lawyers, of his self-acquired knowledge and native gifts; and there is the highest of contemporary testimony to his fitness. William Samuel Johnson, one of the foremost lawyers of the State and still famed, says that he not only dispatched

court business well, but threw light on everything he touched, and that very few things escaped him.

But this catalogue of public and private functions—trader by land and sea, administrator, judge—gives no adequate idea of Trumbull's incessant activity and avidity for work, the multifarious duties imposed upon or assumed by him, and the wide variety of knowledge, ideas and practical experience he must have assimilated. That he discharged all civil business admirably is attested by the evident relief with which his colleagues turned it over to him. He was a special commissioner for nearly everything in war and peace. Whatever of moment the commonwealth wanted, the readiest and most satisfactory way to obtain it was apparently to appoint a commission, with Trumbull as a member, or sole member. It is Trumbull who floats a colony loan, audits the colony's accounts, collects the colony's outside dues, comes back from a commissioners' meeting with many thousand pounds in his pocket for the colony. It is Trumbull who devises plans for the great French wars in concert with commissioners for the other colonies, procures and distributes supplies, handles bounties and pay-rolls. It is Trumbull who helps to run the colony's northern boundary line. In the heartbreaking tangle of the Mohegan lands, where generations of conflicting private greeds clashed with the broader claim of the commonwealth to nearly a sixth of its entire surface; in the matter of Connecticut's right to colonize its charter lands in Pennsylvania, founding a new colony within the claim of an old, —it is he who prepares the cases to lay before the Privy Council, and wins them "as for that time." In the acute anxieties of the times after the Stamp Act, he is twice asked to act as the colony's agent at London, just then regarded as its weightiest post and fraught with issues of life and death.

In special incidents it is the same. The agent of a wrecked Spanish vessel intrusts its cargo for the winter to the collector of the port at New London; in the spring he lays claim to much more than can be found, not impossibly more than ever existed. The charge of embezzlement echoes through the colony; officials up to the governor are believed guilty of collusion; the colony's good name is smirched, and even a Spanish war is feared.

Trumbull (then Speaker, but a third time refused the Assistantship), and, singularly, the governor's son, are appointed to investigate. Trumbull spends many days examining witnesses, making inventories, paying bills, and reshipping such stores as are found; sends away the ship with the agent effusively satisfied; reports that the colony is not liable, and that the agent's conduct has been "very strange and extraordinary." The scandal dies out, but the governor loses his seat, and Trumbull regains his councilorship permanently.

He found time also to cultivate his intellectual tastes, and to keep in close touch with the progress of knowledge. Without much subtlety of intellect, he had a strong mental grasp and a retentive memory. He obviously read law enough to be a capable judge. He took a keen interest in foreign affairs, as a merchant who traded across seas would naturally do, and became a thorough student of history and civil jurisprudence. He was a master of dates; he made astronomical calculations; he was well read in the English classics; he kept up his Greek and Hebrew. He founded an academy in Lebanon, long famed as one of the best in Connecticut. Later, he had a copy made of all of Winthrop's Journals that was thought extant; he began the collection of the Trumbull Papers; he aided Hazard in his collection of State Papers. Both Yale and Edinburgh University gave him an honorary LL.D., at a time when neither the laws nor the honor were supposed to be mocked even for political good-will. He planned and began a history of the Revolution and its causes.

Nor was the public business in the colonies on the same plane with the relatively fixed and limited routine of State business now. Virtually the colonies were individual states, with their whole future in solution. The matters which came before the Connecticut government in Trumbull's colonial service involved nearly every issue of political existence and social organization, and afforded a training in every branch of statesmanship. Six may be especially noted: the land laws, the church establishment, the continental wars, the currency question, the charter limits, and the question of English right of control which ended in the Revolution. Reserving the last, we may glance at the others.

The English law of primogeniture had been replaced, as elsewhere, by a more nearly equal division of intestate lands; but in 1728 a turbulent scion of the Winthrops had secured its restoration by the Privy Council. The ultimate issues were two: whether a legally fortified aristocracy was to be increasingly set up; and whether the charter was a broken reed, as having no power but to transfer English law and custom bodily to Connecticut. The basis of the colony's social system, the basis of its legal existence, were both at stake. The colony bided its time, prevented legal rights from arising under the new law by settling cases out of court or prolonging appeals, and finally gained a decision for the charter in 1745. But for many years there was great anxiety, and profound legal research and counseling.

Almost immediately after Trumbull became an Assistant, the Congregational church establishment—its creed the Saybrook Platform, its ministers' salaries paid by taxation—entered on a forty years' contest against the rights of dissent; a struggle doomed, of course, to failure. Such rights had already been conceded to the Baptists and Episcopalians, but the church in power would not admit that there could be two forms of Congregationalism. The "Great Awakening" under Wesley and Whitefield in 1741, however, bred the "New Lights," who formed schismatic bodies and refused to pay their church rates. To abandon the government's system without an effort would stultify the state's action in ever having allowed establishment. Recalcitrants were imprisoned and distrained; unlicensed preachers were driven from the colony as vagrants; attendants at their meetings were fined and put in jail. But dissent was a synonym for life and thought; the body of outsiders became too strong to suppress or oppress: and toward the end of Trumbull's governorship the State silently gave way. Councilors needed to be most learned in the lore of creeds and covenants for this department; and Trumbull was welcomed to it. He was rigidly orthodox, and by nature a disciplinarian, and so approved and enforced the government's policy as legitimate measures of order. But his union of corporate severity and individual lenity toward the Revolutionary Tories makes it prob-

able that he softened its harshness to persons as much as possible, and tried to make expostulation do the work of writs.

The closing quarter-century of struggle for the English mastery of eastern North America had an epic grandeur of scene and stake, and Connecticut stood in the colonial forefront of it. In its opening act, the war to break the Spanish claim of supremacy in the Middle Atlantic, she sent some hundreds of her sons to die of pestilence before Carthagena. Trumbull, then Speaker, was made a lieutenant-colonel, but fortunately never took the field; there was food for fever better to be spared. To the French war which ended at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, she contributed eleven hundred men and a war vessel to assist in the momentous capture of Louisbourg. In the final Seven Years' War, she had more than a quarter of her adult males steadily in the field to aid in the conquest of Canada, and two-fifths of them called out for it, spending £400,000 above her reimbursements. All this imposed burdens which seriously checked her prosperity. The sole English victory in a pitched battle until Quebec was won by a Connecticut officer, and the most picturesque colonial reputation which came out of the war was of a son of Connecticut. The colony also repeated at Havana the dreadful sacrifice of Carthagena. Trumbull was colonel of his former regiment, but remained at home to manage affairs as commissioner, attending with his usual ability to supplies and finances. The supply function was peculiarly difficult on account of great distances, lack of roads, and unorganized transportation, but he directed it governmentally and as private contractor also. The experience was invaluable both to him, to Connecticut, and to the country.

The financial adventures of the colony are of supreme relevance to our subject, for they taught her statesmen the lessons that saved the Revolution through her effective supplies. Other colonies went through similar experiences; Connecticut's glory is that she learned from them early and enduringly. Her first financial troubles were due to the English wars, her share in which she could not perform without borrowing. Queen Anne's War began a series of experiments in legal-tender paper, which had not ceased their evil effect when the War of Jenkins' Ear

and its Louisburg sequel compelled vast new issues, amounting to one-seventh of the entire list. Redemption was hopeless; the value sank to little more than ten per cent., and the colony bought it in. Parliament in 1751 fixed a five-year redemption limit for all future colonial paper, and forbade it as legal tender altogether; but Connecticut's Revolutionary history shows that the barrier was not needed. Trumbull remained all his life a bullionist pure and simple; he was wholly free from the fallacies which deluded even Franklin and Washington, insisted on having all outlays met by current taxes, and threw his whole weight against governmental meddling with values or prices.

The question of the charter limits, involved in the settlement of the Wyoming lands by the Susquehanna Company, is related only on the surface to the charter privilege of law-making previously noted. In the latter, a weak colony of perhaps eighty thousand souls pleads to be let alone. In the former, an exultantly strong one of a hundred and seventy-five thousand, in the very thick of an impending and fully recognized struggle with the mighty mother country, tears its derelict charter lands, hundreds of miles away, from the grasp of powerful claimants close at hand, and holds them by open war. The action was unofficial; but the company was largely the government under another guise, with its relatives and friends. Trumbull himself, the head of the government, prepared the company's case for the Privy Council. The whole episode has some curious resemblances to that of Texas; though as colonies the two protagonists could not fight, as States Connecticut would not fight. But the international quality of the imbroglio is beyond question, even though the scale is small.

The last-named subject has carried us beyond our radical dividing line, the Peace of Paris. Trumbull had now been over thirty years in public life, steeped in every detail and aspect of legislation, administration and judicial affairs, forced to consider every principle and need that could affect a state's internal harmony or external security. There was no more thoroughly trained statesman in America, perhaps none even in Europe. But a new class of problems had now to be confronted, and on his attitude toward them depended his continuance in service.

The colony, rightly or wrongly, believed its chance of a decent future to be at stake. Business issues were not vital, but political issues were. It liked to have good administrators; it must have resolute champions. One who combined both qualities would attain supreme leadership; he who lacked the one thing needful would lose even what he had. To choose his course, Trumbull needed no spur of ambition. He was a sort of essence of Connecticut, in the fullest sympathy with every desire, fear, and resolve of its dominant class; though his enlarged historical sense emancipated him from its narrower political ideas. We are rarely misled in reasoning from either to the other; and we shall find his individual utterances most valuable for community deductions. Moreover, his feelings were strong though repressed; there was no lukewarmness in his championship.

I have no intention of attempting a new précis of the causes of the Revolution; but one consideration is regularly overlooked, and concerns Trumbull individually as well as his commonwealth.

The currency question, though thoroughly discussed, is ignored as a contributory cause. It is true that the scantiness of circulating money was not in any way a *direct* cause, as a conscious grievance. But indirectly it bore a very real and traceable part in the catastrophe; the stringencies created by it put the direct causes more intensely into operation, in more ways than one. The prohibition of 1751, however judicious, saved one set of mischiefs at the cost of producing another class scarcely less demoralizing. There really was not enough coin in circulation to transact colonial business properly. The colonies may be said to have been in a permanent condition of panic shortage, though not of panic depression: they had developed more trade than their quick capital would bear. Among other proofs are the many months it took for the perceptible depreciation of the Continental currency; the earlier issues were taken up as a welcome addition to the circulating medium. Commerce flourished in spite of this lack, but it was the source of much difficulty and some disaster, and made the barter commerce of the day ill-balanced and precarious. Whenever local commodities fell short, and distant purchases were needed to supply articles for traffic

or remittance, the lack of cash resources was an embarrassment sometimes fatal. This condition greatly aggravated the hardships produced by the rigorous enforcement of the navigation acts, and by the Molasses Act of 1764, a blow at the best direct colonial commerce which made the later Stamp Act like a gall upon an open sore. With a larger stock of money, the volume of trade would have been enough larger to make impositions upon it less formidable; it would have rendered the quest of new markets in place of old, an easier task; and there would have been less fear of having a great part of the scant stock of specie absorbed in *advance* taxes as inexorable as fate. Further, the shortage combined with the opening of Western lands after 1763 to make Eastern lands a drug, hard to sell or mortgage reasonably, and depressed property values generally.

The double effect upon Trumbull's private fortune can hardly be doubted. It is not likely to be a mere coincidence that a business steadily growing for a generation, and whose bed-rock was the West India trade, begins to show distress and grow top-heavy just as the English government begins to cripple that trade. Trumbull finds it difficult to obtain articles for remittance, and his foreign debts have to claim an extension which become practically unending. He cannot market his large surplus landholdings. Then sea misfortunes like Antonio's throng upon him and make recovery impossible. Vessels and cargoes to more than £4000 are swept away. It becomes a current saying that "Trumbull money will not swim." He is forced to withdraw from ocean trade. The failure of a heavy debtor causes the loss of £1800 more. The seven years of the Revolution suspend the need of effort for settlement of foreign obligations, but they also force him to abandon his storekeeping. His only income was from his farm, the credit of a nominal salary of £300 a year, of which he drew only two half-payments during the war, and some perquisites as a share in prize-money. He may have been compelled to contract more debt; at any rate, despite a recent State grant of £3700 for arrears of salary and allowances, his debts at the time of his death exceeded his assets by £8000.

These conditions must not be forgotten when weighing his

part before and during the Revolution. The situation was exactly reversed, but his conduct was unvaried. While building up a great business, he gave his best energies to a wide range of onerous public duties. While striving to uphold it when sinking, with his heart torn by its anxieties, he was equally interested and sedulous in the public cause. In old age, when it had irrecoverably gone and he had but a petty and largely precarious living, he toiled for years in the public service almost unpaid, with the assiduity, the zeal, and the hopefulness of a young man with his career before him. To appreciate Trumbull fully, we must bear in mind that the calm, dauntless, unwavering, undiscouraged mainstay of Washington, full of cheer and trust in Providence, planning supplies ahead with far-sighted and unforgetting care, carrying out with invariable success an endless series of difficult supply campaigns from Boston to Ticonderoga and Valley Forge, was a ruined and straitened old man, with a family and a very inadequate income.

The steps toward the Revolution need only be mentioned as they involve Trumbull. The Stamp Act had a year's time to accumulate hatred and fear before it came. Joseph Trumbull wrote to his father early in 1764 that it was proposed. To Connecticut, as free from all royal appointees, it had not even the use or excuse it had in most other colonies, and was a pure burden as well as an invasion of autonomy. No sooner was its machinery established than the community rose in fury and struck it down. As the stamp agent rode into Hartford on his white horse in front of a thousand resolute men, to resign his commission, he compared himself to "Death on the pale horse, with all hell following him." Trumbull's part was not in rioting. Each colonial governor was to take an oath administered by at least three of his council, under heavy and dishonoring penalties, to enforce the act. Fitch of Connecticut summoned his council for consultation, but after a long, heated and exhaustive constitutional argument, only four of the eleven Assistants would accept the duty. The rest, of whom Trumbull was second (in rank of votes received), refused and left the room. The results justified their wisdom. Fitch and the compliants were driven from public life. The deputy-governor, Pitkin, was given Fitch's place,

and Trumbull was given Pitkin's. On Pitkin's death two years later, Trumbull succeeded to the chief magistracy.

Henceforth Trumbull is the active head of the party of contumacy, keenly sympathizing with the resistance outside, even when his own colony is quiet Samuel Adams himself was not more uncompromising in act, or more sagacious in foreseeing the inevitable end. As early as 1767 he had written that if violence, "or methods tending to violence,"—to wit, as interpreted by the Stamp Act riots, anything much disliked by the colonies, —were used to perpetuate colonial dependence, it would hasten separation. As deputy-governor, he shared in the Assembly's unofficial advice to himself as chief justice not to validate the writs of assistance, and obeyed the advice. A letter of his concerning them in 1769 has a bearing on the community feeling not fairly appreciated, considering its author. He declares that the people will lose their liberties only with their lives; that it is not a spirit stirred up by a few hot-heads, but universal save with "a few dastardly, dependent slaves and dupes to administration, who have sold their country and their own posterity for the base consideration of a poor present pittance for themselves. We should rejoice to remain united with them [England] to the latest time; but to think of being slaves—we who so well know the bitterness of it by the instances so continually before our eyes, cannot bear the shocking thought—nature starts back at the idea!"

The shrill exaggeration of this rhetoric now excites a smile; in a public utterance even of that time it would seem agitators' "common form"; were it a letter to an opponent, we might dismiss it as an attempt to make a point; it must be admitted that the comparison of the negroes does not accredit Trumbull's sense of humor. But it was written to the colony's special agent, Johnson; there was no object in affected hysterics; and when a judge and administrator of nearly sixty addresses such language to a middle-aged lawyer, it must be held not only sincere (Trumbull was never anything else) but an uncolored type of the sentiments of his constituency. These plainly believed that the English government, despite all talk of "constructive representation," was, from distance and separateness, practically

a foreign power, imposing burdens on aliens whose unseen distresses neither disturbed their feelings nor menaced their elections; and that taxes laid without consent and collected without process of law, with resistance cowed by foreign troops and recalcitrants tried in extra-colonial courts, would constitute political slavery. They were partly wrong on the first head, exaggerative on the second, and unjust to the government's ideas and purposes on both. But they had not the advantage of a century's perspective. And Trumbull, even if mistaken, is hardly one to be accused of senseless panic.

The Boston Port Bill came. Connecticut, official and private, felt and declared the blow its own, and prepared for war. The Assembly, Trumbull at its head, denounced the bill as a menace to every English colony in America; and the towns were ordered to double their stocks of ammunition. Committees of correspondence and of safety were formed, and military companies were organized and drilled. The populace vented their feelings by mobbing loyalists; the least harmed of all, Rev. Samuel Peters, had the amplest revenge and more than repayment in immortality. Trumbull appointed a day of fasting and prayer, whose meditations on the crisis cannot have been mollifying; nor were they so designed. The storm centre was at his own residence. He was constantly surrounded by patriot leaders at the future famous "War Office." His son, studying military science, formed and exercised a militia company. When the Port Bill went into effect, Lebanon was draped in mourning, the bells tolled the entire day, and all business was suspended, while the bill was read to a great gathering who voted it an assault upon public liberty. The towns of the colony, Lebanon not least and with Trumbull's store as the starting-point, poured into Boston vast herds of live-stock and countless wagons of grain to enable the city to resist to the end. The non-importation agreement was vigorously enforced with Trumbull's aid.

The then colonial secretary, Dartmouth, was a friend of Trumbull's and wished well to the colonies; and Trumbull wrote him letters urging respect for their rights and feelings. But Dartmouth was only the mouthpiece of a foreign system incompatible with the one, and a foreign people unconcerned about the

other. Any compliance with American wishes would only have caused his own removal. Trumbull's other correspondence shows that he had little hope of a peaceful outcome. He had the Susquehanna case suspended, to avoid any ground for dissensions with Pennsylvania in the coming war. At home, he gathered for the colony the largest possible stock of military supplies—a providence of inestimable value in the events close at hand.

The war-cloud burst in Lexington. Gage himself, on the night of the battle, wrote an account of it to Trumbull, who sent the letter to Philadelphia. The work for which Trumbull's forty-four years in public life had been preparing him, and which he had long been forecasting, was upon him. He swiftly reconvened the Assembly not long adjourned. Within a week after the battle it had voted to organize at once one-fourth of the colony's militia, six thousand men. Trumbull was made director-general of marching orders. But he was also directed to write Gage a letter of remonstrance, and did so, forwarding it by the moderate Johnson and the warlike Erastus Wolcott. No similar composition was ever more curiously and irrationally misjudged. That it should have been misconstrued by Massachusetts, from the strained anxieties of its position, as an offer of mediation designed to keep an open door for Connecticut, is forgivable. That the characterization is still repeated is not, and invariably proves that the letter has not been read by the critic. So far from "hedging," it is not even diplomatic or placatory, and is merely a warning to Gage that he would have more than Massachusetts to encounter if he persisted. It consists of—first, a long and bitter denunciation of Gage for coming to Boston with troops at all, and of his conduct since; second (the kernel and object of the letter), a declaration that Connecticut will stand by Massachusetts ("nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them"); third, a formal suggestion that he suspend operations till "the temperate wisdom of the empire" may "find expedients to restore peace." Of course he could do nothing of the sort, and Connecticut knew that he could not. It was simply a reading of the Riot Act before opening fire, to clear the col-

ony's skirts before the world. The conduct of the colony for ten years before and the years thereafter is an all-sufficient commentary upon it.

From this time on our interest in Trumbull centers in his relation to the war and its leaders. That the relation was vital is, in fact, the one main reason for thus tracing his growth and accomplishment. It was such because the position of his State was such; but his own work was of the first importance in conferring that position upon the State. His situation made his function possible; but the manner in which others mishandled similar functions forbids us to give all the credit to circumstances and accessories. Indeed, it is easy to point out the aspects in which his personal equation was the deciding factor.

He controlled a district at once rich and untouched by the enemy. Its supplies were an unfailing storehouse of munitions for the Revolutionary cause, over and over gave it victory or made defeats retrievable, more than once saved it from outright extinction. Even Trumbull had no magic horn to pour out products from a country ravaged into poverty, or in the enemy's hands. But other stores much nearer were often unavailable for lack of such a management as Trumbull headed and advised. Much of the State's most valuable contributions were not its own product, but gathered from outside by his provident foresight well in advance of the need. Many of them were held back from civil use for that of the army by embargoes and restrictions, to which another might not have gained so easy obedience. Other contributions were the product of manufactures founded or fostered, or sources opened, by his active zeal. And that, alone of the districts contiguous to New York, it remained unravaged, and the sources open,—that the main British army, lying a few miles off throughout the war, had to content itself with casual raids instead of a crushing campaign to cut this main artery of the rebellion,—was due in part to his vigilant and energetic defensive organizaton.

His achievement, as with most other executive performances, was made possible by a splendid group of companions and subordinates: such men as his own son Joseph, who wore out his life in the cause, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Henry Champion, etc.

And his people, heavily burdened and drained, loyally supported his policy till the danger was over. But he took the initiative in that policy, and bore always a large part in its execution; and it was partly his long influence and recognized ability that secured so prompt a general consent and co-operation.

Lastly, the foundation stone of the entire success, the sound financial policy from which Connecticut never wavered—to "pay as we go"—though not his inception, was unflinchingly maintained by him. That the widely prevalent economic delusions, which "did more harm than the enemy" and would have made the whole machinery unworkable, gained no foothold here, was due in no small part to his clear head and the digested lessons of his business experience, so much wider than the local storekeeping of Franklin. He would not hear of promises to pay without provision of immediate means for payment. Nor would he countenance State regulation of prices. "If we affix a low price to provisions and articles of importation, we shall find that the farmer will cease to till the ground for more than is necessary to his subsistence, and the merchant to resign his fortune on a small and precarious prospect of gain." Had he thrown his great influence, reinforced by so many weighty names from outside, on the side of irredeemable paper and state-fixed prices, Connecticut might well have floundered in the same slough as some other colonies and the national government. And, had it done so, it is certain that much of the Connecticut supplies would never have come into the hands of the army; that the roads, as elsewhere, would have been strewn with wagon-loads of food and clothing which teamsters could not have been hired to draw; and that, on any one of several occasions, Washington's northern army would have gone utterly to pieces and the Revolution with it.

Such services afford little ground of selection for illustrative examples. The victories which form the climax of supply campaigns do not thrill the reader as they do the hungry, ragged, shelterless, half-armed soldiers to whom they bring food and comfort and safety. But now and then the scale is large enough to have a certain distinctness of impression. On one occasion a huge herd of fat Connecticut cattle, after some two hundred

and fifty miles of march around the British army and across the Hudson and Delaware, reaches the miserable camp at Valley Forge; and within five days afterward, said a commissary, "you could have made a knife out of every bone." Later, another great convoy safely gains the famished corps at the Hudson, on the very verge of disbanding, or, to avert starvation outright, seizing their food from the surrounding country. There is an intense interest in the knowledge that more than half the powder used at Bunker Hill was sent from Trumbull's providently gathered stores. Indeed, his powder quests have something of the zest of actual warfare. He obtains it from local mills, from the stocks of other States, from vessels arriving at outside ports, from vessels dispatched to the West Indies. He urges the building of other mills, the collection and making of saltpetre. The Middletown lead mine turns out bullets by scores of tons; he has the colony explored for other mines, even into New York. The iron works at Salisbury are enlarged into providers of the most varied list of war gear for land and sea—cannon and bombs, camp kettles and sulphur pots, anchors and swivels, and wrought iron for guns. Trumbull maintains a special express from his office to these forges. All the old firearms and their parts that are captured at Ticonderoga and elsewhere he has sent to him for repair. He is hospitable to David Bushnell's torpedoes and other military machines. He buys cloth abroad for soldiers' wear. He embargoes traffic in food products, orders the use of draught oxen limited to one pair per owner. He lays an embargo on all shipping, lifts it for whale boats to raid the Long Island Tories and the British market-boats and convoys, then restores it because part of them turn pirates and smugglers. He sees to it that loyalist backfires are not lighted. Nothing escapes his minute and vigilant care.

But even such specifications omit the most pertinent feature of the portrait—the constant reliance from all sides upon Trumbull's ability to provide means for making every plan practicable. Only by following his full activities from season to season does one realize how wide and entire was the dependence placed upon him. The impression conveyed by the "Brother Jona-

than'' anecdote, contrary to that of most popular anecdotes, falls below the truth. The universal instinct is to ''ask Governor Trumbull'' not alone to advise, but to execute. Louis XV said that if Vergennes at Constantinople were requested to send on the Sultan's head, he would reply that it was a very delicate and difficult matter, but would send the head. Trumbull seems rarely even to have expressed that hesitancy; he promises the head and sends it. His quotas are always full on time. For any special service he is looked upon for troops, and they are always forthcoming. For any acute need he is the first to be solicited for supplies or other help; and, though he sometimes protests beforehand that the State is stripped, in some way they are invariably provided.

Trumbull, however, was something more than an expert purveyor and organizer. Others could have fulfilled those duties, though no other had his wand of long influence to call forth such full response. But the old managing commissioner for the French and Indian War was an invaluable counsellor for the formation as well as the execution of war plans. The Ticonderoga expedition was organized by him or under his immediate oversight. All the expeditions to or toward Canada, indeed, were his very own in primal wish and urgency. No man in America was more incensed at the Quebec Act—''a Papal check'' on the colonies by which Catholic French and savages were to quell English Protestants; and he believed to the last that the place to strike was at the wild beast's lair itself. He aided in detaching the Oneida tribe from the English alliance. He was one of Schuyler's advisers, and was taken into council for every movement of Rochambeau and Ternay, and of Washington with them. The Rhode Island expedition, the abortive expedition against Arnold in Virginia, the Yorktown campaign, were planned in concert with him. The need of his co-operation would have dictated much of this, for prudence; but there is ample evidence that this was not all.

The real capitol of Connecticut during the greater part of every year throughout the war, and one of the leading capitols of the United States, was Trumbull's Lebanon store, the so-called ''War Office.'' It was a plain wooden building, second

only to Independence Hall and the Old South Church among the intimate historic monuments of the nation's struggle for birth. He had closed out his mercantile business, and used one of the two rooms as a public depot for war supplies, the other being his office. Around the building were fastened swift Narragansett ponies, with riders famed for skill and endurance, to carry his messages and orders. Here were centered all the threads of that wonderfully efficient organization just described of a secret service to detect and punish Tory intrigues for carrying help or news to the enemy or inviting their raids; of much besides that concerned the war. Here he met with his Council of Safety, who formed with himself the actual executive government of the State, and over each of whose more than nine hundred meetings he personally presided. Here the other State or military officials came for directions or advice. Here Washington met him again and again for consultation, appeal, and encouragement. Here Rochambeau and his fellow officers took the measure of the governor who left an enduring memory of respect and admiration, despite Chastellux's genial demi-gibes. And whenever the cause seemed black with hopelessness, an interview was sought with Trumbull at the War Office, or a despairing appeal was sent thither, and the crisis was somehow averted. Nor was it solely his abilities, his power, his utter integrity and loyalty, which were relied upon: as much so was his comforting and fortifying assurance, his unwavering faith that a just cause would not be allowed to perish. This it was that kept him serene and undoubting at the nadir of his country's fortunes and amid the irretrievable wreck of his own.

He occupied a unique position personally. He was the only governor in the colonies—royal, proprietary or elected—who clung to the American side in the crisis; a lonely pre-eminence which drew the admiring confidence of the Americans and the less admiring respect of the British. And from the same causes he saw, from the first, the impossibility of any plan for unhatching the fledged bird, and replacing it in its shell. He objected to Congress' petition to the King in 1775, as a promise that "the more we are beaten the better we shall be." He declared that it was the English, not the Americans, who were the rebels—

"rebels against the constitution of the empire." In reply to Howe's proclamation, he said that "the rebels who need pardon from the King of Great Britain are not yet discovered." To the Commissioners' letter sent by Tryon he replied that the time for reconciliation was "irrevocably past." Yet no one was freer from partisan rancor or pettiness. He seems never to have had a personal enemy. He rose superior to the Connecticut feud against Schuyler, whom he always supported and appreciated. He showed great personal kindness to the Tories whom as a body he suppressed. He was not lacking in good offices to the swarms of British prisoners, of whom his State's secure situation made it the depository.

In the other departments of statesmanship than that of warcraft, he showed an even larger mind. We shall fall far short of full justice to him if we fail to note that, without an exception, he took the side which the judgment of posterity has taken, even against the temporary feeling of his commonwealth. He represented its thought and not its ignorance or passion. We have noted his financial sanity. In regard to national powers, he stood in every case against the State's particularism, bred by a long contest for its autonomy. Whatever proposal was made to strengthen the federal bond or to enlarge the federal powers, had his hearty support. He had thrown his influence early in the war in favor of a Continental army instead of the militia system. He now favored successively the Confederation, the power of impost, the proposals for a stronger Constitution. (It is notable that he seems first to have suggested a part representation of the negroes, to secure the Southern adhesion, his plan being to count only the sound adults.) He treated as absurd the fears over the *Cincinnati*. He supported the commutation measures in face of the bitter opposition of his State, showing himself as always its leader and not its mere mouthpiece. His course upon this involved him in fiercer storms than his life had ever known. For the first time in half a century, so far as we know, he was at odds with his State—at least with the first tempest of feeling in his State—upon a leading question of policy. For the last two years of his term he failed of election by the people, and was compelled to accept it from the Assembly.

But he no more wavered than when the crowd was with him. He waited for a truer judgment, and had the satisfaction of seeing it soon prevail. Then, wearied out, he withdrew from public life in the year after the peace, and in the following year went to his long rest. For three or four years previous, as the war drew to a close, he had lived mainly as a quiet citizen of Lebanon, helpful in all local matters, liberal despite his scanty means, indulging in books and writing. The strong element of affection in his self-contained nature is shown by his request, after the war, that the correspondents he esteemed as friends would continue to write to him, and he would honor their continuance of confidential friendship with his own.

In these last years, our view of his personality is made more real by a pair of vivid little vignettes from a clever French observer. Rochambeau's companion, the Marquis of Chastellux, met the aged governor first in 1780—"the Governor *par excellence,*" he styles him, having been such for fifteen [eleven] years, under both monarchy and republic." But indeed Trumbull, the only governor in the United States who antedated the Revolution, and almost the only one who had occupied the chair from the outset, was known as an ogre throughout Great Britain, or as "the Rebel Governor." Regarding the first interview, at Hartford, after referring to him as having "equally enjoyed the public esteem under the government of the English and of Congress," Chastellux goes on:

"He is seventy years old. His whole life is devoted to business, which he loves passionately, be it serious or petty, or rather for him there is none of the latter class. He has all the simplicity in dress, all the importance, even the pedantry, which beseem a great magistrate of a small republic. He reminded me of the burgomasters of Holland in the times of the Heinsiuses and the Barnevelds."

And of a later occasion in Lebanon:

"Picture to yourselves this little old man, who wears the exact costume of the first settlers in this country, approaching a table already surrounded by twenty Hussar officers, and without being embarrassed or laying aside any of his stiffness of carriage, pronouncing in a loud voice a long prayer in the form

of a *Benedicite*. Let no one imagine that he excites the laughter of the auditors—they are too well-bred: on the contrary, you must fancy twenty *Amens* issuing at once from the midst of forty moustaches, and you will have an idea of this little scene. It is for M. de Lauzun to narrate how this good methodical governor, didactic in all his actions, invariably says that he will *consider* and refer to his council; how he makes important business out of trivial, and how happy he is when he has any."

The sketch is drawn with the eye of an artist for contrasts, and apparently not overdrawn. A band of French Hussars in presence of an antique New England grace would furnish a delightful tableau for a *genre* painter or a bucolic poem. Trumbull's enjoyment of business for its own sake is almost a corollary from his career. His love of it and his dispatch of it were mutual cause and effect, and, like most old business men, affairs formed his best pleasure, and rest from them was not recreation but ennui. Just at this time, too, the shifting of the chief war theatre southward had left fewer daily decisions to be taken; and he doubtless felt under-employed where many would have felt over-worked. If trifles had his grave consideration, moreover, stores of legend, proverb, literature, and experience justify him by agreeing that in affairs there are no such, the maxim of business and still more of war exactly reversing that of law. In this very Revolution, a bit of mechanical routine in Gage's adjutant's office cost the British the slaughter on the return from Concord, and perhaps deflected the whole course of the Revolution. Trumbull would never have been the trusted "Brother Jonathan" of Washington, in fact or name, but for his sedulous care of small details. Only a neglect or misappreciation of larger matters for them would make it censurable, and that assuredly did not exist. Further, he was neither able nor desirous to disregard his council. They trusted their judicious, experienced, and energetic chairman, but they did not wish business transacted over their heads, and it was through their good-will and hearty collaboration that he accomplished so much; and the steady success of the Connecticut operations justified the Governor's tact and fairness, as nominal chairman and largely actual initiator.

Such was Trumbull after nearly half a century of active public service; somewhat stiff in body and habits by nature and years, ceremonious for his State's sake in an age when ceremony affected both home and foreign consideration,—valuing it, however, but little himself, and deprecating it as a social end; but unclouded in mind and unweakened in energies, and not more devout externally than internally and consistently. It was not rigidity, fussiness, or cant, even in rudiment, that won the supreme confidence of Washington and the country, a unique position among American governors in his time, and escape from their general oblivion since. Powerful if orderly forces, a massive sense and character, underlay his formal exterior, and had not been sapped by age.

But Chastellux's quick eye noted another interesting point, worth a historic comparison. His Dutch analogy is sound in essence; though the Dutch body politic, with its trading oligarchy above and fierce downtrodden plebs below, had but little resemblance to Connecticut. The chiefs of the historic oligarchies relatively termed republics have most often been of the Trumbull type. A group of social leaders too strong for dictation, and too proud and conscious of abilities to endure it, will not long bear a dominating original genius, and therefore such are rarely developed for lack of opportunities for growth. Usually they will have only the executive chairmanship of one of themselves, sure of his intimate sympathy and of their own control at will. The Claudii and Metelli, the Dandolos and Mocenigos, the De Witts and Barnevelds, were not path-breakers: they were organizers or executants. Of these was Trumbull, and such was the aristocracy he led, in pattern if not degree. But if he did not make a new Connecticut—perhaps it might not have been a better one—he kept the old one in the right path, directed its energies and heartened its spirit to victories of the first importance, was right even when it was wrong, and on points of high moment brought it around to his juster view.

He had not a flexible intellect. He cannot be called in any way a man of originality. His business training perhaps saved him from being a rather stern and obstinate obscurantist in some matters, though his large common-sense and humanity must al-

ways have emancipated him from the worst faults of the type. Yet one who always came to the right conclusion on every practical subject, where the ablest men found it easy to be wrong, must have had a keen discrimination of judgment which did the work of originality, as regards himself at least. In this regard he surpassed even Washington, whom in the bases of character he strongly resembled. It is true that in type of intellect and grain of disposition, alike from birth and training, two strong and high-minded men could hardly have been more different. Each was in some sort a sublimation of his province, its people and spirit, and its leader because such. Washington was as little of a preacher or theologian, minuscular scholar or communer with the dead, as any man that lived. He was a Virginian planter and manager of men, large-molded, hearty, judicious, practical, not imaginable as morbid or introspective. Because he was such he was the natural leader of a community of active, practical men, too much occupied in managing estates and bodies of retainers to have much disposition for metaphysics or self-study. Trumbull was equally a product of his own personal and communal heredity and social influences and training, and a type of New England at its truest; even his abounding practical work being felt as subordinate to his speculations on, and a means to preparation for, another world. Yet at bottom both were men of sound religious feeling and the highest sense of duty, not alone from habit and instinct, but from reasoned wish to commend themselves to God as instruments to his purpose and as justifying his work and choice. It was not merely mutual respect and common interests and tasks and burdens, it was real community of spirit, which made the two so brotherly in feeling during their brotherhood of lives, and has linked them in a closely common memory.

Brief Biography of Major M. A. Reno

MAJOR M. A. RENO was a native of Illinois and a great-grandnephew of Phillippe Francois Renault who came to this country with La Fayette. Renault was rewarded for services to the United States Government with large tracts of lands, for possession of which the Reno heirs have been fighting for a quarter of a century, for their valuation now amounts to $400,000,000.

Major Reno was graduated from West Point and while there, was closely associated with General Custer and also with General Jackson, of Nashville. During Major Reno's visit to Nashville in 1888, he was a guest of General Jackson, at Belle Meade, for several days of his stay. It was their second meeting, since their parting at West Point, their first being in action during the Civil War, when each called to the other and waved salutes from the firing line.

Major Reno was married to Miss Mary Hannah Ross, whose father, Mr. Robert Ross, a Pennsylvania capitalist, founded one of the largest banks and the first glass works in Harrisburg, the State capitol. Major Reno's wife was a niece of the late Senator Don Cameron's wife, who was a Miss Haldeman, of Harrisburg, and a kinswoman of the founder of the *Louisville Courier Journal.* Major Reno had only one child—Robert Ross Reno, who married Miss Ittie Kinney, daughter of Col. George S. Kinney, of Nashville.

At the beginning of trouble between the North and the South, Major Reno organized a volunteer company in Harrisburg and served throughout all the years of the war. He was never wounded, but his horse was shot from under him at the battle of the Wilderness. He died in Washington in 1889.

The Custer Massacre.

An account of the circumstances attending the massacre of General George A. Custer and his command, by the Sioux Indians, in the summer of 1876, found among Major Reno's effects after his death.

The policy of the Government, over the breaking out of the gold-fever in the Black Hills, was lax in the extreme. It did not prevent white men from invading this Indian country—its unquestioned duty—nor did it protect them when they went. This vacillating led many to risk the chance of success in the Black Hills, and in consequence, the Indians at once and very justly, began to handle them without gloves, for attempting to take their country from them.

No blame, therefore, can be attached to the red skins for defending their rights. All men will fight for their firesides, and this Black Hills country was really the home of the Sioux, made over to them in the most solemn manner by the treaty of 1868.

This armistice having been broken in such a manner, aroused the Sioux to savage resentment, and from many indications in the winter of 1875-6, it became evident to all on the frontier that an Indian war was inevitable. Thus the Government found it had a white elephant on its hands, for the white men in the Black Hills were in peril and numbers of Indians, outraged in their dearest rights, were eager for fight and were on the warpath.

What could be done? Nothing but organize a military expedition against them. This was done and General Crook from the Department of the Platte, General Gibbon from Montana and General Terry from Dakota, took the field. The plan of the campaign was for a simultaneous attack on the Sioux from three different directions—General Gibbon coming down the valley of the Yellowstone, Terry was to move from the Missouri to the Yellowstone and drive the Indians toward Gibbon, whole Crook was to operate towards the same Point, but from the direction of the Black Hills, and thus by surrounding the Sioux to cut off all possibility of their escape.

From these movements into the Indian country an awful combat resulted on June 25 and 26, 1876, which will stand as a lasting monument to an imbecile policy that will set opposing parties in the field to battle against each other, both armed, equipped and supplied at the expense of the same Government.

Any one who, like me, has seen the awful fighting of these two fatal days, will seek to solve the Indian problem by means less bloody than a resort to arms.

The immediate cause which precipiated the Summer Campaign of 1876, was the refusal of Sitting Bull to make a treaty with the Government, or to agree to live on a reservation, which was practically a declaration of war and was accepted as such.

Orders were given for the concerted movements of Generals Crook, Gibbon and Terry and at the command of Terry, the Seventh Cavalry, under the immediate command of Lt. Col. George A. Custer, left Fort Lincoln, D. T., on May 17, 1876.

The Seventh presented a magnificent appearance on that beautiful May morning when it parted from its loved ones in Fort Lincoln and started on that long march, which for so many of them was to be the final one. We, including officers, soldiers, Indian Scouts, employees and citizens, numbered fully twelve hundred, while there were seventeen hundred animals, comprising mules, ponies and horses. We left Fort Lincoln with our band playing: "The Girl I Left Behind Me," and at the head of our splendid column rode our gallant Custer and his charming wife. She remained with us throughout the first day's march, and the next morning she parted from her husband who sent her back to Fort Lincoln under special escort. It was their last ride together.

General Terry and his staff accompanied us as far as the Yellowstone river and after a long march of twenty-one days from Fort Lincoln, we arrived at the mouth of Powder river on June 10. Here I was given command of six companies, comprising the Right Wing, and was sent on a scout of one hundred and fifty miles up this river to the mouth of the Little Powder, to search for Indians and if possible, to find General Crook and open communication with him, for it was nearing the time when he was expected to reach that point. Part of our trail was pic-

turesque and lovely, finely timbered, with a wealth of wild roses and the most superb grazing I ever saw.

After a march of five days we arrived at the mouth of the Little Powder and I was surprised to see a camp of soldiers on the South bank of that river. I tried to communicate with them, first by signal and then by voice, but the river was too broad for success in such efforts.

The officer in command then sent to me one of his Indian scouts who swam the river with a note in his mouth. He reached my camp in safety and, although as nude as he was at birth, he approached and delivered the note with all the dignity of his race. The letter proved to be from General Gibbon who was in command of his troops from Montana and marching to join General Terry and his men from Dakota.

I sent the Indian scout back to General Gibbon assuring him that he had found us and thus the two commands were put in communication. I returned then to the main camp, under Custer's command, and during this scout, I enjoyed some fine sport, for game was abundant and on one occasion I brought down two large elk.

I also found on my scouting expedition many indications to convince me that the Indians had their stronghold upon the little Big Horn river, about fifteen miles above its junction with the main Big Horn which empties into the Yellowstone.

The Big Horn is navigable about eight or ten miles above the mouth of Little Big Hcrn. On a bright sunny morning, June 22, 1876, the Seventh Regiment of Cavalry passed in review before General Terry, at the mouth of the small stream, the Rosebud. The officers and men were cheerful, the horses were in prime condition, the day was beautiful and not one in that splendid column of men and officers ever thought that the frightful disaster that finally overtook them, was within the range of probabilities.

After the review, the march was begun up the Rosebud, the regiment being under the command of Lt. Col. Geo. A. Custer. The march was continued up the Rosebud on June 23 and we encamped at nightfall after making thirty-five miles.

At the end of the second day's march up the Rosebud, my tent

was very near that of General Custer and after taking a cup of coffee and some hard bread—all we had—I and the other officers of the command were summoned to Custer's tent by the "officer's call" on the trumpet. Custer was seated on the trunk of a decayed and fallen tree and we saluted him in succession as we arrived; after all had made themselves as comfortable as possible, some lying on the grass and others upon whatever gave them support, Custer said:

"Gentlemen, I have sent for you to talk over the situation. There is a camp of Indians ahead of us and we must be prepared for a hard fight." In the discussion that followed, some one said that it was probable that the companies would be separated on the march or in the fight, and therefore that each company should have its own pack mules, provisions and ammunitions.

To this Custer readily agreed and it was so ordered. The next and last time I ever saw General Custer alive, was on the morning of June 25, the day upon which he saw the sun shine for the last time. The two columns, commanded by himself and myself respectively, were moving parallel to each other and he waved his hat for me to come to him.

I did so. He was riding a fine thoroughbred horse that he had gotten in Kentucky, when the regiment was after the Ku Klux Klan of the South. He was dressed in a full suit of buck-skin, with Indian fringes along the seams of his pants and of his coat sleeves. I had known Custer for a long time: as cadet at West Point, and during the Civil and Indian wars, and on this particular morning, he did not wear his usual confident and cheerful air, but seemed rather depressed, as with some premonition of coming horror. What that was is now a matter of history.

I remember, as I rode back to my command, the last remark I ever made to him was—"Let us keep together." In his jaunty way he lifted his broad brimmed hat as much as to say, "I hear you." But alas! he did not heed me, and that afternoon he was cold in death's embrace.

On the morning of June 24, we continued our long march up the Rosebud and we saw signs of the Indians in all directions. As we advanced the trail freshened, and after a march of twenty-three miles we halted, but reports from the scouts sent on ahead,

induced us to proceed on the march during the night instead of resting. We proceeded with great difficulty till daylight on June 25, when we halted for one hour and a half and then we marched on again.

The Indian trail was now very fresh. About 9 A. M. the Adjutant of the Regiment informed me that the Sioux village was now certainly close at hand and he gave me the following arrangement of the companies of the regiment. Companies M, A, and G, to be one battalion commanded by Major M. A. Reno. Companies H, D, and K to be a second battalion, commanded by Captain F. W. Benteen, Company B to be commanded by Captain McDougall and to be rear guard of the Packtrain. The remaining companies, C, E, I, F, and L were to go under the immediate command of Custer.

I assumed command of the companies assigned to me at once and proceeded to march in the direction of the Indians, without any definite instructions or orders. I saw the battalion under Benteen move off far to the left, and I did not see him again until about 2.30 P. M., of that same day. At half past 12 M. the Adjutant gave me an order from Custer in the following words:

"Go in at as rapid a gait as you think prudent, for the village is only two and a half miles off and *running away,* and you will be supported by the whole outfit."

I proceeded at a fast trot until I crossed the Little Big Horn, and as soon as the battalion was in hand I charged, supposing myself followed by Custer, with the companies under his command. For as I led the advance and was the first to be engaged and draw fire, my command was, in consequence, the one to be supported and not the one from which support could be expected.

With the Ree scouts on my left, I charged down the valley, driving the Indians, who came out from a belt of cotton-woods to meet us, with ease before me for about three miles. It was too easy, in fact, for I soon saw that I was being drawn into some kind of a trap; I knew that these Indians could fight harder, especially as we were nearing their village, the entrance to which they certainly would not leave unopposed.

Neither Custer or Benteen was in sight, a fact I attributed to the great clouds of dust, and as I drew nearer to the villages,

the ground seemed suddenly to grow Indians; they came running towards me in swarms and from all directions.

The village was about three and one-half miles long, was situated on the Little Big Horn and the topography of the vicinity may be briefly told. The stream was very crooked, like the letter S in its wanderings, and just where the village was located, it spread out into a broad bottom, perhaps half or three-quarters of a mile wide. This creek was fringed, as usual, with the trees of the plains—a growth of large cottonwoods—and on the opposite side was a range of high bluffs, which had been cut into very deep ravines by the surface water and by the action of the stream. Just at the base of these bluffs, the earth had fallen in and left perpendicular banks, making what is known as cut banks.

I was soon convinced that I had, at least ten to one against me and I was forced on the defensive. This I did, taking possession of a point of woods which furnished, near its edge, a shelter for the horses. Under cover of the timber, I dismounted my battalion, detailing number four of each group of "fours," to hold the horses, thus reducing our fighting force to about seventy-five men. I then deployed the companies as skirmishers, he right resting on the timber, the left extending across the valley, and our front facing the village. The Sioux now made their first attack and the firing was heavy and rapid for one hour and a half. The enemy increased so greatly in numbers that we were forced into the timber for protection, but I firmly believe that if, at that moment, all our companies had been together the Indians would have been driven from their village.

Almost immediately, after entering the wood, I found that we were being surrounded and I knew my only hope was to get out of the timber and reach some high ground. The wood was about twenty-feet lower than the plain where the Indians were, and the advantage of position was theirs. I mounted my command and charged through the Reds in a solid body. As we cut our way through them, the fighting was hand to hand and it was instant death to him who fell from his saddle, or was wounded. As we dashed through them, my men were so close to the Indians that they would discharge their pistols right into the breasts of

the savages, then throw them away and seize their carbines, not having time to replace their revolvers in the holsters.

The scene that ensued was such as can be seen only once in a lifetime. Our horses were on the dead run with, in many instances, two and three men on one animal. We plunged into the Little Big Horn and began the climb of the opposite bluffs. This incline was the steepest that I have ever seen either horse or mule ascend and our only way was through a buffalo trail, worn in the banks, and only sufficiently wide to permit one man to pass at a time. In this narrow place there were necessarily much crowding and confusion and many of the men were compelled to cling to the horses' necks and tails for support, to prevent their being trampled to death, or falling back into the river. Into this mass of men and horses, the Indians poured a continuous and deadly fire and under its leaden hail, the loss of life was frightful and the Little Big Horn was transferred into a seeming river of human blood.

At this fight at the ford "Bloody Knife"—the chief of the Indians scouts—was shot dead at my feet. I lost three officers and twenty-nine enlisted men, with only seven wounded. The officers who fell here were A. A. Surgeon, J. M. DeWolf, First Lieutenant Donald McIntosh, and Second Lieutenant Benjamin H. Hodgson. Afterwards (when I went over my battlefield, we found McIntosh's body and near it a soldier of his company). Lieutenant McIntosh was the son of an officer in the Hudson Bay Company and entered the regular service in August of 1867. He had some Indian blood in his veins, inherited from his mother, and his face bore its traces. He was a cultured, elegant gentleman, a brave officer and he fell with his face to the enemy. Before we had crossed the river, while yet under shelter of the timber, Company G, commanded by Lieutenant McIntosh, was nearest the Indian village. I went in person, to notify him of my intention to withdraw from the wood and seek the hill. He replied,—"all right," and at once set about getting his men in column and mounted. In doing this he was in the rear of his Company and as it joined the column on the charge, three or four Indians ran up to him and before he was able to use his

arms, they dragged him from his horse and thus the gallant fellow fell a victim to their barbarity.

He with all my men had been most terribly mutilated, and with the bodies of horses and ponies, were strewn over the plain in wildest confusion. They were covered with swarms of flies, and the odor from the decomposing bodies, under the blazing sun was intolerable; altogether my battle field presented a scene of horror, not easily to be forgotten.

The fate of Second Lieutenant Ben Hodgson was very similar, although his death did not occur till after that noble fellow had distinguished himself by the most daring services. He was my adjutant and the last order he ever carried for me was to Captain French, telling him of the move I intended making. In delivering this order, Hodgson was hit by a ball, just below his sabre belt. This wound would have eventually proved fatal, but the gallant fellow said nothing and rode in his place with the column. Just as he was crossing the river, his horse was killed under him and detaching himself from the animal Hodgson gained the opposite bank and tried to save himself by clinging to the stirrups of a passing soldier, but his strength was exhausted and weakened by his loss of blood, he fell back on the river bank and was killed by the nearest Indian.

After the fight, I searched for his body and I buried it on the hill, marking his grave as well as I could. It was found some months later by his friends who came from Philadelphia to take him home for burial. They found that his body had not been mutilated and that he was clothed as he had dressed himself on the morning of the ill-fated 25th of June.

As soon as my men reached the top of the bluffs, they dismounted and opened fire upon the Indians, in order to cover the ascent of their comrades, and when the remnant of my command was about me again, I quickly threw them into a line of defense while below us, in the plain, we could see the Indians stripping, scalping and mutilating the bodies of our dead. Fortunately, at this juncture, I saw Benteen with his three companies and Captain McDougall, with Company B, and the pack train, coming to us over the bluffs. Benteen informed me that he had hunted all morning for the Indians, and seeing no sign of them

anywhere, he thought it best to return to the Little Big Horn valley and join the main command. He had seen nothing of Custer, but he had received from a trumpeter this order from Crook:

"Benteen come on; big village. Be quick. Bring packs."

He therefore hastened to the Little Big Horn, expecting to find Custer there. He now became seriously uneasy over Custer's non-appearance and as senior officer of our united command, I sent Captain Weir, with his company from Benteen's column, to open communication with Custer; while, in the meantime, I was dismounting my men, putting my wounded under protection, had driven the horses and mules of the pack train in a depression in the hills and had placed my men along the crests of the bluffs. In a very short time Captain Weir sent back word by Lieutenant Hare, that he was having a heavy fight with the Indians who surrounded him in overwhelming numbers, and that he could go no farther. He was ordered to return, which he did with difficulty, and he had scarcely reached our lines, when we were most furiously attacked on all sides by the Sioux.

The fight now, for sometime, was a desperate one, almost hand to hand, and in many instances, Indians who were unarmed, or out of ammunition, stood on the heights and hurled heavy stones at our soldiers below them. At one time I discovered that the reds had taken possession of a ravine near by, and were preparing a fresh assault. I ordered Benteen to charge with his company. His men sprang up with loud cheers and led by their gallant officer, they rushed in a solid body down the ravine. This charge was so sudden and so bold, that the Indians broke and ran at their approach.

From one of the hills that overlooked our corral, the enemy poured a deadly fire, killing scores of our horses and mules, while many of the packers in the train were shot dead and wounded. But my men stood firm, although the fight continued with unabated fury till nine P. M., when it had grown very dark and the Sioux ceased firing, for the Indians will not fight after night fall. Thus ended the 25th day of June.

By this time, I was aware that the Indians were in overwhelming numbers and in consequence, we worked all night, making

every exertion to be ready for what I knew would be a terrific assault next day. We dug rifle pits, and being possessed of only two spades the men were compelled to use their hands, knives and tin cups; we barricaded the opening of the depression towards the Indians, in which our animals were herded, with the bodies of our dead soldiers, mules and horses and boxes of hard bread. We worked hard and rapidly, knowing the night would be of short duration, for day breaks very early in that high latitude.

All during the night, the Indians remained in hearing distance of my position and kept up a most fearful scalp-dance and the darkness was made lurid by their blazing fires, in which many prisoners were burned at the stake.

Finally our work was completed. We had done all we could, to fortify our position and I felt confident now that I could hold my own during the coming attack. The morning of June 26th dawned about half past two A. M., and exactly at that moment, we heard the crack of two rifles, which warned us that the assault would soon be made. This was the signal for the beginning of a fire that I have never seen equalled.

The Indians are the best light calvary in the world. I have seen pretty nearly all of them, and I do not except even the Cossacks. Every rifle was handled by an expert and skilled marksman, and with a range that exceeded that of our carbines. Many of these carbines in my command were rendered useless by failure of the breech block to close and leaving a space between the head of the cartridge and the end of the block, and when the piece was discharged, and the block thrown open, the head of the cartridge was pulled off, leaving the cylinder in the chamber, whence, with the means at hand, it was impossible to extract it. I desire also to state that my loss would have been less, had I been provided with some instrument similar to the trowel-bayonet. I am sure, had an opponent of that arm been with my soldiers on the night of June 25th, 1876, he would have given his right hand for fifty bayonets.

The Indians opened the attack with a tremendous fire and deafening warwhoops and as the day brightened, we could see countless hordes of them pouring out from the village and up

the valley, scampering over the high points towards the places designated for them, by their chiefs and which entirely surrounded our position. They had sufficient numbers to completely encircle us, proved by many of my men being struck on opposite sides of the lines from where the shots were fired. I think I was fighting all the Sioux nation who—unknown to us,—had assembled only a short time previous to celebrate their greatest religious festival—the Sun Dance—together with all the desperadoes, renegades, squaw-men and half-breeds between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers and east of the Rocky Mountains. They could not have numbered less than twenty-five hundred while many estimate their strength to have been fully five thousand.

(To be continued.)

The Great Carrying Place

BY EDGAR W. AMES,

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"IN an unbroken forest, tall groves of white pine stretched along the uplands, dense swamps covered the lowlands; on the high ground grew hard wood trees, and here and there rose the ghostly forms of white birches. Wolves prowled in the thickets, and panthers haunted the underbrush. Along the water courses grew gigantic elms, and in their branches eagles built their nests. The river flowed on its way unconfined, and no eye but that of the wild beast, or the equally wild Indian had looked upon its waters." Such was the "Great Carrying Place" when it was first looked upon by the eye of the white man.

For years the section of the country from Fort Edward to Lake Champlain was known as the "Great Carrying Place". Here the Indian left the Hudson, and taking his canoe on his shoulders, carried it twelve miles across the country, following the trail which is practically the line now followed by the Delaware & Hudson railroad, to the lower end of Lake Champlain, and thence north to Canada. This was the highway of the Indian nations. Across this trail went parties of Indians, some on peaceful pursuit bent, but more often on a scalping expedition.

Probably across this trail, went the party of Iroquois, who met Champlain and his Algonquin friends on the shore of Bulwaga Bay on Lake Champlain. And back across The "Great Carrying Place" came the scared, defeated band, bearing in their breast that eternal hatred of the French which made the

trail one of blood for 200 years, making New York an English province instead of a French one.

North of this trail was a beautiful sheet of water. After a savage foray upon the Algonquins of the north, the wily Iroquis needed a short route home, a place where he could obtain the bark for his canoe, and so he had in the course of years, made his route homeward to the Mohawk valley, across this lake. The surrounding hills and low lying plains, did not differ materially from those about the "Carrying Place." White men had never seen this gem, with its beautiful setting, and the wondering Indian or some wild bird were the only beings to skim its waters. This lake as we have said was one of the links in the homeward trail. This "Kayadrosseros trail," as it was known, led to the Mohawk country by way of some beautiful falls on the Hudson, later known as the falls of Glenn. From here the Indian travelled across country until he came to the pass south of Mt. McGregor, and thence across country again until he came to the Mohawk river a little to the west of where the city of Amsterdam now stands. It was into this trail that the white man first came.

The Indians had never forgotten their defeat on Lake Champlain at the hands of the Algonquins and the French, and in 1642 after becoming possessed of fire arms and skilled in their use, made an attack on the French settlements in Canada. There they captured one of the Jesuit fathers, and in the retreat up the Lake, they carried with them Father Isaac Jogues and some of his helpers. It was about the first of September when they arrived at that bold promontory jutting out into Lake Champlain, since become famous as Ticonderoga. Rounding this they turned west, when they were soon stopped by the churning rapids and charming falls of a goodly stream, the outlet of another lake. Here the Indians landed, shouldered their canoes, and were soon launched forth with their captives, upon the crystal waters of Andiatarocte. Here for the first time since the creation of the world, the eyes of a white man looked upon the water of Lac St. Sacrament, or Lake George as we now know it. The captives were taken to the Iroquis country, and after many tortures, Father Jogues was ransomed. He soon returned to Europe,

where his mutilated hands were kissed by Queen Anne of Austria.

Soon at the orders of the head of the Jesuits he returned to Canada. In 1646 he was ordered by his Superior to return to the Mohawk country. On this journey he gave the name of St. Sacrament to the lake he discovered; and crossing over from thence, to the Hudson, he sailed down as far as Fort Orange (where Albany now stands). His was in all probability the eye of the first white man to see the Dead Man's Point, and the trail of the "Great Carying Place."

In 1666 came another band of white men—this time bent on a war of revenge, for the Iroquois descent on Canada. Coming up Lake Champlain, they intended to take the Kayadrosseros trail, but the guides on account of too much "fire water," lost this trail and took the Saratoga trail, i. e., down the Hudson river. They were unsuccessful in their attempt, and the years to follow showed party after party, first French, and then Iroquois, swinging back and forth across the "Great Carrying Place," bent upon war and sudden death. The terrible massacre at Schenectady occuring in 1690 during King William's war, was perpetrated by a band of French and Algonquin Indians, which came up Lake Champlain, and across the carrying place, and down the Hudson, Back they came in defeat, and in 1691 Major Peter Schuyler went north to retaliate, following the now well known trail. His expedition also came to naught.

So the tide of war ebbed and flowed. In the north the French were pushing south, and in the south the English were pushing northward, to flaunt the blood red flag in front of the lillies of France. War and bloodshed had been practically continuous both in this country and Europe from the beginning of the year 1700; and now in 1755, the English had a large force being collected at the "Great Carrying Place" in the waters of the upper Hudson under the command of Gen. William Johnson. This force was to march against Crown Point, a French fort located near the southern end of Lake Champlain. Part of this force was encamped below the small creek at the lower part of the village, and part on the island connected now by two bridges. This was Aug. 15, 1755, and 300 men were now busily engaged

in building Fort Lyman. West of this flowed the Hudson River, south of it was the brook now known as Fort Edward Creek, and a large swamp.

The following description of this fort was given by two prisoners taken from the English by the French:—"This house," i. e. fort, "has an enclosure formed by a ditch fourteen feet wide and eighteen feet deep. The earth from the ditch is thrown up toward the fort, and on the embankment pickets twelve feet high are set up, inclining outwards. The ditch does not continue on the river. There are only pickets on that side. There are two gates on the river side, and one small one on the north. Eight cannon are in the field at the Fort, and within the enclosure are twenty-four or twenty-five mortars. The five hundred men at the Fort are all outside. There is only one sentinel in a sentry box opposite the little gate. There is plenty of biscuits, pork, rum, but only a few beeves. There are no Dutch among the troops."

As soon as a sufficiently large body of troops was collected, Gen. William Johnson, who had now arrived, took command, and led them north through where now Hudson Falls and Glens Falls are located, then turning east by the Half-Way House and "Bloody Pond," to the shore of Lac St. Sacrament. To this body of water he gave the name of Lake George. Dieskau, the French commander, determined on a march against Ft. Lyman, or Ft. Edward, as Johnson had renamed it. Johnson decided to send a small body of troops under Col. Ephraim Williams, to the aid of Gen. Lyman, but at a council of war held on the morning of the 8th, Hendrick the friendly Indian chief, disapproved of the small number sent. "If," said that sage councillor, "they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed they are too many," and again when it was proposed to divide the detachment into three parties, the Mohawk chieftain, picking up three sticks from the ground, said, "Put these together, and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will do it easily." This is the moment chosen by the Sculptor to represent in the bronze group on the Lake George Battle Monument.

This body of troops was ambushed by Dieskau, and Williams and Hendrick were both killed. Dieskau was wounded, but the

English in spite of their losses, were gradually successful, driving the French toward Johnson. As they came to the slight intrenchments which he had thrown up, the English opened fire, and after a hard struggle, the French were defeated.

While the fighting was going on, the heavy firing was heard at Fort Edward, and a party of two hundred and fifty men was sent out on a scout to the northward. They marched to within about four miles of the Lake, where they came upon a party of 300 Canadians and Indians sitting around a pool of water in the valley below. These were skulkers from Dieskau's ranks, and as they sat there eating, the English poured in a destructive volley, and in a short time nearly all of the Canadians were killed. For weeks afterward the water was reddened with the blood of the fallen soldiers, and from this cause was affixed to this dark and dismal pool, the name of "Bloody Pond."

After the battle of Lake George, there was no important event, until in 1757, occurred the attack of the French on Fort William Henry. This was followed by the awful massacre, immotalized by Cooper in his "Last of the Mohicans."

The story opens with the departure of the troops from Fort Edward for Fort William Henry, and shortly afterward the two daughters of Munro, started from the same place. They were led away from the trail by the Indian Magua, and finally arrived at a cave near the falls of Glenn, and there were captured by the Indians. This cave where Cooper places this part of the story, is still to be seen at Glens Falls. The coward Webb, hearing of the large force of French and Indians coming against Fort William Henry, became alarmed, and did not send any help, though only a few miles away, and the terrible massacre was the result. The few survivors finally reached Fort Edward in safety. From here the story shifts to other parts of the country.

After this time, aside from various petty incursions of the French from the north, and various retaliatory raids by the English, all was quiet along the "Great Carrying Place" for some years.

In the graveyard north of the village of Fort Edward is an old tombstone with this inscription:

"Here Lyes The Body of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe,

Esqr., Major To The Old Highland Regt., Aged 55 Years Who Died The 17th July, 1758, of The Wounds He Received In The Attack of The Retrenchments of Ticonderoga or Carillon the 8th of July, 1758."

Around the life and death of this Duncan Campbell clings a romantic and weird story. On the west coast of Scotland in Argyleshire, dwelt the Stewarts. To the South and east of the Stewarts were the Campbell clan. About 1742 Duncan Campbell, an officer of the Highland regiment, known as the Black Watch, was sent out into Argylshire to harry the opponents of the King. On his return from his duty, he became separated from his comrades, and night falling swiftly, he lost his way among the mountain passes. Turning sharply into a ravine, he was startled to find himself face to face with a stalwart Highlander, and after some conversation, the stranger escorted Campbell to an unknown camp in the mountains, gave him food to eat, and shared his bed with him, and in the morning set him safely on his way. He found that his benefactor was a member of his own clan, named Donald Campbell.

Soon after this Duncan was relieved from his military duties and retired to his own estate, and the adventure was forgotten. One night, while he was sitting alone in his castle, he was startled by a loud rap on his door, and on answering the summons, he was surprised to find Stewart of Appin, a man for whom he had little liking. In a few hurried words, Stewart told his host that he had killed a man, was pursued and in danger of his life, and begged Duncan to hide him from his pursuers. This, much against his will he did, and hid the Stewart in an underground room in the castle. Scarcely had he returned from hiding the fugitive, when there came a second alarm, and on going to the door he was confronted by a band of his own clansmen. They told him that they were in pursuit of Stewart of Appin, who had treacherously murdered one of the clan. Campbell, though sick at heart at the though of concealing the murderer of his kinsman, nevertheless lied manfully, and sent the pursuing party away.

That night after he had retired to his chamber, which is still called the Ghost Chamber at Inverawe, he was awakened by a

ghostly light which filled the room. By the dim radiance, he plainly saw the murdered form of his kinsman—Donald Campbell, as he had looked the day on which he had helped him when lost. Now his long black hair was dishevelled, his clothing torn and soiled with blood. The silence was broken by the ghostly visitor, who moaned in a hollow voice, "Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; shield not the murderer." After this the vision disappeared. In the morning, he sought Appin in his hiding place, and told him that though he could no longer shelter him, he would not betray him, and so led him in safety to the mountains.

That night, as he was again seated in his bed-chamber, the apparition of his murdered relative and friend, appeared to him the second time, and again the apparition spoke:—"Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; blood must atone for blood; shield not the murderer." The next morning Duncan went to seek Appin, but he was gone. The third night, Duncan, wearied with the day's cares and worries, sought his room. The third time he saw the apparition, with all the customary demonstrations, but this time the voice was not one of warning as it had been the first time, nor was the attitude one of supplication as it had been the second time, but on the contrary, the tones and the appearance were threatening, and the words were: "Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; blood must atone for blood; we shall meet again at Ticonderoga."

At this time the name of Ticonderoga was wholly unknown in the whole world. Yet the name of the meeting place remained with Duncan, and he tried hard to locate it but was unsuccessful.

Time passed, and in 1758, the Black Watch, of which Duncan Campbell had become a major, was ordered to the new world to make a part of General Abercrombie's expedition against the French in Canada. As the army approached Ticonderoga, Gen. Abercrombie, who had heard the ghostly legend of Inverawe, called his officers, particularly those of the Black Watch about him, and told them privately to conceal the name of the fortress they were about to attack, from Campbell. The night before the attack Campbell while engaged in examining the scene of the prospective engagement, at dusk, and while crossing the

bridge which at that time spanned the outlet of Lake George, distinctly saw before him the ghost of his murdered kinsman. He thereupon made inquiry, and found the name of the fortress to be Ticonderoga. His mind was filled with the most dismal forebodings, and he told his friends that he should not survive the morrow's fight. In the attack next day, all the officers of the Black Watch were either killed or mortally wounded. Among the latter was Duncan Campbell, and suffering greatly he was removed by the retreating army, and brought to Fort Edward, where he died on the 17th day of July, 1758. Whether the ghostly part of the story is true, or not, yet it was very real to poor Campbell and tends to give the story of his death a romantic touch.

From this time to the Revolutionary war, the country did not settle very rapidly. This was to be expected. The route for the greater part of the way was exposed to the attacks of Indians, parties of whom were continually going back and forth across the trails, some bent on trade, all bent on plunder, wherever attainable. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, there were but three houses in Fort Edward, and on top of the hill were three block houses. These were all the evidences of civilization to be seen about the "Great Carrying Place" by July 4th, 1776.

The old fort during the preceding twenty years, had gradually fallen to pieces, and was incapable of defense, though it was still used as a meeting and camping place for the soldier bands that occasionally stopped there. The Revolution was well on its way; Ticonderoga and Crown Point had fallen into the hands of the American forces, Boston had been captured, and the Declaration of Independence had been issued. In England alarm was felt at these successes, and so a plan was formed to crush the life out of the rebellion. "Cut off the head of the snake," was the way the English government expressed it. Howe was to come up the Hudson as far as Albany, St. Leger was to come east along the Mohawk to Albany, and Burgoyne was to come south from Canada following Lake Champlain and Lake George. When these three parties met, the rebellion

would be crushed. It is with the last named of these expeditions that we have to do.

Burgoyne with a large force followed out his part of the programs splendidly at first. Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell again into the hands of the British, and, vainly opposed by Gen. Schuyler, he kept on his victorious march to the Hudson. He was encamped about two miles north of where Hudson Falls now is, on the "Pine Plains," when an event occurred that, insignificant in its bearing toward an army it might seem, though awful in itself, yet was one of the most important factors in Burgoyne's defeat at the Battle of Saratoga. I refer to the murder of Jane McCrea.

Some three miles south of Fort Edward, lived Col. John McCrea, and with him lived his seventeen year old sister, Jenny. She was an orphan, and had come to live with her brother some years previously on the death of her father, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who was at the time of his death living in New Jersey. Jenny was a beautiful young girl,—as General Gates wrote to General Burgoyne, "She was a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character, and amiable disposition." Black haired, blue eyed, tall and well formed, she was well fitted by nature to win the love of some good man. This she had done. Across the Hudson there lived with his mother, a prosperous young farmer, named David Jones. He was loyal to the king at a time when most of his neighbors were patriots, and he had joined the army of Burgoyne, and had been made a lieutenant in the "Royal New Yorkers," and all accounts agree in giving him high praise as a man. He and Jenny had been parted, for, as her brother was a staunch patriot, he had refused his sanction to any marriage between them.

Now David, who, with his mother had removed to Canada some time before, was approaching in Burgoynes army, and the lovers were looking forward to a glad meeting. Jane had come to Fort Edward to visit a Mrs. McNeil, whose home stood near the spot where now the Episcopal church stands. She often visited there as she and Mrs. McNeil's grand-daughter were great friends. Her brother becoming alarmed at the advance of Burgoyne's army, had sent for Jenny to return home, as he knew

that the fort must inevitably fall into the enemy's hands, and that there would be danger in lingering near. Again the brother sent a more urgent message. Still she lingered. The lady with whom she was visiting was a Royalist, a friend of General Fraser. Her roof would be respected. Even should Fort Edward be captured, what had Jane to fear? Her lover was in the British camp. The capture of the fort would reunite them.

The story now varies. Some records say that the lover sent a party of friendly Indians with a letter to Jane, asking her to come to Burgoyne's camp. Others say that as she had prepared to go back to her brothers, Mrs. McNeil's house was attacked by the Indians, and the inmates captured and that Mrs. McNeil offered the Indians a reward to take them to the army of Burgoyne. At any rate Jane McCrea in company with Mrs. McNeil, started for the army in company with a party of Indians. They had only proceeded a little way, in fact not to the top of the hill on the road leading out of the town, when a quarrel arose, among the Indians as to whom Jane belonged, and one of them, known variously as "Le Loup," or the "Wolf," and also as the "Wyandotte Panther," killed her on the spot, and taking her scalp, left her body lying by a spring, near the road. After a time it was taken by some friends and buried. The remains have been moved in later years, and now rest in the Union Cemetery north of the village. Lieutenant Jones first learned of her death by recognizing the bloody scalp hanging from an Indian's belt. He was completely broken in spirit by the shock of her death. Disgusted with the service, he threw up his commission, and retired to Canada, never marrying, but living to be an old man, and it is said that he never smiled again.

The blood of this unfortunate girl was not shed in vain. Armies sprang from it. The mischief to the British cause had been effected as the murder of Jane McCrea resounded through the land. Those people of the frontier who had hitherto remained quiet, now flew to arms, to defend their families and their firesides, for in their exasperation they looked beyond the savages to their employers. Her name passed a note of alarm along the banks of the Hudson, and was a rallying cry among the Green Mountains of Vermont, bringing down all their hardy yeo-

manry. Burgoyne advanced soon after, with his army to Fort Edward, and from there went slowly on, becoming gradually hemmed in by the patriot forces, meeting defeat at Freeman's Farm, Bemis' Heights, and finally surrendering his army at Saratoga. With the march of Burgoyne's army ends the military history of Fort Edward.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the Indians were gradually driven toward the westward by the advancing hosts of colonists. The old trail became used for purposes of peace, and the "Great Carrying Place" was known no more.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXIII

The Mormon Battalion

THE destination of the exiled Latter-day Saints was doubtless, though vaguely, fixed, (1) by the prophecy of Joseph Smith of the 6th of August, 1842; at which time, it should be remembered, he declared that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by their persecutors, "and some of you," said he to his auditors, "will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities in the Rocky Mountains;"[1] and (2) by the fact that when conditions at Nauvoo became intolerable to the Prophet, he actually started for "the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains."[2] This matter of their destination was frequently discussed by the council of the Twelve when enroute through Iowa; and even before leaving Nauvoo.[3]

It is true that in some passages of "Mormon" literature, the destisation of the "Camp of Israel" seems indefinite; and both "Oregon" and "California" as well as the "Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains" are sometimes referred to as a probable destination. This arises both from the unorganized state of Mormon literature, and because of the vagueness that accompanied the names "Oregon" and "California" in the decades of the first

1. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, 85 and note; also *ante*, this History, ch. XLVI, where the prophecy is considered at length.
2. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 332-3; Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. VI, pp. 545-8. *Ante*, this History, ch. L.
3. See *Ante*, ch. LXII; also Hist. B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 1, p. 162.

half of the 19th century. "Oregon" was then a land of unknown boundaries off in the northwest region of the United States. "California," a region without north or south boundaries very definitely fixed, but lying east and west between the summits of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean; and the great western Rocky Mountain Plateau was for many years, and especially in "Mormon" literature, called "Upper California."[4] But a close consideration of our annals will reveal the fact that always it was settled in the minds of Brigham Young and his associates of the Twelve Apostles, that the "Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains" was the destination of the people they were leading to the west; not Oregon, and not the Pacific slopes of California.

As early as the 8th of March, 1846, President Young urged the necessity of sending a pioneer company in advance "to the Great Basin," to put in crops that season. "We must divide and arrange the camps," said he, "so that a part may cross the mountains to the Great Basin soon enough to plant this spring; we must ascertain how many men can go forward from the camp, leaving their families somewhere on the road, so as to travel with all speed; three hundred men are wanted for the expedition."[5]

After the Mormon Battalion was chosen and arrangements made for its marching, President Young suggested that "The Soldiers," referring to the Battalion, "might tarry and go to work where they would be disbanded, and said the next temple would be built in the Rocky Mountains; and I should like the Twelve and the old brethren to live in the mountains where the temple will be erected, and where the brethren will have to repair to get their endowments."[6] Some what later, he said: "I spoke of President Polk's feelings toward us, as a people. Assured

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4. See Taylor's hymn of 1846, "The Upper California:"

"The Upper California, O that's the land for me,
It lies between the Mountains and Great Pacific sea," etc.

L. D. S. Hymn Book, p. 352. Also *Mill. Star,* Vols. VI to X, *passim.* "I frequently find California and Utah confounded," says Bancroft, "by writers of this early period. The limits of California on the east were not then defined, and it was not uncommon, nor indeed incorrect to apply that term to territory east of the Sierra" (Hist. Utah, p. 238).

5. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.,* Bk. 1, p. 85.

the brethren [i. e. of the Battalion] that they would have no fighting to do; told them we should go to the Great Basin, which is the place to build temples, and where our strongholds should be against mobs. The constitution of the U. S. is good. The Battalion will probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where we shall locate. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, pp. 86-7).

In a communication to President James K. Polk, under date of August 9th, 1846, signed by Brigham Young as President of the council, it was said:

"The cause of our exile we need not repeat, it is already with you, suffice it to say that a combination of fortuitous, illegal and unconstitutional circumstances have placed us in our present situation, on a journey which we design shall end in a location west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the Basin of the Great Salt Lake, or Bear river valley, as soon as circumstances shall permit, believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile a country."[7]

After this there can surely be no doubt as to the determination of the Church leaders to settle in the Rocky Mountains, and that from the beginning of their exodus from Illinois and the United States. Finally active steps were taken to raise from among the camps a pioneer company to go over the mountains. In June Elders Parley P. Pratt and Ezra T. Benson were sent east along the line of encampments as far as Mount Pisgah to raise a portion of this company.[8]

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6. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 52-3.

7. Hist. B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 137.

8. These brethren were met by Brigham Young returning from their mission to Mount Pisgah, on the 4th of July, when they reported that they had "raised eighty-four volunteers to go over the mountains that season, and $50 in money. Hist. of B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 6 For the suggestion that it was the glowing description of Salt Lake Valley by a Catholic Missionary—Father De Smet—that led Brigham Young to fix upon that valley as a place of settlement, see Note 1, end of chapter.

The above evidence as to intention of President Young settling his people in the Rocky Mountains, rather than in California or Oregon, may be further supplemented by the following entry in his journal while the Battalion was being mustered into service:

"*July* 14: I said I would prophesy that the time would come when some one of

Bishop Miller and his company, meantime, had completed a ferry across the Missouri at Council Bluffs, and began crossing to the west bank.

On Sunday the 28th of June an important council meeting was held at which President Young urged the importance of sending an advanced company of men as pioneers over the mountains, and called for volunteers who would be willing to leave their families with elderly men and boys while they, with especially selected teams and outfits, should make a dash for the mountains. Forty men volunteered at this meeting: among whom all of the Twelve that were present.[9] Doubtless more could be found in the surrounding camps who would be willing to go and preparations were accordingly begun for the journey. Indeed the day following several of the Twelve, among them President Young, moved down to the ferry preparatory to crossing the river.

It was at this juncture in the affairs of the "Camp of Israel" that an event happened of large importance. Captain James Allen of the U. S. Army arrived at Mount Pisgah on the 26th of June, accompanied by three dragoons and presented to the leading Elders of that place "*A Circular to the Mormons,*" setting forth that he had been instructed by Col. Stephen W. Kearney of the U. S. Army, and Commander of the "Army of the West," to *accept* the service for twelve months of four or five

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the Twelve or a High Priest would come up and ask: 'Can we not build a Temple at Van Couver's Island, or in California?' It is now wisdom to unite all our forces to build one house in the mountains." (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 53).

9. In his journal account of this meeting Elder John Taylor says: "Bro. Young spoke and said that the companies must prepare teams and grain and implements of husbandry to send over the mountains as the season is so far advanced that there must be something done and that quickly; and as the folks were not willing to let the Twelve go ahead any faster than they did, they must send on men and teams to prepare a place and plow and plant to receive us; for if we do not send men ahead it will throw us back another year and we will have to buy another year's provision. He then said he wanted to know how many were willing to go over the mountains and leave their families, and put it to the vote, and several held up their hands; he then said he wanted to know their numbers, for he was determined to go and leave his family if he could get any volunteers to go with him, and leave their families in the care of old men and boys. They would take mules, horses, and swift cattle that could travel thirty miles a day, and take grain and corn along. They then commenced numbering and numbered forty, among whom were the Twelve. There were a great many men down who could principally all go, and there were a good many not at meeting. They spoke of the practicability of going this fall. Brother Brigham thought we could do it in thirty-five days." *Taylor's Journal Ms.*, entry for 28 June, 1846.

companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged."[10] Captain Allen hoped to "complete the organization of this Battalion in six days" after his arrival at Council Bluffs, "or within nine days from this time."[11]

The presiding brethren at Mount Pisgah did not feel authorized to take any steps in the matter of Captain Allen's communication on the enlistment of a Battalion, but gave him a letter of introduction to President Young at Council Bluffs, for which place the Captain started immediately and arrived on the 30th of June. The following day he met with President Young and others in council at the tent of John Taylor, and presented the whole question of raising a Battalion from the "Mormon" camps.

The authority under which Captain Allen acted was an order from Col. Kearney, at Fort Leavenworth. This order Captain Allen presented to Brigham Young and his fellow Apostles in the council assembled; and because of its importance as a public document, is here given in full.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE WEST,
FORT LEAVENWORTH, June 19, 1846.

SIR:—It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons who are desirous of emigrating to California, for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers, to join me in my expedition to that country, each company to consist of any number between 73 and 109; the officers of each company will be a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates, and subject to your approval, and the captains

10. The circular is given *in extenso* in Tyler's Mormon Battalion, 1881, pp. 114-5. The words *"accept the service,"* is the phraseology of the act of Congress declaring war with Mexico. See Congressional Globe, 13th of May, 1846. The declaration of War "authorized the President to accept the service of fifty thousand volunteers, and placed ten millions of dollars at his disposal. * * * The call for volunteers was answered by the prompt tender of the services of more than 300,000 men." History of the United States, Marcus Wilson, Appendix, p. 682. Same, Lossing, p. 482; Stephens, p. 488.

11. Tyler's Mormon Battalion, p. 115.

then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the United States, and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations and other allowances given to the other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will, upon mustering into service the fourth company, be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant-major, and quartermaster-sergeant for the battalion.

The companies, after being organized, will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc. You must purchase everything that is necessary and give the necessary drafts upon the Quartermaster and Commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand that I wish to have them as volunteers for twelve months; that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements furnished to them at this post.

Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations and other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

With the forgoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons, and which will be faithfullly kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will in a few days be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

Very respectfully your ob't serv't,

(Signed) S. W. Kearney,
Col. of First Dragoons.

Per Capt. James Allen, First Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth.

It is necessary at this point to suspend the narrative of raising this Battalion of men, in order that we may trace the events which led up to the remarkable circumstance of the government

of the United States calling upon the camps of the Saints for these volunteers.

On the 20th of January, 1846, the High Council of the Nauvoo stake of Zion, acting, however, as stated in the document to be quoted, by the unanimously agreed and united voice of all the authorities of the Church, declare the intention of the Church to send out early in the month of March a company of young, hardy men, properly equipped for their work, to seek out a place "to make a crop in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, where they will infringe upon no one, and not be likely to be infringed upon. Here we will make a resting place until we can determine a place for a permanent location." The subject thus introduced, the High council proceeds:

"In the event of the President's recommendation to build block houses and stockade forts on the route to Oregon, becoming a law, we have encouragement of having that work to do; and under our peculiar circumstances, we can do it with less expense to the Government than any other people. We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire—by sword—by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations, which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country. Should hostilities arise between the Government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claims of the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right, no foreign power should hold dominion there: and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."[12]

Elder Jesse C. Little was appointed President of the Eastern States Mission, his letter of appointment is dated "Temple of God, Nauvoo, Jan. 26th, 1846." In the body of that letter it is suggested:

"If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace those facilities, if possible. As

12. (Time and Seasons, Vol. V, p. 1096).

a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the times you can. Be thou a savior and a deliverer of that people, and let *virtue, integrity* and *truth,* be your motto—salvation and glory the prize for which you contend."[13]

"In consonance with my instructions," says Elder Little, in his report to President Brigham Young, which are recorded in the latter's History, "I felt an anxious desire for the deliverance of the Saints, and resolved upon visiting James K. Polk, President of the United States, to lay the situation of my persecuted brethren before him, and ask him, as the representative of our country, to stretch forth the federal arm in their behalf.[14]

In pursuance of this design Elder Little obtained a letter of introduction from John H. Steel, Governor of New Hampshire (in which state Elder Little was reared), who declared that he had known Elder Little from childhood, and believed him honest in his views and intentions, and added:

"Mr. Little visits Washington, if I understand him correctly, for the purpose of procuring, or endeavoring to procure, the freight of any provisions or naval stores which the government may be desirous of sending to Oregon, or to any portion of the Pacific. He is thus desirous of obtaining freight for the purpose of lessening the expense of chartering vessels to convey him and his followers to California, where they intend going and making a permanent settlement the present summer."[15]

From Luke Milber, also of Peterboro, N. H., he secured a letter to Hon. Mace Moulton in Washington, which in addition to vouching for the high character of Elder Little, based upon personal knowledge of him for twelve years, announced that the Elder was "soliciting some aid from the general government, to assist himself and brethren throughout the United States in emigrating to California."[16]

In New York Elder Little met A. G. Benson, of Brannan and

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13. Little's report, Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 11.
16. Little's Report, History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 12.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Little's Report, Hist. of Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 11-12.

"A. G. Benson & Co." fame, noted in a previous chapter,[17] and from him carried a letter of introduction to Amos Kendall, former U. S. Post Master General, and also connected with the Brannan "A. G. Benson and Co." affair. Mr. Benson asks Kendall to "aid Mr. Little in the object of his visit to Washington" as far as Mr. Kendall's "many engagements would permit."[18]

On the 13th of May, Elder Little held a conference of the Latter-day Saints in Philadelphia, and here met Col. Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge John K. Kane of Philadelphia. The Kanes were an old, and honorable Pennsylvania family. The Colonel's father was Judge John K. Kane, who had been Attorney-General of the State of Pennsylvania, and was now (1846) United States judge for the district of Pennsylvania; also President of the American Philosophical Society. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the famous arctic explorer and scientist, was Col. Kane's brother.[19] The introduction to Elder Little, which the Col. solicited, opened the home of the Kanes to Elder Little and was the beginning of that interest and friendship for the Latter-day Saints ever afterwards manifested by Thomas L. Kane; and which led to very valuable service on his part to the Mormon people, as we shall see later, in one of the most critical periods of their history.

On Elder Little's departure from Philadelphia for Washington, Col. Kane gave him a letter of introduction to Hon. Geo. M. Dallas, Vice President of the United States, in the body of which he said:

"This gentlemen [Elder Little] besides being very highly valued by the members of his own sect, is, I learn, esteemed honest and sincere in his professions by many of our friends in this

17. *Ante*, ch. LXI.
18. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 12-13.
19. General Thomas Leiper Kane was born January 27, 1822; consequently was a very young man—24—when he visited the Mormon camps at Council Bluffs. He was educated principally in Paris, and on his return to the family home in Philadelphia, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1846. He served with distinction in the War Between the States on the Union side. He raised a regiment in Northern Pennsylvania that became famous for its valor, reflecting therein the spirit of its commander. He was several times wounded in action, and made Brigadier-General for gallant services on the field. Wounds and sickness compelled his retirement before the close of the war. He died in December, 1883.

city. He visits Washington, too, I believe, with no other object than the laudable one of desiring aid of government for his people, who forced by persecution to found a new commonwealth in the Sacramento valley, still retain American hearts, and would not willingly sell themselves to the foreigner, or forget the old commonwealth they leave behind them."[20]

Arriving in Washington on the 21st of May, Elder Little called upon Mr. Kendall, but found him sick; and in the evening, in company with Mr. Dame of Massachusetts and Mr. King, representative from that state, he called upon President Polk and received an introduction. Sam Houston of Texas, and other distinguished gentlemen were present. The arrival of Elder Little was most opportune for the business he had in hand. News of the capture of an American reconnoitering troop of dragoons under command of Captain Thornton, on the east side of the Rio Grande, sixteen of whom were killed, had reached Washington early in May, and enabled the President in his message to Congress on the 11th of that month to say that "Mexico had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil;" which led congress two days later to declare war and vote the funds necessary to its vigorous prosecution. By the time Elder Little called upon the President the news had reached Washington of the victory of the American forces under General Taylor at the battles of Palo Alto and Resacade la Palma fought on the 8th and 9th of May respectively. News of these victories aroused the war spirit throughout the land,[21] and hastened all the government schemes for prosecuting the war, including the plan of gathering the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, under then Col. S. W. Kearney, to invade New Mexico, and ultimately co-operate with the Pacific fleet which it was designed to sweep round Cape Horn and attack

20. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 16.

21. Elder Little notes this excitement in his Report, by saying in recording his movements of the 23rd of May: "There was considerable excitement in consequence of the news that Gen. Taylor had fought two battles with the Mexicans" (Little's Report, Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 16). And Lossing says that when "news of the two brilliant victories reached the states a thrill of joy went throughout the land, and bonfires, illuminations, orations, the thunder of cannons, were seen and heard in all the great cities" (Hist. U. S., p. 483).

22. Lossing's History U. S., 1872 Edition, p. 483.

the Pacific coast of Mexico.[22] It was with this "Army of the West" that the Mormon Battalion was to be connected.

The day following his visit to the President, 23rd of May, Elder Little called again upon Amos Kendall and submitted to him his letters of introduction. "We talked upon the subject of emigration, and he thought arrangements could be made to assist our emigration by enlisting one thousand of our men, arming, equipping and establishing them in California to defend the country; he said, he would be able to inform me on Tuesday morning, what could be done.[23]

On the 25th Elder Little called again upon Mr. Kendall; and on the 26th he met him on the street in Washington, "when he informed me," reports the Elder, "*that he had laid my case before the President,* who had determined to take possession of California, and also employ our men, who would receive orders to push through and fortify the country; he also said the President would lay the subject before the cabinet to-day, and that to-morrow evening probably he could give me a direct answer."[24]

On the 27th Elder Little again met with Mr. Kendall, "Who informed me the cabinet had not fully decided; *the plan offered was for me to go directly to the Camp, and have one thousand men fitted out and plunge into California,* officered by our own men, the commanding officer to be appointed by President Polk; *and to send one thousand more by way of Cape Horn,* who will take cannon and everything needed in preparing defence; those by land to receive pay from the time I should see them, and those going by water from September 1st,"[25]

At this point Elder Little apparently concluded to take up the matter personally with the President, and under date of June 1st addressed an "Appeal" to him. In it he expresses confidence in the President, else he would not have left his home and family "*to ask favors of you for this people*"—(i. e. the Latter-day Saints). He gives an account of himself and his fore-fathers who fought "in the battles of the Revolution;" of his own character, vouched for by his letters of introduction from men of

23. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 16.
24. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 16.
25. *Ibid*, p. 16-17.

ENTRANCE TO KANESVILLE OR COUNCIL BLUFFS

Scene of the enlistment of the Mormon Battalion 1846

Entrance to Kanesville or Council Bluffs

Engraved By Chas. E. Hall, N.Y.

high standing, and then avers that the people he represents are of as high character as himself. He recites the repeated acts of injustice the Latter-day Saints have suffered in the several persecutions through which they had passed, because of their religion; and adds: Under these considerations, directed as if by the finger of God, I come to you fully believing that you will not suffer me to depart without rendering me some pecuniary assistance, and be it large or small, you shall not lose your reward." He concluded his "appeal" as follows:

"Our brethren in the west are compelled to go, and we in the eastern country are determined to go and live, and, if necessary, to suffer and die with them. Our determinations are fixed and cannot be changed. From twelve to fifteen thousand have already left Nauvoo for California, and many others are making ready to go. Some have gone around Cape Horn, and I trust before this time have landed at the Bay of San Francisco.

"We have about forty thousand [members] in the British Isles and hundreds upon the Sandwich Islands, all determined to gather to this place, and thousands will sail this fall. There are yet many thousands scattered through the States, besides the great number in and around Nauvoo, who are determined to go as soon as possible, but many of them are poor, but noble men and women, who are destitute of means to pay their passage either by sea or land.

"They, as well as myself, are true hearted Americans, true to our country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions—and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American eagle; we would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our government shall turn us off in this great crisis and will not help us, but compel us to be foreigners. . . . But Mr. President, were you to act alone in this matter, I full well know your course. I am not ignorant of your good feelings towards us, receiving my information from my friend Mr. S. Brannan, who has gone to Caliornia, and also the Hon. Amos Kendall and others;[26] believe me, when I say that I have the fullest confidence in you, and we are truly your friends, *and if you assist us at this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, my life, my property and all I possess, as the representative of this people, to stand ready at your call,* and

26. Was Elder Little at this point presuming upon the alleged "silent partnership" of President Polk with *Messrs.* Kendall, A. G. Benson & Co., et al.?

that the whole body will act as one man in the land to which we are going, and should our territory be invaded we hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriot fathers, with our guns and swords, make the battle field our grave or gain our liberty. We have not been fighting men, but when we are called into the battle field in defence of our country, and when the sword and sabre shall have been unsheathed, we declare before heaven and earth that they shall not return to their scabbards, until the enemy of our country, or we, sleep with the pale sheeted nations of the dead, or until we obtain deliverance.

"With great respect I have the honor to subscribe myself your obt. subject,

"J. C. Little,

"*Agent of the Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. S. in the Eastern States.*

"Washington, June 1st."[27]

On the 2nd of June, "At noon, says Elder Little, Mr. Kendall, by request of the President, called at my room and said the President had received my communication and desired to have me call to-morrow at noon, and wished Mr. Kendall to be present."[28]

On the 3rd of June Elder Little called upon Mr. Kendall—

"With whom I visited President Polk, who said he had no prejudice against the Mormons, but believed us good citizens; and was willing to do us all the good that was in his power consistently; said our people should be protected—that he had full confidence in me from information he had received—that he had read my letter with interest, and was glad of an opportunity of having an interview—that he had confidence in our people as true American citizens, if he had not, he should not make such proposals; he would do something for me, but did not *decide;* he wished to talk with the Secretary of the Navy, and also wished Mr. Kendall to come to-morrow at twelve."[29]

Elder Little visited the President again on the 4th of June, agreeably to appointment, but press of business made it necessary to postpone an interview until the 5th. On the 5th, the following occurred:

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27. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, 20-22. It will be observed that Elder Little's letter takes on the hue of the war times.

28. *Ibid*, 22.

29. *Ibid*, p. 22.

"I visited President Polk; he informed me that we should be protected in California, and that five hundred or one thousand of our people should be taken into the service, officered by our own men, said that I should have letters from him, and from the Secretary of the Navy to the squadron. I waived the President's proposal until evening, *when I wrote a letter of acceptance.*"[30]

On the 7th of June, Col. Kane joined Elder Little, and after dinner the Colonel "called upon Mr. Kendall, and the secretary of state, Mr. James Buchanan," presumably in the interest of the cause Elder Little represented.

On the 8th Col. Kane gave Elder Little a letter of introduction to Geo. Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy; and the same day visited the President and the Secretary of War, Mr. Marcy. "He [Col. Kane] has concluded," says Elder Little, in his Report, "to go with me to the Camp, and then to California, bearing dispatches from the government."[31]

This same day Elder Little made his final call upon President Polk, of which he gives the following account:

"I called on the President, he was busy but sent me word to call on the Secretary of War. I went to the War Department, but as the Secretary was busy, I did not see him; the President wished me to call at two p. m., which I did, and had an interview with him; he expressed his good feelings to our people—regarded us as good citizens, said he had received our suffrages, and we should be remembered; he had instructed the Secretary of War to make out our papers, and that I could get away tomorrow."[32]

Eller Little left Washington in company with Col. Kane and his father, Judge Kane, who went with them as far as Harrisburgh. The elder Kane, before separating from his son, "Proffered," says Elder Little, "to render any assistance in his power to influence the executive in our behalf." At St. Louis Elder Little and Col. Kane, separated, the former to make his way to

30. *Ibid,* p. 23.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid,* p. 25.

the Camp of Israel, *via* of Nauvoo, the latter to proceed with his dispatches to Fort Leavenworth.

One thing should be remarked upon with reference to the foregoing account of Little's movements while in Washington—*viz*, the interest and activity of Amos Kendall. Undoubtedly he was still hopeful that Brigham Young and the other Church leaders would act favorably upon the contract drawn up by himself and Brannan, in relation to assigning alternate units of land upon which the Saints might settle to "A. G. Benson and Co."—hence his activity. Hence also his suggestion of so large a number of the Saints being sent to California by the government, two thousand men! Obviously, from the standpoint of a land speculator, the more people that could be sent to the new country under such a contract as he had drawn, and which he evidently hoped would yet be ratified, notwithstanding the, as yet, silence of Brigham Young, the greater the gains to the land-speculators, not to say land-sharks.

Just what consideration led the President and Cabinet to cut down the number from the 2,000 men proposed—one thousand from the camps and one thousand from the eastern branches—to the 500 finally called for, does not appear.[33] Most likely, however, it was thought that it would be inexpedient to have so large a Mormon population in California as to possibly create a Mormon state, and perhaps at the same time create a national Mormon problem.[34] At any rate we shall see from an official

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33. It is alleged by some writers that the President's plan of "possessing California, by the aid of the Mormons"—involving this call of the large number of that people to engage in the enterprise—"was afterward changed through the influence of Senator Benton." (Tullidge, life of Brigham Young, p. 52). But if calling the Battalion was not only a hardship on the "Camp of Israel," but an intended, and artfully planned injustice—to which view the writer just quoted wrongfully inclines—then whoever influenced the administration to cut down the call from one thousand from the camps to five hundred, reduced both the hardship and the injustice by one-half.

34. "Possibly the elder in his enthusiasm was disposed to exaggerate the President's promises; while on the other hand we may readily imagine that Polk, on further consideration, either with or without the promptings of enemies to the Church, or of promoters of other military and colonization schemes, concluded that he had promised too much, that it was not altogether desirable or necessary to allow the Mormons too much power in California; that it would be as well to use rather than be used by them; and that there would be no difficulty in obtaining other volunteer colonist soldiers. Churchmen believe that Thomas Benton did more than any other to turn the President against them, which is not at all unlikely." Hist. of Cal., Vol. V, pp. 472-3.

document, to be quoted presently, that it was evidently the policy of the administration and its advisers to keep the Mormon population in the minority in California, since the number of men to be enlisted in the "Army of the West" was not to exceed one-third of the number of the entire force under General Kearney, and instead of sending any Mormon forces from the East, *via* of Cape Horn, the administration turned to another source to supply the contingent to go by that route, namely, to New York. A regiment of volunteers numbering 955 officers and men, was raised in that state under one Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson,[35] and sent *via* of Cape Horn in three ships chartered by the government at a cost of $65,000, and attended by the U. S. war sloop, *Preble.* The little squadron sailed from New York on the 26th of September, and arrived at San Francisco in the early days of March, more than a month after the arrival of the Mormon Battalion at San Diego.

It was to be expected, of course, that the Volunteers from the Mormon camps would be raised through agencies of the U. S. Army, and hence "confidential orders" from the War Department were entrusted to Col. Kane, to be delivered by him to the Commander of the "Army of the West," then Col. S. W. Kearney, stationed at Fort Leavenworth. In those "confidential" orders, addressed to Kearney, bearing date of June 3rd, 1846, was the following relative to the proposed Mormon Battalion:

"It is known that a large body of Mormon emigrants are *en route* to California, for the purpose of settling in that country. You are desired to use all proper means to have a good understanding with them, to the end that the United States may have their co-operation in taking possession of, and holding, that country. It has been suggested here that many of these Mormons would willingly enter into the service of the

35. Stevenson was a Col. of militia in New York, a ward politician and an ex-member of the legislature, who "had done some service for the administration that seemed to call for reward, and he was reputed to be a man of some energy and executive ability." (Bancroft's History Cal., Vol. V, p. 500.) Bancroft also declares that it was a conversation with Amos Kendall about the Mormons that first suggested the idea of sending a New York regiment to California (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, pp. 472, *note,* and 501 and *note*). Stevenson's authorization to raise the regiment bears date of 26th of June, which was about two weeks after Little & Kane's departure for the West. A full account of the New York regiment will be found in Bancroft's Hist. of Cal., Vol. V, ch. XIX.

United States, and aid us in our expedition against California. You are hereby authorized to muster into service such as can be induced to volunteer; not, however, to a number exceeding one-third of your entire force. Should they enter the service they will be paid as other volunteers, and you can allow them to designate, so far as it can be properly done, the persons to act as officers thereof."[36]

It was upon this order from the War Department that General Kearney issued his instructions to Captain Allen to proceed to the Mormon camps and raise the several companies of troops that were to form the "Mormon Battalion," which instructions have already been quoted in full in this chapter. We now return to the first conference between Col. Allen and the Church leaders.

Captain Allen laid before the council of the Church leaders[37] his letter of instructions from General Kearney, also the Circular he himself had issued at Mount Pisgah.

The question arose in the minds of the Church leaders as to the disposition of the camps which would be materially crippled by the withdrawal of so many young, strong, and able-bodied men. Already the question of wintering the camps and caring for so large an amount of stock possessed by them, loomed large among their difficulties. About one hundred and fifty miles to the west, in La Platte river was "Grand Island,"[38]

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36. "Executive Document, No. 60, Letter of the Secretary of War to General Kearney, marked "Confidential," 1846. In addition to the above instruction relative to raising a military force among the Mormons, General Kearney was notified that the Governor of Missouri had been instructed to raise an additional force of a thousand mounted men for the "Army of the West;" Kearney was ordered to invade New Mexico, take possession of Santa Fe, garrison it with sufficient force to hold it, and then push on to California to co-operate with the naval forces in taking possession of that land, leaving the Missouri and Mormon troops to follow him. It also contains the announcement of his elevation to the rank of brevet brigadier-general and instructions as to his procedure in California.

37. There was present at this council meeting, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith, John Taylor, "Uncle" John Smith, Levi Richards, Captain Allen and two others, (presumably the two dragoons who accompanied the captain on his mission). The council meeting was held at Elder John Taylor's tent on Mosquito Creek.

38. "Grand Island" is described by Captain Burton in his "City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California," 1862. Referring to the immediate valley of La Platte, about "Grand Island," he says: "The valley here is two miles broad, resembles the ocean deltas of great streams; it is level as a carpet, all short, green grass without sage bush. It can hardly be called a bottom, the rise from

fifty-two miles long, with an average width of a mile and three-quarters, and well timbered; in the neighborhood of which also were immense areas of grass that might be cut for hay, and the rank growth of rushes here and there along the extensive river bottoms, would enable much of the stock to winter on this range, could government permission be obtained for a large contingent of the camp to be stationed there. This country, as well as the one the camps there occupied, was within the Louisiana Purchase, and largely divided into Indian reservations, hence could only be occupied by the whites by permission of the government.

The question of government permission therefore in the event of the Battalion being raised was submitted to Captain Allen, and he assumed the responsibility of saying that the camps might locate on Grand Island until they could prosecute their journey. In his speech made to the camp the same day, the captain promised to write President Polk to give leave to the Camp to stay on its route wherever it was necessary. At a Council meeting held later in the day, on Brigham Young asking him "if an officer enlisting men in an 'Indian Country' had not a right to say to their families, 'You can stay till your husbands return,' Captain Allen replied 'that he was the representative of President Polk and could act till he notified the President, who might ratify his engagements, or indemnify for damages. The President might give permission to travel through the Indian country and stop whenever and wherever circumstances required.' "[39]

After the first council meeting between Captain Allen and the Church leaders a public meeting was held at noon on the same day. President Young introduced Captain Allen who addressed the people: "He said he was sent by Col. S. W. Kearney through the benevolence of Jas. K. Polk, President of the United States to enlist five hundred of our men; that there were hun-

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the water's edge being, it is calculated, about 4 feet per 1,000. Under a bank, from half a yard to a yard high, through its two lawns of verdure, flowed the stream straight toward the slanting rays of the rising sun, which glittered upon its broad bosom, and shed rosy light over half the heavens. In places it shows a sea horizon, but here it was narrowed by Grand Island, which is fifty-two miles long, with an average breadth of one mile and three-quarters, and sufficiently elevated above the annual flood to be well timbered," p. 39.

39. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 4, 5.

dreds of thousands of Volunteers ready in the states.[40] He read his order from Col. Kearney and the circular which he issued from Mount Pisgah and explained."[41]

Brigham Young followed the Captain. His own account of his remarks stand in his History as follows:

"I addressed the assembly; wished them to make a distinction between this action of the General Government and our former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois. I said, the question might be asked, is it prudent for us to enlist to defend our country! If we answer in the affirmative, all are ready to go.

"Suppose we were admitted into the union as a state and the government did not call on us, we would feel ourselves neglected. Let the Mormons be the first to set their feet on the soil of California. Captain Allen has assumed the responsibility of saying that we may locate on Grand Island, until we can prosecute our journey. This is the first offer we have ever had from the government to benefit us.

"I proposed that the five hundred volunteers be mustered and I would do my best to see all their families brought forward, as far as my influence extended, and feed them when I had anything to eat myself."[42]

At the close of the public meeting another counsel meeting was held, with Captain Allen present, when the question of the people having a right to remain on Indian lands during the absence of the soldiers, and indeed along their whole route of travel, was further considered as already stated. Captain Allen withdrew from the council "*and the Twelve*" says President Young, "*continued to converse on the favorable prospect before us.* It was voted that President Heber C. Kimball and I should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. I said I would start soon, and I desired the companies to be organized so that we could ascertain who could go to make a camp on Grand Island

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40. The statement is supported by Standard United States Histories; see also Note 10, this chapter.

41. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 3-4.

42. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 4. An account of President Young's speech is also given in Elder John Taylor's Journal. See *Note* 2, end of chapter.

and who must remain after raising the troops; the Twelve to go on west with their families."[43]

Accordingly Presidents Young and Kimball started for Mount Pisgah, leaving Elders John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, Geo. A. Smith, *et al,* to prosecute the work of raising volunteers in the camps about Council Bluffs.

There was apparently some reluctance among the people to respond to this unexpected call, and it required some persuasion to dispell it.[44] On the 11th of July, Col. Kane reached the Camp at Council Bluffs, and gave assurance that the general government had "taken our case," says Elder Taylor, "into consideration,"[45] inferentially with benevolent intentions.

When within eleven miles of Mount Pisgah, Presidents Young and Kimball met Elder Jesse C. Little, president of the Eastern States Mission who reported his labors at Washington.[46]

While at Pisgah President Young wrote the brethren at Garden Grove, and sent his letter by special messenger. After describing the terms of enlistment and the terms under which the volunteers would be mustered out of service in California, etc., President Young said:

"They may stay (i. e. in California), look out the best locations for themselves and their friends, and defend the country. This is no hoax. Elder Little, President of the New England Churches is here also, [at Mt. Pisgah] direct from Washington, who has been to see the President on the subject of emigrating the Saints to the Western coast, and confirms all that Captain Allen has stated to us. The United States want our friendship, the President wants to do us good and secure our confidence. The outfit of this five hundred men costs us nothing and their pay will be sufficient to take their families over the mountains. There is war between Mexico and the United States, to whom California must fall a prey, and if we are the first settlers, the

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43. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 4, 5.

44. For the nature of the arguments employed with the people see excerpt of a speech by John Taylor taken from his journal under date of July 2nd, 1846, *Note* 3, end of chapter.

45. Taylor's Journal entry for July 11th, 1846. "We had some conversation with him [Kane] during which he manifested a spirit of sympathy for us."

46. The Report of Elder Little is elaborate and signed. It is recorded under the date of July 6th in Brigham Young's History (*Ms.*) and occupies pages from 10 to 26, Bk. 2. I have already quoted from it copiously in this chapter.

old citizens cannot have a Hancock or Missouri pretext to mob the saints. *The thing is from above, for our good,* has long been understood between us and the United States government, but the first blow was struck sooner than we anticipated. *The church could not help the twelve over the mountains, when they wanted to go, and now we will help the Churches.*"[47]

A letter of like spirit bearing the same date was sent to Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph Heywood and John S. Fulmer, Trustees of the Church at Nauvoo. The opening paragraph ran—"Beloved brethren—we send you another leaf of the gospel, which you know is glad tidings, or that which bringeth salvation." Then is announced the determination to send the five hundred men to California as per Kearney's orders to Allen, and Little's information to them when passing through Nauvoo en route for the Camps. "By this time you will probably exclaim, is this the gospel? *We answer yes.*"[48]

"Now Brethren," continued this letter, "it is time for action; and if you succeed in selling all our property in Hancock county, and as unitedly succeed in removing all the poor Saints this fall, we shall soon be where we can rejoice in each others society, and by early spring can move a portion of the camp over the mountains and next spring plant our corn in yonder valley. *This is the first time the government has stretched forth its arm to our assistance, and we receive their proffers with joy and thankfulness.* We feel confident they [the Battalion] will have little or no fighting. *The pay of the five hundred men will take their families to them.* The Mormons will then be the old settlers and have a chance to choose the best locations. The principle of the thing is not new to us, but we have thought best to say

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47. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 26-30. Letter bears date of July 7th, 1846.

48. In the answer sent to this letter the brethren from Nauvoo said: "Your favor with the letter of Col. Kearney and the circular letter of Captain Allen we were truly delighted to receive with 'the new leaf of the gospel.'" The hearts of the Saints seemed to be greatly cheered by the request that had been made for them to send on older men and boys to take the place of many teamsters who would of necessity have to go in the Battalion, "but we have but few left in this place (Nauvoo)," said the trustees.

little about it. It is all right, and we will give you particulars the first opportunity."[49]

Finally, when President Young had returned from Mount Pisgah, a great public meeting of the camps about Council Bluffs, was held on the 13th of July, and the final work of enrollment began. On that occasion Brigham Young, in the several addresses he made during the meeting, said:

"If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, we must raise the Battalion. I say it is right, and who cares for sacrificing our comfort for a few years. I would rather have undertaken to raise 2,000 a year ago in 24 hours than 100 in one week now."[50]

But they could raise them now, was his plea. It was at this point that the great leader dropped to facetiousness by saying: "After we get through talking, we will call out the companies, and if there are not young men enough, we will take the old men, and if they are not enough, we will take the women."

Continuing the leader said:

"Two gentlemen at Mount Pisgah who had been to Fort Leavenworth and enlisted to go to Mexico, said that Col. Kearney had discharged some of the Missouri troops, and when they heard we were going they felt exceedingly mortified. There are thousands in the United States who would be glad to be the first settlers in California." . . . [51]

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49. This letter is signed by Brigham Young, "for the council, Willard Richards, Clerk. Occupies Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 30-34.

50. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 44.

51. A statement which is supported by the promptness with which the regiment under Jonathan D. Stevenson in New York was raised, and taken round Cape Horn to California, practically with the understanding that the calling of the regiment was "a colonizing scheme." "No Volunteer," says Bancroft, "dreamed of conflict with any foe: all regarded themselves as immigrant adventurers bound for a distant land of many charms under the protection of the government." (Hist. of California, Vol. V, p. 502). The regiment of nearly 1,000 men was quickly raised. The authorization to enlist the men bears date of June 26th; and by the end of July the ranks of all the companies were filled. (*Ibid*). It is supported also by the fact that whereas the act of congress declaring war authorized the President to "accept the service of 50,000 men, 300,000 responded. (See Note 10). President Polk called for four regiments from Illinois, nine answered the call, numbering 8,370; "only four of them, numbering 3,720 men, could be taken." Gregg's Hist. of Ill., in History of Hancock Co., p. 118.

"... We have lived near so many old settlers, who would always say, 'get out' that I am thankful to enjoy the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose that country ultimately comes under the government of the United States, which it ought to, we would be the old settlers; and if any man comes and says 'get out' we will say 'get out.' Now suppose we refuse this privilege, what will we do? If you won't go, I will go and leave you. We told you sometime ago we would fit you out to go, and now we are ready to fit you out with Captain Allen as the agent of the United States to help us. *The President of the United States has now stretched out his hand to help us, and I thank God and him too.* It is for us to go, and I know you will go."[52]

Respecting equipment Captain Allen said:

"In regard to what is necessary to take, a soldier receives money instead of clothing, and he could not tell exactly what it would cost. The cost of clothing is greater the first year than any year after; the probable price would be $2.50 per month, but he had learned that Mr. Benton (U. S. Senator from Missouri) had made a motion to have it raised to $3.50 per month."[53]

On this subject President Young remarked, "It is not necessary to change your clothing," and added: *"You could not ask for anything more acceptable than this mission."*[54]

The work of enrolling and organizing the companies continued through three days, and therefore was completed on the 16th of July, on which day Captain Allen took the Battalion under his command.[55] Of this event Elder Wilford writes:

"This was an interesting day in the Camp of Israel. Four companies of the volunteers were brought together in a hollow square by their captains, and interestingly addressed by several of the Quorum of the Twelve. At the close of the meeting they

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52. Hist. of B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 46.

53. The Benton motion prevailed. That was the sum allowed for clothing and was paid to the Battalion one year in advance at Fort Leavenworth, soon after enlistment, Aug. 6th.

54. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 48.

55. Tyler's Mormon Battalion, p. 127.

marched in double file from Redemption Hill across the Missouri river bottom to the ferry, seven miles.

"The battalion have thus stepped forth promptly and responded to the call of the government, notwithstanding the persecutions endured in the United States, and that too in the midst of a long journey, leaving families, teams and wagons standing by the wayside, not expecting to meet or see them again for one or two years."[56]

Before their final departure from the Camps in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, a "ball" was given in their honor;[57] and on the 20th they took up their march for Fort Leavenworth, where they arrived on the 1st of August, and began their preparations for the great western march.

NOTE 1. BRIGHAM YOUNG AND FATHER DE SMET—DID THE DESCRIPTION OF SALT LAKE VALLEY BY THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY DETERMINE BRIGHAM YOUNG TO SETTLEMENT? The evidence presented in the foregoing pages of the regular text, proving that the destination of the Latter-day Saints, even before leaving Nauvoo, was clearly understood by Brigham Young, at least as to the general region in which they would settle, disposes of a question recently raised in a book of some excellence, under the title "The Catholic Church in Utah," published by "The Knights

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56. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 55.

57. Col. Kane thus describes this event: "There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. The afternoon before was appropriated to a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments, and their ball-room was of the most primitive. It was the custom, whenever the larger camps rested for a few days together, to make great arbors, or boweries, as they called them, of poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter for their meetings of devotion or conference. In one of these, where the ground has been trodden firm and hard by the worshippers of the popular Father Taylor's precinct, was gathered now the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel. * * * * * "With the rest attended the Elders of the Church within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the High Council, with their wives and children. They, the gravest and most trouble worn, seemed the most anxious of any to be first to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dancing in a great double cotillion, was the signal bade the festivity commence. To the canto of debonnair violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, they did dance! None of your minuets or other mortuary processions of gentles in etiquette, tight shoes, and pinching gloves, but the spirited and scientific displays of our venerated and merry grandparents, who were not above following the fiddle to the Foxchase Inn, or Gardens of Gray's Ferry. French fours, Copenhagen jigs, Virginia reels, and the like forgotten figures executed with the spirit of people too happy to be slow, or bashful, or constrained. Light hearts, lithe figures, and light feet, had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky line of the Omaha hills." "The Mormons," p. 80, 81.

of Columbus," of that state.[58] The question referred to is, was it a certain conversation, or a series of conversations which Brigham Young had with a Catholic Missionary at winter quarters that led him to fix upon Salt Lake valley as a place of settlement? The Catholic missionary in question was Father De Smet, who claims to have traversed much of the Salt Lake valley in his rambles among the Rocky Mountains in 1841 (Letter of De Smet to *Precis Historiques Bruxelles,* Jan. 19, 1858. It is claimed also in "Father De Smet's Life and Travels among the North American Indians," that "He became well acquainted with (Brigham) Young, and it is possible the information he gave him may have influenced that leader in choosing Salt Lake valley as the future home of his people." ("Catholic Church in Utah," 271). Father De Smet himself puts forth the same suggestion, though modestly and with much charm of manner, in a letter to his nephew, written in March, 1851. He says:

"In the fall of 1846, as I drew near to the frontiers of the state of Missouri, I found the advance guard of the Mormons, numbering about 10,000, camped on the Territory of the Omaha, not far from the old Council Bluffs. They had just been driven out for the second time from a State of the Union (Illinois had received them after their war with the people of Missouri). They had resolved to winter on the threshold of the great desert, and then to move onward into it, to put distance between themselves and their persecutors, without even knowing at that time the end of their long wanderings, nor the place where they should once more erect for themselves permanent dwellings. They asked me a thousand questions about the regions I had explored, and the valley which I have just described to you pleased them greatly from the account I gave them of it. *Was that what determined them? I would not dare to asset it. They are there!* In the last three years Utah has changed its aspect, and from a desert has become a flourishing territory, which will soon become one of the states of the Union."[59]

Commenting upon this, the author of "The Catholic Church in Utah," says:

"To the Mormons living in a temporary camp on the edge of

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58. The author is Very Reverend W. R. Harris, D. D., L. L. S. D., 1909.

59. We may help out our Catholic friends by corroborating the fact of the meeting of Father DeSmet and Brigham Young. In the latter's Journal History, *Ms.,* is the following entry: "Nov. 19, 1846: Mr. Smith, a Catholic priest and missionary to the Black Feet Indians, called on me. I procured for him a newspaper containing a report of a trader concerning the Munchie or White Indians" (Hist. B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 478). I think President Young or his amanuensis mistook "Smet" for Smith; but the "Smith" of the Journal is doubtless "De Smet" of our Catholic authors.

the desert, unable, or at least unwilling, to retrace the road leading back to the land of their persecutors, ignorant of the region which lay before them, De Smet's glowing description of the beautiful and fertile valley which lay beyond the mountains, brought the solution of their most perplexing problem, for it indicated a place wherein they could establish their homes and their religion, free from the troubles and persecutions which had so far beset them. His close acquaintance with Brigham Young, and his many conversations with him on the Rocky Mountain regions, and on Salt Lake Valley, probably determined the choice of the Mormon prophet, and led to the decision which ultimately settled the Latter-day Saints in the fertile lands they now occupy in Utah." (The Catholic Church in Utah, pp. 270-1).

All this *probability* disappears, however, in the presence of the repeated assertions of Brigham Young and others that the destination of the people he was leading was the "Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains," or the "Bear River Valley," long before the arrival of Father De Smet at the Mormon Camps on the Missouri.

NOTE 2. ELDER TAYLOR'S ACCOUNT OF PRESIDENT YOUNG'S FIRST SPEECH ON RAISING THE MORMON BATTALION: Elder Taylor first refers to Captain Allen's remarks. "He (Allen) stated his object for coming here was a good one, and that it was from a feeling of benevolence that he had been sent to us and to benefit us. . . . Brother Brigham then arose and said that he was glad to hear this thing; it was the thing they had been wishing to bring about a good while. He wanted to clear their minds of all prejudice and not blame the general government for acts that had been perpetrated by mobbers. He said it was what we had been trying to effect for several years, and this move had been made a little too quick for us. If we could have been apprised of this thing we could have had the men ready to march to-morrow with Captain Allen. He said, supposing we were to refuse this offer; we would have to go to California and have to depend upon our own resources to fight, when if we embrace this offer we will have the U. S. to back us and have an opportunity of showing our loyalty and fight for the country that we expect to have for our homes. If we did not go and help take it, what would be said when we got there and settled down? It would be as it always had been, 'get out of the way Mormons, get out of the way. Our fathers and ourselves fought for the liberties of this country and we are the only citizens.' Whereas if we go and help take the country we will at least have that

FAC-SIMILE OF PRATT'S LETTER

The importance of producing in FAC-SIMILE Parley P. Pratt's letter consists in this: It is held by opponents of the Church of the Latter-day Saints that the purpose of the "Mormons" in moving west to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains was to found an independent government.

Pratt's letter is one of the proofs that they intended only to "LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR A TERRITORIAL OR STATE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES . . . . . and to assist in the redemption of our country, and the emancipation of the world." The reference in the letter to not delaying until the return of President Young before giving in names for enrollment refers to the President's return from Mount Pisgah where he had gone to raise volunteers for the Battalion. (See text of the chapter)

July 9th 1846.

Camp of Israel. 5 Bluffs.

To all the Saints to whom these presence shall come: Greeting:

Dear Brethren.

Five Hundred men must be raised forthwith for the expedition to California. Don't delay till the return of President young; but come fawn boldly and readily, and give in your names to Major Hunt, the Bearer of this Letter, for be assured it is the mind and will of God that we should improve the Opportunity which a kind providence has now offered for us to secure a permanent home, in that Country, and thus lay a foundation for a territorial or State Government under the Constitution of the United States, where we shall be the first settlers and a vast majority of the people, and thus be independent of Mobs, and be able to maintain our Rights and freedom, and to assist in the Redemption of our Country, and the emancipation of the world from Bondage.

The season is passing rapidly away; and it will take some days to organise five hundred men, even if they should all come forward immediately. And be assured that the Council and Camp will not move in this place untill this thing is done.

Or should it fail to be done, we need not think of gathering, for we know of no place to gather, with an assurance of peace unless we hearken to Counsel, and improve the means which our heavenly father has put within our Reach

Done in behalf of the Council.

We Remain, dear Brethren your Brethren in the Bonds of the Holy and Ever-lasting Covenant.

P. P. Pratt

and her ministry is in every nation. I know it is a great journey for a man to leave his family and go on; but Capt. Allen says he will give absolute permission for the families to remain here. Capt. Allen has also obtained a writing from the Pottawatomie sub-agency signed by the chiefs and braves to that effect, so that everything is straigtforward. I then made a motion that we raise a body of 500 men and make Capt. Allen Lieutenant Colonel."

CHAPTER LXIV

Sacrifices and Advantages in the Call of the Battalion

The evidence presented shows that the call for the Mormon Battalion was not an unfriendly act on the part of the United States government. Representatives of the Church, as we have seen, had appealed most earnestly to the executive of the nation for aid in the western emigration of the Saints, and there was an expressed willingness on the part of the Church to assist the administration in its determination to take possession of California, which necessarily involved such service as that called for by the enlistment of the Mormon Battalion. Moreover, when it was proposed by the administration to accept the service of such a force of volunteers, the proposition was received with alacrity by the Church leaders—as is abundantly proven in the preceding chapter—as an answer to their appeal for aid in the western movement of their people. True, it involved both personal and community sacrifice to raise this force of volunteers. "The call," as explained afterwards by Col. Kane, "could hardly have been more inconveniently timed. The young, and those who could best have been spared, were then away from the main body, either with pioneer companies in the van, or, their faith unannounced, seeking work and food about the northwestern settlements, to support them till the return of the season for commencing emigration. The force was therefore to be recruited from among the fathers of families, and others whose presence it was most desirable to retain."[1]

Practically five hundred wagons were left without teamsters, and in the same manner five hundred families were left without

1. Kane's "The Mormons," pp. 79-80. To this President Young bears witness on the 13th of July in his remarks already quoted in the preceding chapter.

their natural protectors, and providers. A call to war always involves sacrifice, but under the physical circumstances in which the Latter-day Saints were placed—exiled from their homes—nay, even worse, they were under enforced expatriation as well as exiled from their homes. Enforced expatriation, I say, except for the love of their country, which still glowed brightly in their hearts and knew no such thing as alienation from the country with which their destiny was inseparably interwoven.[2]

The families of the proposed Battalion, with the families of their friends, in whose care they must leave their loved ones, and upon whom they must depend for succor in their absence, would be scattered in a string of camps for some hundreds of miles between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, with no certain abiding place designated, and no immediate prospect of being permanently settled. To respond to a call for a "war-march" of two thousand miles, much of which was desert, under such circumstances, was trebly hard. Moreover, from their then point of view, they had little to be grateful for to the government of the United States. Their appeals from the injustice of Missouri and Illinois had met with but cold reception at Washington. They did not and could not be expected to understand, much less sympathize with, the refinements employed by the executive and national legislators in drawing nice distinctions between the division of sovereignty between the states and the general government. They were conscious of the great wrongs inflicted upon their community in the two states in which they had settled. In Missouri they had made extensive land purchases of the general government —estimated at over two hundred and fifty thousand acres[3]—

2. Recording a conversation upon this subject between himself and Col. Kane, President Young said: "I informed the Colonel we intended settling in the Great Basin or Bear river valley, and those who went round by water would settle at San Francisco. We would be glad to raise the American flag; we love the constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the U. S. constitution float over us. If the government of the U. S. are disposed to do us good, we can do them as much good as they can us. (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 133-4).

3. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. III, Introduction, p. xvii. It is known that they paid to the U. S. government, for land alone, $318,000, which at the rate of the minimum price of $1.25 per acre, would give them land holdings of over 250,000 acres.

from which they were ruthlessly driven under an exterminating order issued by the governor of that state to a mob-militia.[4] They had appealed to the general government for a redress of grievances without avail; and now they were asked to respond to a call from that government for service, the highest service that can be asked for or given even under normal conditions, but now a service involving much greater sacrifice than when conditions are normal, on the part of the volunteers themselves, and on the part of the camped community whose cares and anxieties and burdens must be increased by having thrown upon them the protection and support of what was equivalent to nearly five hundred extra families. To respond under these circumstances to such a call from their country, however brought about, will be responding to a test of loyalty to which no other community in these United States had ever been subjected. And the encamped saints responded, promptly and cheerfully. "The feeling of country triumphed," says Col. Kane, who was present in the camps during the enrollment of the volunteers: "The Union had never wronged them. 'You shall have your battalion at once, if it has to be a class of our Elders,' said one, himself a ruling Elder.[5] A central mass meeting for council, some harangues at the more remotely scattered camps, an American flag, brought out from the store-house of things rescued, and hoisted to a tree mast—and in three days, the force was reported mustered, organized, and ready to march."[6]

On the other hand, and notwithstanding all the sacrifices involved, Brigham Young and those associated with him in the presiding council of the church, were too astute as leaders not to appreciate the advantages of this opportunity for a considerable number of their community to enter the service of the United States. The charge of disloyalty to the American government, had often been made against the Saints, which not all their pro-

4. Reference to the Chapters XXIX and XXX, this History, with the evidence of Generals Atchison and Doniphan, will convince the reader that "mob-militia" is not too strong a term.

5. This was Brigham Young whom the Colonel is quoting.

6. Kane's "The Mormons," p. 80. The passage is apt to be a little misleading as to the time in which the Battalion was raised. The "three days" which served for its enrollment and organization were preceded by about two weeks of earnest work among the camps gathering up men who could be induced to go.

tests and denials could overcome. But to accept service of the government in a time of war, involving such sacrifices as must be theirs would be an evidence of loyalty that would stand forever, both unimpeached and unimpeachable. That such was the understanding of Brigham Young is specifically expressed by him about a month after the departure of the Battalion. "Let every one," said he, "distinctly understand, that the Mormon Battalion was organized from our camp to allay the prejudices of the people, prove our loyalty to the government of the United States, and for the present and temporal salvation of Israel; that this act left near five hundred teams destitute of drivers and provisions for the winter, and nearly as many families without protection and help."[7]

Another advantage appealed to the leaders. It had become evident before the call was made for the Battalion, that while it might be possible for a specially organized pioneer company to go over the mountains that season—preparations for which, as we have seen, were being rapidly made—the very great majority of the camps would be under the necessity of spending a year or more in southern Iowa, principally on Indian lands. The prospects of remaining upon such lands in peace would be much inhanced if it could be pleaded that five hundred of their men were in the service of the government of the United States; and subsequent events demonstrated the validity of such a plea; also it was the advantage sought to be secured by Brigham Young in his first conference with Captain Allen on the subject of the enlistment of the Battalion.

Another consideration of importance was the remuneration of these soldiers. A year's pay for their clothing in advance at the rate of $3.50 per man, would amount to $42.00 each; and to $21,000 for the Battalion.[8]

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7. History of Brigham Young, Aug. 14, 1846, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 151-2.

8. See Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 143-4, where he says expressly that clothing money "was paid to them at the rate of $3.50 per month." Hence the Benton amendment of raising the amount from $2.50 to 3.50, referred to in the preceding chapter, prevailed. A letter from the war department under date of December 11th, 1911, through the courtesy of Hon. Joseph Howell, representative from Utah, states: "Each enlisted man of this (the Mormon) battalion was, on August 6, 1846, paid $42.00, being the allowance for one year paid in advance. These volunteers were paid the same rates of pay and emoluments as were other volunteers for service during the Mexican war and no bounty was paid to the members of said battalion nor to any other volunteers

Part of this money, viz $5,860 was sent back to their families,[9] of which, however, $566.00[10] was donated by the Battalion to the poor; and the whole sum sent to a committee of their own choosing to receive and distribute the same.[11] Evidently President Young was disappointed with the amount which the Battalion sent back to their families and the Church, since at least on two occasions he intimates that they should have sent $16,000 to their families,[12] instead of $5,000. At the request of some companies of the Battalion, while yet at Fort Leavenworth, agents were sent by Brigham Young to Santa Fe, to bring back the pay of the soldiers to their families. These agents returned to Camp, November 21st, bringing with them a mail of 282 letters, and, according to President Young, an additional sum of four thousand dollars.[14] And notwithstanding the amount sent to the Camp was somewhat disappointing, it nevertheless was accepted as a very great blessing at the time. In a letter to the Battalion under date of August 19th, Elder Willard Richards wrote, in behalf of the council, informing them that the brethren had suggested the appointment of Bishop Newel K. Whitney as agent to go and purchase goods at St. Louis at wholesale rates for the families of the Battalion and ship to some point where teams from the Camp could reach them, and thus increase the purchasing power of the funds by considerable.[15] Also "counciling them

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who served during the Mexican War. The payment of the value of one year's clothing allowance in advance was in accordance with the law and regulations in force at that time, and was not a special allowance to the Mormon Battalion.

Respectfully, E. A. GONGUE, Auditor.

It has often been said that the Battalion received a special bounty for enlisting. (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 243). It is evident that the year's allowance for clothing, paid in advance, has been mistaken for a bounty.

9. "August 11th. * * * Elder Parley P. Pratt arrived from Fort Leavenworth, with a special message from the Battalion to Newel K. Whitney for the council, signed by Orson Hyde, and a package of $5,860, being a portion of the allowance for clothing of the Battalion which was paid them at the rate of $3.50 per month." Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 143-4.

10. *Ibid*, pp. 188-191. A list of the donors to the Twelve and the poor are recorded, and the amount donated.

11. This committee was Bishop Newel K. Whitney, Jonathan H. Hale and Daniel Spencer, Hist. B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 149; also pp. 157-8.

12. Under date of Dec. 13, 1846, and Dec. 15th, same year; Hist. of Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 508-9, and p. 526.

14. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 483, and p. 508-9. Also *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

15. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 157-8. The suggested procedure was put to vote before a meeting and carried unanimously; but afterwards some dissatisfaction arose owing to the fact that prices were not as low in St. Louis as had been anticipated, and freight up the Missouri to Fort Leavenworth jumped from 75 cents to $2.50 per hundred weight. Hist. of Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 526.

to be prudent and economical that they might be made a blessing to their families and to the poor, as they were placed in circumstances which enabled them to control more means than all the rest of the Saints in the wilderness."[16]

On the 21st of August President Brigham Young also wrote to the Battalion:

"We consider the money you have received, as compensation for your clothing, a peculiar manifestation of the kind providence of our Heavenly Father at this particular time, which is just the time for the purchasing of provisions and goods for the winter supply of the Camp. After hearing your views concerning remittance of your future payments from Brother Mathews, and from Brother Dykes' letter of the 15th inst., we consider it wisdom for you to retain the funds which you may hereafter receive, until you can bring them yourselves or deliver them to our agent. . . . Those brethren who remembered the council in the distribution of their mites, shall receive the blessing of the council."[17]

In addition to this monetary return for clothing and their pay of seven dollars per month there was the five hundred stand of arms and camp equipment which was to be theirs when discharged in California;[18] and in February and March, 1849, three months' extra pay was allowed to members of this organization.[19] These several considerations, but not counting the last, led Elder John Taylor in an address to the Saints in Great Britain, November, 1846, to say:

"Although we have been inhumanly and barbarously dealt

16. Hist. of B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 172.
17. Hist. B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 185-6.
18. See *ante*, Kearney's order to Capt. Allen.
19. "The pay rolls on file in this office show that three months' extra pay was paid in February and March, 1849, to members of said organization." Excerpt of a letter from the auditor of the war department, E. A. Gongue under date of November, 1911, per kindness of Representative Joseph Howell. From the same source of information it is stated that the payment of officers and privates was as follows:
"Captain, $50.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.
"1st Lieutenant, $30.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.
"2d Lieutenant, $25.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.
"1st Sergeant, $16.00 per month.
"Sergeants, $13.00 per month.
"Corporals, $9.00 per month.
"Musicians, $8.00 per month.
"Privates, $7.00 per month."

with by the surrounding country where we dwelt, yet the President of the United States is favorably disposed to us. He has sent out orders to have five hundred of our brethren employed for one year in an expedition that was fitting out against California, with orders for them to be employed for one year, and then to be discharged in California, and to have their arms and implements of war given to them at the expiration of the term, and as there is no prospect of any opposition, it amounts to the same as paying them for going to the place where they were destined to go without."[20]

Also in a communication under date of August 9th, 1846, signed by Brigham Young, President James K. Polk is reminded of the disadvantages the camp experienced in raising the Battalion, and then—

"But in the midst of this we were cheered with the presence of our friend, Mr. Little, of New Hampshire, who assures us of the personal friendship of the President, in the act before us; and this assurance, though not doubted by us in the least, was soon made doubly sure by the testimony of Col. Kane, of Philadelphia, whose presence in our midst, and the ardor with which he has espoused the cause of a persecuted and suffering people, and the testimony he has borne of your Excellency's kind feelings have kindled up a spark in our hearts which had been well nigh extinguished— . . . love of a country, or ruler, from whom previously we had received but little save neglect or persecution."

Then in the 2nd of a series of resolutions in the same communication, addressed to President Polk, it was

"*Resolved,* That the thanks of this people be presented to President Polk for his friendly offer of transferring five hundred of our brethren to California, to the land of their destination under the command of Captain Allen."[21]

Such were the views entertained at the time as to the benevolent intentions of the government, in proffering to take into its service this body of men; such the advantages accruing to the people of God through their enlistment, notwithstanding the sacri-

20. *Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, p. 117.
21. History of Brigham Young *Ms.,* Bk. 2, pp. 137-8.

fices and hardships entailed upon all by reason of that action. In later years, when repetition of very great injustice threatened the Latter-day Saints in their mountain homes; when a still mightier exodus and a wider devastation of their homes than they had experienced either in Missouri or Illinois was a real danger; when a sense of outrage and pursuing injustice stirred all emotions that minister to resentment—then was obscured the spirit in which this opportunity for service under the government was sought for, and tendered, and accepted; and only its hardships, derment, as will be seen by consideration of the following circumstances:—

"A. G. Benson and Co.," together with ex-Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, and the coterie of Washington politicians said to be in their conspiracy to prey upon the saints were, doubtless, greatly disappointed and outrageously angered by the cool silence of Brigham Young, who refused to walk under the yoke of bondage they had proposed for him and his people. Hence their enmity, leading to denunciations and threats as to what ought to be done, and doubtless what they would do with the Mormons. Robbers are ever angered with the escape of an intended victim; and the Saints, through the inspired wisdom of their leaders, had clean escaped from the schemes of robbery plotted against them by A. G. Benson, Kendall and Co.

Ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, was also still a factor in Mormon affairs. Before his departure for California he was much in evidence at Washington, and was known there as a bitter enemy of the Church of the Latter-day Saints. Col. Kane, while in conversation with Brigham Young, on the 7th of August, 1846, informed the Church leader that Governor Boggs had been working against the Mormons in Washington.[22] Also the Church leaders heard of the efforts of ex-Governor Boggs' friends to have him appointed Governor of California, and this formed the subject of the 5th resolution in the series contained in the letter to President Polk, in which the Church leaders voiced their unalterable determination to oppose his appointment, and solicited the attention of the President to this matter

22. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 133-4.

which might concern the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory.[23]

It is alleged also that Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, was a determined enemy of the Church, and one who planned for its utter destruction.[24] It will be remembered that as far back as February, 1844, the Church authorities at Nauvoo had been informed from what they regarded as "a respectable source," that "an understanding" existed between Senator Benton and Martin Van Buren—the latter still thought of as an available presidential candidate in some quarters—that amounted to "a conditional compact entered into; that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, that Mr. Van Buren when elected shall use his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri, by a further persecution of the Mormons, and wreaking out vengeance on their heads, either by extermination, or by some other summary process."[25]

It is therefore not surprising that the exiled Saints should believe in a combination between their enemies and those high in authority in the government. The opposition of these men to the Church can readily be accounted for on the ground that the vindication of the Latter-day Saints as a loyal and patriotic people, an honest and virtuous community, meant the condemnation of Missouri before the bar of public opinion and of history, for the course she had pursued in issuing her orders of extermination, by which fifteen thousand of the Saints after being robbed of their possessions were driven forth from the state into exile. Moreover, as we have seen, Governor Ford in his History of Illinois declares that with a view to hasten the departure of

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23. The resolution stands as follows: 4. "*Resolved*, That (as) we have heard from various sources and have the same confirmed by Col. Kane, that the friends of Ex-Gov. Boggs, are endeavoring to make him Governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that peace and Mormonism, which are always undivided, and Liburn W. Boggs, cannot dwell together, and we solicit the attention of President Polk to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious Republic."

24. See the remarks of Brigham Young on 1st of October, 1848. Hist. of B. Y. *Ms.* for that date; also speeches of J. M. Grant and Brigham Young at the First General Festival of the Mormon Battalion, Tyler's Mormon Battalion, Ch. XLV. Also Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* for 4th of Feb., 1855.

25. See Chapter XLVIII, this History, note 8. Also *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, p. 440.

the church leaders from Illinois, as he himself confesses, they were made to believe that the President of the United States "would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring," in order—according to Ford's pretending—"to make arrests for alleged cases of counterfeiting the money of the United States."[26]

Also it must be remembered that it was asserted that the only terms upon which the Saints would be allowed to depart from the United States in peace, was by signing the contract drawn up by ex-Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, assigning to a powerful coterie of politicians in Washington under the name of "A. G. Benson and Co.," one half the lands on which they should settle; otherwise, it was threatened, they would be disarmed and dispersed by proclamation of the President of the United States; in which condition, of course, they would be a prey to their enemies. All these intrigues and pretensions of politicians, and these false threats combined, led the Mormon people, very naturally, to be suspicious of the actions of the government of the United States; and it was these several circumstances here detailed, that caused the consternation at Mount Pisgah, and the cry—"The United States troops are upon us!"—when Captain Allen and his three dragoons suddenly rode into the camp to propose the enlistment of volunteers in the service of the United States.[27]

It is true—beyond all doubt, it is true—that very wild and murderous threats were made by the fierce and powerful enemies of the Saints; and it may be true that they sought to turn this Battalion incident to the disadvantage of the Church, by representing that the Mormons would not respond to a call for volun-

26. Hist. of Illinois, p. 413, and note 2, Chapter LIX, this History. It was Governor Ford himself who wrote the letter to President Young, *et al*, to make the Church leaders believe that regiments of the U. S. Army would be sent to Nauvoo in the spring to arrest the leaders and possibly prevent the migration of the people to the West. The letter of the Governor is copied into the History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 1 for 1846, pp. 4-6. It is followed by this comment by Brigham Young: "Should Governor Ford's speculations and suppositions in relation to U. S. troops prove correct, and government should send a regular force to arrest us, we will run no risk of being murdered by them as our leaders have been; and as to fearing a trial before the courts—*it is all gammon;* for our danger consists only in being held still by the authorities, while mobs massacre us, as Governor Ford held Joseph and Hyrum Smith while they were butchered." (Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 1—6th Jan., 1846—pp. 4-6). Ford's letter referred to above bears date of Dec. 29th, 1845.

teers, and in that event would be considered worthy of execration and should be halted, disarmed, and dispersed.

All this is within probability; and that it was true, became a fixed conviction in the minds of a number of leading men in Utah. It may be safely assumed that whatever was said at Washington lost nothing of bitterness as it passed into current, public discussion; but grew, rather, into reckless denunciation and murderous threats. Rumor also confounded in responsibility for what was said, the administration of the government at Washington with the individual enemies of the Church. It is therefore matter of small wonder, I repeat, if in every case proper distinction was not made between the inveterate individual enemies of the Church, and the responsible members of the government in the administration of James K. Polk.

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27. Wilford Woodruff's journal entry for 26th of June, 1846, also Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I, p. 258.

Historical San Jose

BY MARY MC CRAE CUTLER

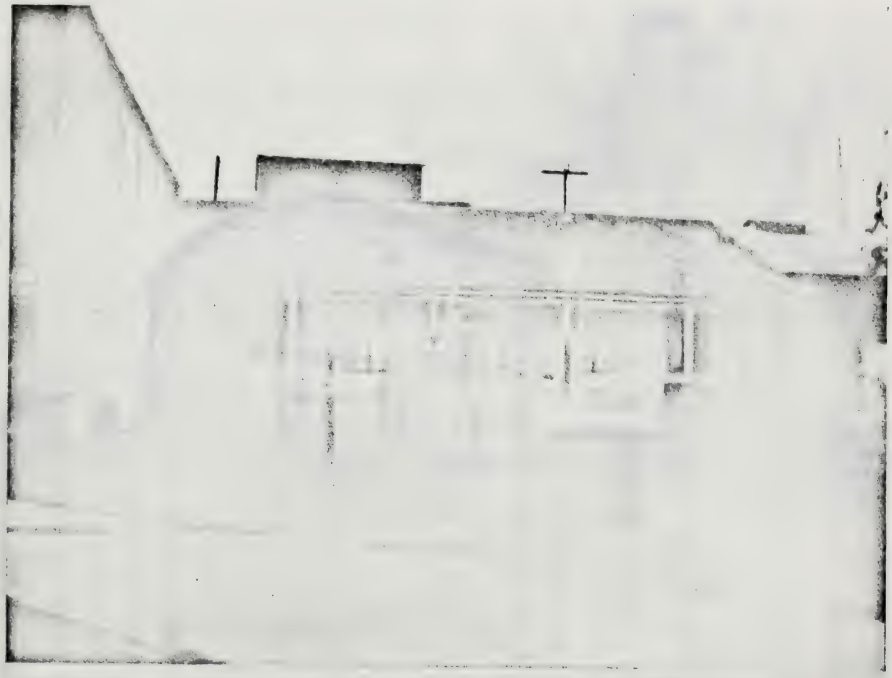
AS the first Capital city of the great Golden State, San Jose was the centre of the wild and eventful life before the "early '40's." Here was established the Pueblo in connection with the great Santa Clara Mission, and between the two places stretched the "Alameda" which for over two hundred years has been a delightful avenue of shade. It is still the main avenue between the cities of San Jose and Santa Clara, but few of those who dwell in the handsome homes which line it, or ride between its long lines of cottonweed trees, know that this was the path trodden by pious Fathers or worshipping Indians in the days before the gold-worshipping "Gringos" found their way across the mountains and plains.

The remains of the old mission church at Santa Clara are still in a good state of preservation, and form the Mecca for many an appreciative antiquarian. These are too well known to deserve more than this passing mention.

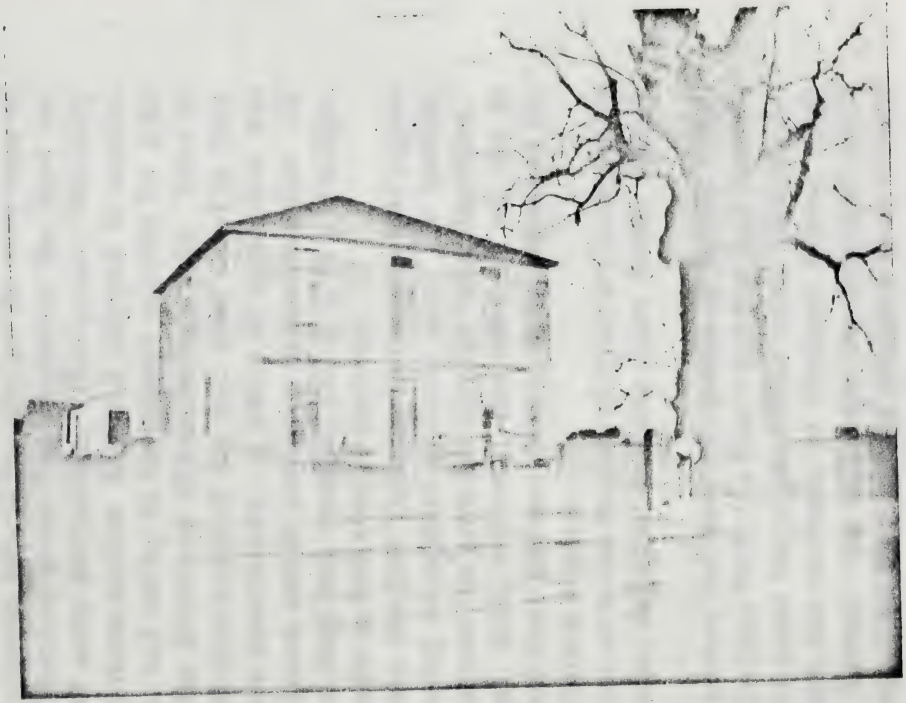
As capitol for the Spanish government, San Jose was the residence of the Governor, who erected here what was at one time a large and imposing mansion. Remains of this structure were still to be found on the west side of Market St., close to the City Hall, a year ago, but since that time they have been torn away.

To the uninitiated, it was but an ugly, moss-grown, dilapidated adobe hut, inhabited by the lowest class of people, a blot upon the fair face of the city, a cumberer of valuable ground.

To the well-informed, it was the pitiful link between the vanished glories of a romantic past, and the substantial creations of a practical present. Here was the home of the chivalry of Spain, the cavalier of the New Eldorado, the dreaded bandit, the



Once the residence of the Spanish Governor



This is the home of John Sutter, discoverer of California's gold

dark-eyed senorita for whose sake duels were fought and blood was spilled in those wild days of adventure.

After California passed under the control of the white man, this mansion became the home of several of the most noted and daring bandits of those troublous times, and the rendezvous of all the hard characters who terrorized the beautiful valley.

On the extreme opposite side of the city, on the very bank of the Coyote Creek, stands a house that represents the other element in the days of early civilization. This square, two-story building was taken down in New England, shipped in sections around Cape Horn, and set up in its present position by John Sutter, famous as the discoverer of California's gold. Here he made his home, and here many of the men most noted in Californian history were entertained. A grove of sycamores was planted about this house, and in time grew to immense size. Of this grove, only one huge tree remains, and it is in a condition of decay and will soon be lost even to memory.

In this Sutter home, the first Vigilance Committee was organized, its purpose being to capture or drive away the bandits, whose rendezvous across the town has already been described.

These two houses, then, represent the extremes of life in those early days, and their pictures deserve to be preserved for the student of California history.

As a center of interest to the literary pilgrim to California, is an old, unpretentious, deserted dwelling upon South Eighth street.

Every educated person has read the poems of Edwin Markham, author of "The Man With the Hoe," but few San Joseans know that in this old home the gifted author dwelt while studying his way through the curricula of Common School, High School, and State Normal. He still owns the story-and-a-half dwelling which many of his most ardent admirers pass without even a glance. So soon are we forgotten in the places that once knew us daily.

A far more pretentious home, and one to which every tourist's attention is called, is the famous "Winchester Castle," situated some distance southwest of San Jose. It is hard to get more than a glimpse of the splendid mansion in which dwells the wid-

ow of the man who invented the Winchester rifle, for high hedges and locked gates and sheltering groves, shut out the eyes and feet of curious intruders, and the profaning plates of the camera fiend. For years it has been a superstition of its owner that whenever the hammer of the builder lies idle and the mansion is considered complete, that Death will come to take her away. So, as the years go by, the ceaseless "improvements" continue until one wonders what more can be added, and what the end of such lavish expenditure will be. Recently, Mrs. Winchester has purchased several hundred acres of land on the shore of San Francisco Bay, opposite Burlingame station, and here it is said that she proposes to continue her building operations by erecting a castle which will be an imitation of the beautiful baronies of feudal times. It is announced upon authority that she intends to have a canal dug around the entire tract, thus rendering her property an island, access to which may be obtained only by a draw-bridge, which may be raised or lowered at the command of the mistress of the place. It has also been planned to construct a huge and high lookout station which will not only give an unobstructed view of the Bay, but of the entire County of San Mateo.

The deal by which Mrs. Winchester secures control of this property has already been closed, and the improvements, representing an expenditure of several hundred thousand dollars, are in contemplation.

In other parts of San Jose are to be found several buildings —still in good condition—which were taken down in the east, shipped around The Horn in sections, and set up in this far western city, and upon some of these buildings the numbers marking the sections have been carefully preserved to the present time. No doubt each one of these houses has a story well worth knowing if some "old resident" could be found to give it to us.

Those were the days when history was in the making, and when romance, and chivalry, and adventure combined to make California one of the richest fields of investigation by tourist, writer and antiquarian.

Where Edwin Markham spent his youth

The Tangiers Smiths and the Manor of St. George

OF the many families bearing the name of Smith, one of the most prominent on Long Island, are the descendants of Col. William Smith, Lord and Proprietor of the Manor of St. George and at one time Governor of the city of Tangiers, in Africa, from which fact the family derives its name.

The ancestor, Col. William Smith, was born at Newton, near Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, England, Feb. 2, 1655. His family was attached to the Royal cause and he was a great favorite with Charles II and of his brother James II and this favor continued with William and Mary and Queen Anne. In 1675 King Charles II appointed him Governor of Tangiers. The name by which this place was known to the Romans was "Tangis," probably a Carthaginian name, and is situated near the western entrance of the straits of Gibraltar, and is at present of very little importance, but in Roman times was the capital of western Mauretania. It was held in succession by the vandals, Byzantines and Arabs. From the last it was taken by the Portuguese in 1471, and in 1662 was annexed to the English crown, as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal. In 1684 it was abandoned on account of the expense of maintaining it. An original impression of the seal of the city is in possession of the descendants of Col. Smith.

The motto reading "Seal of the Royal City of Tangis." At the time of his appointment as Governor, he received a commission as Colonel. When the place was abandoned, Col. Smith returned to England. He married Martha, daughter of Henry Tunstall, Esq., of Putney, County of Surrey, Nov. 26, 1675. Upon his arrival in England, he engaged in trade in London and he was styled "merchant." He sailed for America and landed August 6, 1686. On Oct. 22, 1687, Col. Smith purchased a valuable tract of land in the town of Brookhaven, Long Island, and known as Little Neck. In this purchase he was assisted by Governor Dongan, and he established his residence there in 1689. Soon after he purchased a large tract extending from the "country road" near the middle of the Island, and to the South Bay, and from Fireplace river to Mastic river. This with his former purchase was confirmed by Patent from Governor Fletcher in 1693, and called the Manor of St. George. He afterwards purchased all the land between his manor and the bounds of Southampton, this added to the manor made him the sole owner of the largest tract of land on Long Island, owned by one individual.

When Governor Slaughter came in March, 1691, he made Col. Smith, a member of council, and he was one of the commissioners who tried and condemned the famous and ill-fated Jacob Leisler.

The Supreme Court was established by Legislature May 6, 1691. This consisted of Joseph Dudley, Chief Justice, Thomas Johnson, Second Justice and with Col. William Smith, Stephen Van Cortlandt and William Pinhorne as Associate Justices.

Judge Smith was appointed Judge or Delegate of the Prerogative Court, for Suffolk County. This Court had full control of the probate of wills. The Book of Records, kept by Judge Smith from May 23, 1691, to April 1, 1703, is in the Clerk's office of Suffolk County, and known as the "Lester Will Book." This book was carefully copied and published in 1897 by William S. Pelletreau, and is known as "Pelletreau's Early Long Island Wills."

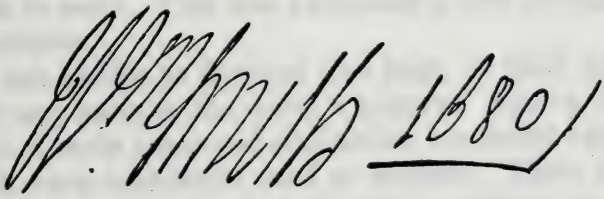
Upon the arrival of Geo. Fletcher, Aug. 29, 1692, the seat of Chief Justice Dudley was vacated for non-residence, and Col.

Smith succeeded him in that high office. All the duties of his various positions were performed with the greatest impartiality and dignity. When Governor Bellamont came to power, he removed Chief Justice Smith from office, though he retained his position as Member of Council. Gov. Bellamont died March 5, 1701, and the Lieut. Governor John Nanfau being absent, Judge Smith as senior Member of Council claimed the power of Governor, and exercised it. In 1702 Gov. Lord Cornbury appointed him Chief Justice and he held the office until April, 1703.

In the ancient burying ground at Setauket, L. I., is the tombstone bearing the inscription:

"Here lyes intered ye Body of ye Hon. Coll. Wm. Smith, Chief Justice and President of ye Council of ye Province of New York, Born in England at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, Feb. ye 2 165 4-5 and died at the Manor of St. George, Feb. 18, 170 4-5 in ye 51st yeare of his age."

After the death of Col. Smith, his heirs sold large tracts of the Manor. On March 30, 1716, William Henry Smith sold to Capt. Isaac Halsey 10,000 acres, next to the Southampton line. This tract is still known as "Halseys Manor." A tract of 6,000 acres next, west, was sold to Benjamin Youngs Feb. 4, 1721. This was known as Brookfield. A considerable part, however, of the original manor of St. George, is still in possession of the descendants of the Lord of the Manor.



(Autograph of Col. Wm. Smith.)

Historical Views and Reviews

Oldest Flags in the World

IT would be rather wide of the fact to say that the flag of the United States is the oldest in the world, although it may be said that among modern nations the Stars and Stripes lists as one of the oldest standards. The national flag of China was announced as such to all the foreign diplomats in 1872. The present flag of Spain was adopted in 1785. The French flag was adopted in its present form in 1794, while that of the German Empire dates back only to 1871. The flag of Italy was adopted in 1848.

The United States flag antedates all of these, and may even be older than that of Switzerland, the history of which appears to be in some obscurity. But it is far from being "the oldest in the world." Recognized authorities say that almost at the dawn of the world, as soon as men fell into the way of banding themselves together for a common cause, they adopted some sort of a conspicuous object as their symbol—a common object about which to rally. This was particularly true in organized warlike expeditions.

It can hardly be doubted that flags, or their equivalent, were used very early in the world's history. Among the buried remnants of early races and civilization are found records of objects which were apparently used as ensigns. These are accepted as evidence that the ancient Egyptian soldiers were not without their standards. The Assyrians and Jews also carried something similar in design and purpose.

According to ancient records, Darius's chariot had two standards fastened to the yoke. We find banners, standards and ensigns mentioned often in the Bible.

Even in ancient times it is known that some sort of drapery was used for the standards, but it is considered probable that

the flag, in the sense of the word as used to-day, did not make its appearance until the Middle Ages, and perhaps not until the practice of heraldry had reached a definite form.

The Bayeux tapestry, commemorating the Norman conquest of England, contains many representations of the flags of the period, which were borne on the lances of the knights of William's army.

The powerful aid of the Church seems ever to have been enlisted to give sanctity to national flags, and the origin of many can be traced to a sacred banner, notably the oriflamme of France.

The flags of the United States were various before and after the Declaration of Independence, and even after the adoption of the Stars and Stripes these underwent some changes in the manner of their arrangement before taking their present form.

Oldest Street Car Line.

The contention that Scranton had the first street car line in the world, appears to be groundless. According to accepted authorities, the first line was opened in New York in 1832. It was constructed in Fourth Avenue, from Prince Street to Harlem. Between that year and 1873 horse railroads were introduced in practically all of the large cities of the country.

About 1830, John Stephenson, a New York carriagemaker, conceived the idea of transporting passengers over rails laid on paved streets, and he was the prime mover in this kind of traffic. In 1831 the New York & Harlem Railroad obtained a charter to operate a street car line. It was opened for traffic in November, 1832. The first car was a combination of the typical English coach of the day and the American omnibus. This street car line was a failure.

In 1837 the horse car service in Fourth Avenue was abandoned in favor of steamdrawn cars. In 1852 a French engineer named Loubat revived the horse car idea in New York, and a short line was constructed in part of Sixth Avenue. Within the next eight years about thirty horse car roads were constructed

in the United States, the most important of them being a line between Boston and Cambridge.

The history of Scranton itself will serve to prove that it did not have the first street car line. Early in the last century it was a mere hamlet called Slocum Hollow, after the Slocum family, then prominent in that part of Pennsylvania. Really active development of the town did not begin until 1840, this work being undertaken by Col. George W. and Selden T. Scranton and their associates. The town was named in honor of Col. Scranton. It was not incorporated as a borough until 1856 and a city in 1866.

Washington Statue 118 Years Old.

While the whole country was celebrating his birthday last month, George Washington stood alone, forgotten, unnoticed in a New York office, gazing through dim and dingy window panes cobwebbed by spiders upon scenes of metropolitan development that would have made him gasp with astonishment if he had not been used to gazing upon them every day.

One hundred and twenty years ago this particular "George Washington" took his stand in old Bowling Green resplendent in a Colonial uniform that shimmered with all the sheen of a new coat of paint. He had been carved out of a solid oak log by the Mr. Sullivan who made the figure of "Justice" for the City Hall Building. He stood 8 feet 9 inches from his boot heels and weighed 800 pounds. There was a little stiffness in his attitude and his boots didn't look very comfortable, but nevertheless he didn't complain so long as he was the admired of all beholders.

That was in 1792. For half a century he stood faithfully at his post. Rain storms came and beat into his face, snow swirled around his legs and got down inside his coat collar, but he stuck to his job. Then in 1843 the City Fathers, perhaps noticing the cracks in his legs, decided to give him a well earned rest, and ordered his removal from the Green.

The statue then entered upon a career that was, to say the least, varied. Somewhere along the road he apparently lost an

arm, but some person now unknown supplied him with a new member, which, while it doesn't exactly match the other one, does very well in a pinch. One Jacques bought the relic from the City Fathers for $300. Upon his death it was sold to a Mr. Schiff, by him to a Mr. Theobald, and by him to Joseph Liebman, the present owner.

During the centennial week, in 1889, the statue again was given a public exhibition by placing it on the temporary wooden arch erected at Washington Square and Fifth avenue. For a time, during Mr. Liebman's ownership, the statue was exhibited in a store window at No. 2158 Seventh avenue.

Mr. Liebman has removed to Vineland, N. J., and the statue has temporarily been left in the keeping of Mr. C. I. Hobson, who has it in his office at No. 614 West One Hundred and Eighty-first street.

Another Lincoln Memorial.

It is now proposed by the Lincoln Memorial Association that a "Lincoln highway," from Washington to Gettysburg, be constructed as a most appropriate monument to the man who freed the slaves. Champ Clark, Speaker of the national House of Representatives, in a recent letter to Congressman D. F. Lafean, from the Adams county district, expressed his entire approval of the Lincoln memorial highway, declaring it would be of lasting use, a benefit to the people and expresive of the aggressive character and practical ideas of Lincoln. Mr. Lafean has been told he will receive the support of many members of Congress, and he believes steps will be taken soon for the construction of the boulevard.

A memorial erected in the Soldiers' National Cemetery to Lincoln has recently been completed at a cost of $5,000. This appropriation was made in 1895, but the committee in charge of the memorial, feeling that it was a meagre allowance, was long in doubt as to the most fitting investment of the money. The Lincoln memorial occupies a position facing the rostrum where

Memorial Day exercises are held. On the central pedestal is a bust of the martyred President, with head bowed in reverence. On either side is a bronze tablet, one containing a copy of the invitation asking his presence at the dedication of the National Cemetery and the other a copy of his speech.

Pasteur's Birthplace

Mr. Rockefeller's subscription of $11,000 to the fund which is being raised to purchase and maintain the little house at Dôle, in the Jura department, France, where Pasteur was born, has aroused a feeling of humiliation in France, which is thus placed in the position of allowing a foreigner to supply the money necessary to honor one of her great men.

Pasteur's father was a soldier in the army of the Great Napoleon and was 25 when he retired to his native country after the collapse of the empire and earned a living as a tanner.

The subscription toward the purchase of the house has not been closed. Mr. Rockefeller's suggestion that it should remain open having been acted upon, several foreign universities and many communes and villages have sent subscriptions to the Mayor of Dôle.

Indian Press Sold As Junk

Useless, out of date and covered with mold and rust, the plant, type and fixtures of the old Cherokee Advocate, the only newspaper the world has ever known published in the Indian tongue and the "angel" of Christianity and civilization among the red men of the Indian Territory, has been sold as junk to J. S. Holden, editor of the Fort Gibson Post, as the highest bidder, the purchase price being $151.

With the passing of all that remains of the old Advocate, there disappears an institution that perhaps did as much as any

single thing toward the uplifting of the Cherokees. It has boasted of some of the brightest Indian scholars known to history as its editors. It has preserved peace and it might have declared war.

No newspaper ever printed with success, perhaps, had a policy that was built upon as high a plane as was the policy of the Advocate.

The type, as far as is known, is the only font of type of an Indian language that ever existed. A little more than a year ago a part of it was brought to Muskogee, and is now stored somewhere in this city, few people know exactly where. The type was made especially for the Advocate.

Three generations of one family acted as its editors. W. P. Boudinot was son of Elias Boudinot, the first editor, and E. C. Boudinot, said to be one of the brightest Indian writers that has ever lived, is the son of W. P. Boudinot.

For a long time it was the only means in the Indian Territory of distributing information, and remained as the only newspaper until the Indian Journal, now the Muskogee Phoenix, was begun in Eufaula.

Hawthorne and the Spoilsmen

The Library of Congress has requested the Treasury Department to turn over to it a file of papers relating to the appointment and dismissal of Nathaniel Hawthorne, author of the "Scarlet Letter," "House of the Seven Gables," etc., to and from the position of Surveyor of Customs of the Port of Salem, Mass. The recommendation for Hawthorne's appointment in 1845 include letters from Franklin Pierce and George Bancroft, besides a considerable number of politicians of lesser note. The file, which is a part of the records of the Appointment Division of the Treasury Department, does not contain the actual record of Hawthorne's removal, but indicates the effect of that removal which took place in 1849, by the considerable number of indignant letters complaining of Mr. Hawthorne's dismissal from of-

fice, as well as a long statement from the Whigs of Salem, Mass., explaining why Mr. Hawthorne's removal was necessary in the interests of party success. Among those who protested against the removal, which had then became a fact, were Horace Mann and Rufus Choate.

New Tablets on Washington Monument.

The Washington National Monument Society at its meeting in Washington last month, took steps to have Idaho, Washington, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas represented in tablets on the monuments.

All other states are thus represented and the legislature of the six named states will be asked at their forthcoming sessions to appropriate money for the purpose.

New York's "House of Lords"

The Irish House of Lords, as the three story frame house at 161 East Eighty-fifth street, New York City, has been known for half a century, is coming down. Messrs. Brill and Moss, who operate the Eighty-sixth Street Theatre, bought the property at auction a few weeks ago and are contemplating extending the playhouse over the landmark. When the theatrical men bought the property it was thought that it would only be altered. When the news got about Yorkville that the house was coming down much regret was expressed, especially by the older residents of the section. The building was the home of the late Johnny Sheehy, one of Yorkville's best known citizens for fifty years. The house was not only known to Eastsiders but over in London, in the British War Department, there are many old timers who are acquainted with the little frame edifice.

Stuck away in the pigeonholes of the War Department there is said to be much matter bearing on the doings of the Irish House

of Lords about thirty years ago. For several years the English Government had the place watched, fearing it was a hotbed of Fenians. Somebody had hinted to the British Consul in this city that a number of men were meeting there nightly for the purpose of laying plans to free Ireland. A hint was enough for the zealous Consul and he told his Government what was going on. Shortly afterward several men from the English military intelligence office were sent to this country to make observations. Mr. Sheehy and his friends, who met each night to tell stories of the "ould sod," had no idea that they were being watched.

Negress Saw Washington

If records kept by the old slaveholders of Aunt Granny Hafford, a negress of this city, are true, Bloomington has a citizen who is probably the oldest in the United States. According to the best information that can be gathered, she is at least one hundred and twenty-five years old. This statement is obtained on records kept by George and Washington Hafford, her last slave owners, who lived at Monticello, Ky.

When the Hafford family bought Granny it was shown that she was born about 1787, and at that time the age of a slave had much to do with the price. She has often told of seeing George Washington when she was a little girl living in Virginia. She had seventeen children, two of them—Mrs. Josephine Wilson and Moses Hafford, old slaves—are still living here. Granny has more than eighty grandchildren living, and it is believed she must have more than three hundred great-grandchildren. Several great-great-grandchildren have been found. Mrs. Hafford is on her death bed.

Rare Colonial Manuscripts

Columbia University has in its possession a rare collection of manuscripts of the Colonial days, which was opened to inspec-

tion by the public, beginning on Lincoln's Birthday, in the university library.

The collection represents the manuscripts, papers and letters of Samuel Johnson, first president of Columbia University, then known as "King's College," as well as certain documents of William Samuel Johnson, his son, famous for his prominence in the revolutionary period, being a signer of the Declaration of Independence and first United States Senator from Connecticut, as well as the third President of King's College.

The documents are the gift of the Johnson family of Stratford, Conn., lineal descendants of the Johnsons named. There are 867 pieces, some of the more noteworthy sections being: Manuscript works by President Johnson, 37; letters from him, 328; letters to him, 138; manuscripts, sermons and prayers, 109; manuscripts relating to King's College and Columbia, 16.

Among the letters to President Johnson are several from Benjamin Franklin, forming the most interesting portion of the collection. The list of books read by William Samuel Johnson from the age of four up is a document of unique educational value, showing, as it does, the reading of an American boy in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

New York's First Subway

The Beach pneumatic tunnel, New York's first subway, was rediscovered recently during reconnoiterings for section 2 of the Lexington avenue subway. It runs under Broadway from Murray street north to Warren street. The pneumatic tunnel proved a failure.

The tunnel, a brick lined pipe eight feet in diameter, is connected with the entrance in City Hall Park by a five foot circular passage running southwest for about fifty feet, which joins it under the west side of Broadway at a distance of four feet above the track level. There was found at the Murray street end of the tube the corroded remnant of the cylindrical car fitting close

to the sides of the tunnel. It was the plan of Alfred E. Beach to propel this car by compressed air.

Once Served Jefferson Davis

Braxton Terry, a negro who keeps a second hand store in Norwich, Conn., says he is Jefferson Davis's last surviving servant. Up to a dozen years ago or so, as he tells the story, he was not alone in the distinction of having waited upon the President of the Confederacy, for Ellen Green, another of the house servants, was living on Long Island. Her death left him the only survivor of the Davis household.

Terry was never a slave. His father, a Richmond negro, had gained his freedom in 1840. Terry had worked as a huckster on the James River and as a newsboy in Richmond, and at the time the Davis family came to the city he was employed in a Richmond market where the President traded. Mr. Davis was attracted by him and took him as a personal servant.

One thing that impressed him before he went to work at the Davis home was the fondness of Mr. Davis for eggs and the fact that he would always have fresh farm eggs and bought them by weight. The steward of his household was always obliged to accompany Mr. Davis to market and to see that the eggs weighed up to the standard.

Terry was born on a plantation in 1846. Joseph Johnson, who raised him, was a slave trader and usually had sixty or seventy-five blacks on his place. Terry was one of eighteen children and a twin, there being five pairs of twins among the children. He has twin sons.

As a free negro he had privileges that slaves seldom did and often travelled about the Southern States with Johnson. Johnson was in the Confederate army and was captured by Federal soldiers when at home on a furlough in 1865. Terry was at the Johnson house when its owner was captured and had aided John-

son in burying some $1,700 in gold and silver in the cellar under the main part of the house.

Forgotten Sunflower Industry

Like coals carried to Newcastle, a car-load of sunflower seeds, billed from Europe, passed through Kansas, the great "Sunflower State."

"Why are Kansans importing sunflower seed?" the manager of a seed company here was asked .

"For feeding chickens, pigeons, and canaries," he replied.

"But why don't they use their own seed?"

"That's an interesting story," went on the manager; "the seed from the Kansas sunflower is just as good as any, but the people don't gather it any more. They are so aristocratic that they buy the imported product. Twenty years ago we handled sunflower seed from Kansas by the carload for poultry feed in the East, but that is now a forgotten industry."

Americana

Illustrated

National Americana Society
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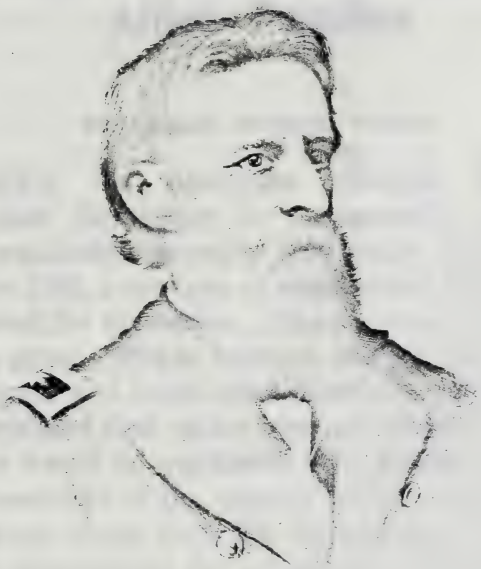

Philip St. George Cook

AMERICANA

April, 1912

A Genealogical History of the Arnot and Allied Families

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

WHEN the American colonists finally brought their Revolution to a successful conclusion and established peace by the treaty with Great Britain in 1783, a new era of commercial and industrial possibilities opened for the nation. The potential needs of the community were great. Trade between the old world and the colonies had become well established during the colonial period and now it was realized that under changed conditions the energies of the people would be quickened to a wonderful extent, while the natural resources of the country held out alluring prospects. None were more quick than the Europeans to recognize these facts and to comprehend the exceptional opportunities for the first-comers that lay within the future territorial and business expansion of the western continent.

During the first quarter of a century of the political existence of the United States, a great body of immigration set in from Europe, quite distinct in character from any that had preceded it in the previous century. Trade relations with Europe, that during the troubles with the mother country had been largely suspended, were now reestablished and the business thus offered, as well as the purely domestic openings for trade, commerce and industry, generally attracted from the old world many young men, who, lacking opportunity at home, thought to find place for themselves in the new world. Particularly from Scotland and Ireland there was an arrival that was of momentous character, bringing to America, as it did, the Scotch and Scotch-Irish strain

of blood that constituted, in the generations following, a large and influential factor in the upbuilding of the republic. The extent to which these men and women of this nationality moulded republican institutions and laid the foundation of the country's future great prosperity, has been recognized by all historians and cannot be over-estimated.

At this time the city of New York was already the commercial center of the United States. In trade and in industry it offered many inducements to the new comers. Hither many of these Scotch and Irish families came and the settlers of this race during this period, had weighty and widespread influence in determining the character and in directing the growth of the metropolis and the territory immediately surrounding and contributory to it. Some of them settled permanently in New York city. There they became substantial merchants, their descendants continuing in the footsteps of their fathers in subsequent generations, in business, social and public life. Others, with the pioneer spirit more strongly in them, pushed their way further to the west or south, and were in the vanguard of those who conquered the new territory of the country, which, up to that time, had lain a wilderness dormant. Others eventually moved northward into the interior of New York state and there settled, and their descendants have been among the founders and developers of the northern and western part of that commonwealth.

About this time, also, a movement westward from New England set in. Descendants of the early New England colonists had become impatient over contracted conditions which surrounded them and were disturbed by complications which had arisen concerning their landed possessions, especially in the land grants of the western territories which had been made to the several colonies during the preceding generations. These enterprising New Englanders shifted westward. Some of them penetrated to the far-away northwestern territory, while others paused on their westward march and remained in northern New York.

Thus we find that in its central and northern part, New York has exhibited, during the century and a quarter of its existence

in statehood, an interesting and suggestive alliance of these Scotch and Scotch-Irish folk with the descendants of the early New Englanders. Together they created a substantial democracy, developed the natural resources of that section, built towns and cities, and planted new industries. Especially in the early and middle part of the century they were foremost in every movement that made for the betterment of the state of their adoption and the communities to which they were attached. The histories of these various families in this particular class constitute many of the most interesting and most important pages in the history of the Empire State. In the broad of view, they are not individual or personal. They are of more than ordinary moment as component parts of the history of the commonwealth. They are essentials to any correct study and appreciation of the conditions and movements to which they belonged.

As illustrative of the spirit which brought these people

The Arnot Family in Scotland

to America at this period and of the strength of character which they contributed to this formative work in making the new commonwealth, no more typical family than that of Arnot could be selected. In the century that the Arnots have been identified with New York state, they have grown beyond ordinary local interest and importance. In a full sense, the representatives of the family for three generations have been foremost among the creators of that section which the city of Elmira dominates. Their individual and personal history during these more than one hundred years, has been merged at every point in that of the community in which their lives were passed and to which they gave their best thoughts and best activities. Thus the history of the Arnot and the associated Tuttle family becomes an essential part of the history of that section with which their names have been so notably associated.

In Scotland, the Arnot family in many lines has been of ancient renown. Evidently of French origin the name presumably was brought to Great Britain by the Norman invaders in the eleventh century. The French origin of the family has been, however, lost sight of and for at least six or eight centuries the Arnots

have been conspicuously identified with Scotland. Branches of the family have been distributed in different parts of Scotland, principally in Ayrshire, Perthshire and Fifeshire. For the most part they have been, from the beginning of their history, people of the substantial middle class, generally ranking well among the county gentry, and in many instances handing down chartered lands from generation to generation.

In the case of one notable family, they received a grant of arms, and for several generations carried the title of baronet. The remains of the ancient homestead of these barons of Arnot are still standing in Kinross. It is a picturesque old ruin, bearing the coat of arms on an entablature over the great entrance. It is locally known as the Arnot Tower. Concerning this structure, its name and the derivation of its name, an English authority says: "Arnot. Ard+cnoc= high hill. The high ground near Arnot Tower is still termed Knock of Arnot."[1] Burke, the recognized English authority on heraldry, says of this family:

"Sir Michael Arnot, of Arnot, in the county of Perth, the descendant of a very ancient Fifeshire family, designated of that Ilk so early as the 12th century, was created a Baronet by Charles I 27th July, 1629. His son and heir, Sir David Arnot, second Baronet, M. P. for Kinross in 1689, was father of Sir John Arnot, third Baronet, who having devoted himself early to a military life, was appointed in 1727, Adjutant General of Scotland. In 1735 he rose to the rank of Brigadier General; in 1739 to that of Major General, and died, 4th June 1750, a Lieutenant General, and Adjutant General of North Britain. His eldest son, Sir John Arnot, fourth Baronet, was succeeded by his son, Sir William Arnot, fifth Arnot, Lieutenant Colonel of the Queen's regiment of dragoon guards, who died in 1782, leaving a son and heir, Sir William Arnot, sixth and last Baronet.

"Arms—Argent, a chevron sable between two mullets in chief, and a crescent (qu. etoile) in base gules."[2]

Rietstap, the French authority on heraldry, records the arms of these Arnots as follows:

"Arnot d'Arnot—*Ecosse* (Baronet July 27, 1629 M. et vers le commencement du 19 e siecle)

1. "The Place-names of Fife and Kinross" by W. J. N. Liddall, p. 2.
2. "A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland." By John Burke, second edition, 1844. p. 617.

"D'arg. au chev. de sa., acc. en chef de deux etoiles de gu. et en p. d'un croiss (ou, d'une etoile rayounante) du meme."[3]

It appears therefore, that, for nearly six hundred years, these armor-bearing Arnots were established in Perthshire, the ancestral home of those of the name who came to America at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the main line and in many of its branches the family was one of the most distinguished in the county. The cadets of the house were mainly located in Perthshire, naturally grouped about the historic home of the main stem. There they constituted a very considerable and influential part of the various communities in which they lived. Two of the baronets in the main line of descent were named John Arnot and that Christian name persisted in general use in the family in successive generations. It was a common inheritance of all the Arnots of Scotland as well as of those who crossed the Atlantic to the New World.

The Arnots in America

I

John Arnot was a native of Perthshire, Scotland, where he was living about the middle of the eighteenth century. With his wife and several children, he emigrated to America in 1801, and settled near Albany, New York.

II

John Arnot, son of John Arnot, was born in Perthshire, Scotland, September 25, 1793. Brought by his parents to America in 1801, his childhood years were passed in the paternal home near Albany. He received a good public school education, and then at an early age began work for himself. As a young man his sterling character and his pronounced aptitude for business attracted attention from those with whom he was associated, and when,in 1817, at the age of twenty-four, he decided to go into the interior of New York state in search of fortune, he was able to

3. "Armorial General."

command the assistance of capital. With Egbert Egberts he founded the firm of John Arnot & Co., in the village of Newtown, which afterwards became the city of Elmira. From that time on his life was entirely identified with that of his new home. His Scottish thrift, energy and ambition quickly won their reward, and the business which he had established became, under his direction, so prosperous, that he was able soon to become its sole proprietor. In 1831 he became a partner of Stephen Tuttle, one of the pioneer settlers and business men of Central New York, and that firm relationship continued until the retirement of Mr. Tuttle on account of age, a few years before his death.

Individually Mr. Arnot was the founder of many of the foremost financial, industrial and commercial establishments of the city of Elmira and the county of Chemung, and was also associated with other prominent men in most of the large enterprises of that part of the state. He was always confident of the great future of the city of Elmira and never hesitated to pledge his energies and his resources in every respect to the upbuilding of the city to which he was so much attached. He became a large landed proprietor in the suburbs of the growing city and through his real estate transactions as well as other business pursuits acquired large wealth. At the age of forty he was recognized as one of the most substantial business men of Elmira and one of its most devoted and patriotic citizens. The list of the commercial and financial enterprises with which he was identified is long and notable. He was one of the founders of the Chemung Canal Bank. During the panic of 1837, when the stability of that institution was threatened by the financial exigencies of the period, he was summoned by his associates to take the position of cashier, and in that place he not only maintained the stability of the bank, but was successful in putting it on a sound basis and restoring to it the full confidence of the community. In 1852 he secured a controlling interest in the bank and became its president. In 1854 he was president of the company which was organized to construct the Junction Canal, and in the same year he was elected president of the Gas Company of Elmira. With several partners, he entered upon coal mining near Blosburg, Pennsylvania. Several mines were opened there and the enterprise

was carried on successfully, Mr. Arnot continuing as a coal operator until the time of his death.

Despite his multitudinous business engagements, Mr. Arnot devoted much time to the public affairs of the city of his adoption, in all which he maintained a healthy and active interest. An earnest believer in thorough and wide-spread public education he was one of the earliest and strongest supporters of the public school system and did much to secure its firm establishment in the state of New York about 1858. As a members of the Elmira board of education for six years following 1859 he gave invaluable service in establishing the first public schools in that city. Politically he was a Whig in early life and afterwards a Democrat when the Whig party was broken up. In 1858 he was nominated for congress by the Democrats of his district but was defeated.

The esteem in which he was held by the community in which his life was spent, and to which he was devoted, has been well expressed by one of his biographers as follows:

"To him and his associates Elmira is indebted for its present status as a thriving commercial center. It was his particular work, so it appears, not only to project new enterprises, but to renovate, enlarge and establish upon a sound financial footing works and corporations seemingly involved in ruin. To him all such unfortunate ventures appealed when stricken with threatened destruction, and without exception the appeal was never made in vain. His public spirit and love of his adopted home were shown by his investment of means in each and every company or improvement which directly benefited the interests of Elmira."[4]

At the time of his death the common council of Elmira, in a series of resolutions, placed on record the general opinion that "this community has sustained a severe and irreparable loss." At the same time, at a meeting of the officers of the various banks of Elmira, a series of resolutions was passed, one of which was:

"That owing to the high character of the deceased, his sterling ability as a banker, the purity of his principles, the conscientious

4. "Encyclopedia of Contemporary Biography of New York." Vol. V, p. 181.

regard for truth and justice which characterized all his dealings, this city has lost its ablest financier and one of its best citizens."

Died in Elmira, November 17, 1873.

Married, 1823, Harriet Tuttle, daughter of Stephen and Mary Ann (McKerachan) Tuttle. She was born in 1804 and died in Elmira, December 6, 1877.

[*TUTTLE.* The Tuttle family under various names is one of the most ancient in England. On the Battle Abbey Roll, the name is one of the first, spelled Toteles. There are few localities in England where the family in some form has not been found, and the name has been spelled in probably a score or more different forms, the most notable of which have been Tothill, Tuthill, Tuttil, Tuttell, Totell, Totehall, Toothill and Tuttle. Even more anciently than in England, the family was in Ireland, where it existed before the Christian era. In that country the name was originally derived from one of the early kings of Ireland, Tuathal, and among its various names have been such familiar forms as O'Toole and O'Thothill. One of the most notable families in England was the Tothills of Devonshire. The modern branch of this family has been mainly descended from William Totyl who was the first high sheriff of Devonshire in 1549 and lord mayor of Exeter in 1552. Tradition says that he was the father of thirty-six children. "All the circumstances point unmistakably to the Devonshire branch as the source of the four Tuttle families who came over in 1635."[5] The armorial bearings of the Devonshire Tuttles were:

Arms.—Azure, on a bend argent, cotised or, a lion passant sable, langued and armed gules.

Crest.—On a mount a Cornish chough proper, in the beak a branch of olive vert, fructed or.

Three distinct Tuttle families came from England to America on the ship *Planter* in 1635. The heads of these families were John Tuttle, Richard Tuttle and William Tut-

5. "The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Tuttle." By George Frederick Tuttle, p. XXV.

tle, whose names were on the list of those passengers who had received certificates of departure from the minister of St. Albans, Hertfordshire. John Tuttle and William Tuttle settled in Ipswich and Richard Tuttle in Boston.

I. *William Tuttle,* who was born in England in 1609, appeared on the passenger list of the *Planter* as a husbandman, that is a landed proprietor. Settling in Ipswich, Massachusetts, he very soon became engaged in mercantile pursuits and was also part owner of a trading vessel. In 1639 he joined John Davenport and Thomas Eaton in settling the Quinnipiac Colony at the mouth of the Connecticut river, afterwards the town and city of New Haven. He signed the first covenant of the new colony June 4, 1639. From the beginning he was one of the most active citizens of New Haven and acquired much land, not only in New Haven, but also in East Haven and North Haven. Some of his original property included the later site of Yale College. With several of his fellow citizens he was engaged in the unsuccessful enterprise to plant a colony on the Delaware river in 1644, a project which led to serious complications between New England and the Dutch and Swede settlers. He was a farmer, a member of many town commissions, a constable, and often appointed to settle town and other boundaries. He died in June, 1673. His wife, Elizabeth Tuttle, died December 30, 1684, at the age of seventy-six. His children were John, Hannah, Thomas, Jonathan, David, JOSEPH, Sarah, Elizabeth, Simon, Benjamin, Mercy and Nathaniel.

II. *Joseph Tuttle,* son of William and Elizabeth Tuttle, was born in New Haven, where he was baptized November 22, 1640. He married, May 2, 1667, Hannah Munson, born June 11, 1648, daughter of Captain Thomas Munson. His children were Joseph, Samuel, STEPHEN, Joanna, Timothy, Susanna, Elizabeth, Hannah and Hannah.

MUNSON. The Munson family of England was established in Lincolnshire as far back as the thirteenth century. John Munson was living in Lincolnshire in 1378, and from him in the fourth generation, was Sir Thomas

Munson, 1564-1641, who received the title of baronet. His son, Sir John Munson, of the fifth generation, 1600-1683, was the second baronet. It was from a cadet branch of the family in this generation that Thomas Munson, who came to New England, was derived. The arms of this family—the barons Munson, of Burton—as given by Reitstap and Burke, the heraldic authorities, were:

Arms.—Or, two chevronels, gules.

Crest.—A lion rampant proper, supporting a column, or.

Motto.—*Prest pour mon pais.*[6]

I. *Thomas Munson,* the American pioneer, was born in England about 1612, and died in New Haven, May 7, 1685. He was one of the most prominent and most active men of his generation in the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, being alike conspicuous in civil and military life. In the Pequot war of 1637, he served under Captain John Mason, and for this the town of Hartford gave him a grant of land. Before 1640 he removed to Quinnipiac or New Haven, being the sixth on the list of forty-eight planters who agreed to make that settlement. The same year he was a freeman and four years later he took the oath of fidelity to the New Haven colony. His military service, which was of a notable character, began in 1643, when he was chosen a sergeant of the militia company. In that position he served uninterruptedly until 1664, when he was chosen a lieutenant; he was made a captain in 1676. When war with the Dutch in New Amsterdam was apprehended, in 1673, he was appointed a member of the grand committee of the colony, afterwards the council of war, to take charge of the preparation for hostilities. In 1655, after over thirty years of military service, he urged the infirmities of age as a reason why he should be re-

6. "The Munson Record, a Genealogical and Biographical Account of Captain Thomas Munson and his Descendants." By Myron A. Munson. Vol. I, p. xxi.
"Armorial General," Par. J. B. Reitstap, edition 1887, Deuxieme, Vol. II.
"A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Barontage, the Privy Council, Knightage and Companionage." By Sir Bernard Burke. Edition of 1907.

lieved from further responsibilities, but the town, appreciating and depending upon his ability, refused to accept his resignation. On September 9 of that year, he was ordered by the council of war to take command of the forces of the New Haven colony, which were summoned for King Philip's war. He was not less conspicuous in civil life than he had been in military service. He was a carpenter and builder and from the beginning of the colony of New Haven, he was placed on various committees where his practical knowledge was useful. He was selected to appraise property, to provide for the building of the church and a schoolhouse, to run lines separating various properties and the adjoining towns, and otherwise to be helpful in those minor needs which were essential for the comfort of the community. He was elected a selectman in 1656, and in that capacity served almost continuously for more than a quarter of a century. In 1662 he was elected a deputy to the general court, and was elected almost annually to that position until 1685. From 1662, for many years, he was a magistrate of New Haven, and he was the first commissary of the town. He died May 7, 1685, and was buried on The Green in New Haven. His wife, Johanna Munson, who was born about 1610, died in New Haven, December 13, 1678.

Issue:

1. Elizabeth Munson, who married, first, October 19, 1664, Timothy Cooper, son of Lieutenant Thomas Cooper, of Springfield, Massachusetts, and married, second, Richard Higginbotham, who died December 18, 1706.

2. Samuel Munson, baptized August 7, 1643; died in 1693. He was of New Haven and Wallingford.

3. Hannah Munson, baptized June 11, 1648. Married, May 2, 1667, Joseph Tuttle.

III. *Stephen Tuttle,* son of Joseph Tuttle and Hannah (Munson) Tuttle, was born May 20, 1673. Early in life he removed to Woodbridge, New Jersey, where he received a grant of land in 1695, and became one of the substantial citizens of that colony. He died in 1709. He married, Septem-

ber 12, 1695, Ruth Fitz Randolph. His children were Timothy, Joseph, STEPHEN, and Samuel.

IV. *Stephen Tuttle,* son of Stephen Tuttle and Ruth (Fitz Randolph) Tuttle, was born in New Haven, and was taken to Woodbridge by his parents when he was a young child. Subsequently he returned to New Haven, and afterwards lived in Farmington, Connecticut, where he was killed by lightning, June 23, 1735. He married, January 23, 1734-5, Sarah Stanley, who died July 20, 1736, daughter of Nathaniel Stanley of Farmington.

V. *Stephen Tuttle,* only child of Stephen Tuttle and Sarah (Stanley) Tuttle, was born in Farmington, October 19, 1735. He was brought up in the family of his grandfather Stanley, first in Farmington, and after 1742, in Goshen, Connecticut. In 1773 he removed to Palmyra, Tioga county, New York, and subsequently to Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. He died in Wilkes Barre in 1809. He married, March 25, 1758, Lydia Lyman, who was born June 16, 1738, daughter of Ebenezer Lyman of Torrington, Connecticut. His children were Sarah, Amelia and STEPHEN.

VI. *Stephen Tuttle,* son of Stephen Tuttle and Lydia (Lyman) Tuttle, was born in Goshen, Connecticut, August 4, 1772. As a boy he lived in central New York and in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, but removed from Wilkes Barre to Elmira, New York, about 1811. He became one of the most energetic and successful of the pioneers in building up that section of the country. He was interested in nearly every enterprise there instituted and his name was conspicuously identified with all the early history of Elmira. He was engaged in farming, in merchandising, in milling, and in other pursuits. He was the first president of the town corporation of Elmira. He died in Elmira in 1851. He married Mary Ann McKerachan, who was born in Kent, Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1773, and died in Elmira, New York, January 3, 1860. The father of Mary Ann McKerachan was William McKerachan, an Irishman, who came to America in 1764. He settled in Pennsylvania and taught school in that colony and in the neighboring colony of New

Jersey. In 1774 he removed to the beautiful valley of Wyoming, where he taught school, kept a store, and acquired landed property. His knowledge of mathematics and surveying made him a useful member of the community and he was a magistrate, a judge of the county court of Westmoreland county, and captain of the Hanover militia company. He lost his life in the Wyoming Massacre, but his wife and several children escaped. Mrs. McKerachan married, second, Matthias Hallenback of Milford, Connecticut, and one of the pioneers of central New York. Mary Ann McKerachan, who married Stephen Tuttle, was brought up in the family of her stepfather. She was recognized as "a woman of genuine piety, remarkable shrewdness and honesty."

VI. *Harriet Tuttle,* only child of Stephen Tuttle and Mary Ann (McKerachan) Tuttle, was born in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1804, and married John Arnot in 1823.

Issue of John Arnot and Harriet (Tuttle) Arnot:

1. Marianne Tuttle Arnot, born in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1824; died in December, 1877. Married in 1875, William Butler Ogden, who was born in Delaware county, New York, June 15, 1805, and died at High Bridge, New York city, in 1877. William B. Ogden was a successful merchant, a manufacturer, and a real estate owner of Chicago, being one of the founders of that city and its first mayor. He ranked high among the most eminent men of the West in his day, especially in railroad building and management, in which field he was particularly distinguished. He was the first president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, the president of several other western railroads and a director in many other railroad and business enterprises. As a generous benefactor of educational and other public institutions, he was particularly noted.

2. Aurelia Covell Arnot, died in 1874, unmarried.

3. Stephen Tuttle Arnot, born in 1830; died in November, 1884. He was one of the leading business men of Central New York, being president of the Bank of Elmira and mayor of the

city of Elmira in 1883. Married Charlotte Hewett, daughter of Gurdon Hewett of Owego, New York.

Issue:

Fanny Palmer Arnot, married Warham Whitney of Rochester, New York.

4. John Arnot, of whom below.

5. Matthias Hallenback Arnot, born in 1833; died unmarried. He was graduated from Yale College in 1856 and was a prominent merchant of Elmira. Died in February, 1910.

6. Mary Frances Arnot, born in 1836. Married, first, Richard Suydam Palmer; married, second, George Griswold Haven of New York.

Issue (by first marriage):

I. Walter Palmer, died in infancy.

II. John Arnot Palmer.

III. Richard Suydam Palmer.

7. Peter Arnot, born in 1839; died young.

III.

John Arnot, second son and fourth child of John Arnot and Harriet (Tuttle) Arnot, was born in Elmira, March 11, 1831. He was educated in private schools in Elmira and in neighboring places, and then studied for a time in Yale College. Business life appealed to him more than scholastic pursuits and he left college to enter the banking house of his father in Elmira. In 1852, when his father became president of the Chemung Canal Bank, John Arnot, Jr., became cashier. In that position he developed a remarkable financial ability, and eventually succeeded his father, being at the head of the institution until the time of his death. From early life he was interested in politics, being a Whig, but his political activity was of a non-partisan character. From 1859 to 1864, he was president of the village of Elmira, and in 1864 was elected the first mayor of the new city. Again, in 1870 and 1874, he was elected mayor, his fidelity to public trust, his remarkable financial ability and his general usefulness in public affairs making his official career one of distinction. In 1882 he was elected a member of the forty-eighth congress as a

Democrat in a strong Republican district, receiving a plurality of three thousand over all other candidates, where in previous elections the Republican ticket had, as a rule, about three thousand majority. For the next term he was re-elected practically without opposition, receiving the endorsement of all the parties. He was continuously a member for many years of the board of education of Elmira.

A local historian had said of him: "He lived a life so full of generous actions and loving kindness to all, that no epitaph will adequately or accurately describe it. Before the people in any capacity, he was invincible. They were all and always for him."[7]

Died November 20, 1886.

Married, June 2, 1858, Anne Elizabeth Hulett, daughter of Charles Hulett of Horseheads, Chemung county, New York. She was born April 16, 1837; died in Elmira, New York.

HULETT. Since early in the seventeenth century branches of the Hulett family have been settled in various parts of New England and northern and central New York. The early history of this family in America is still obscure, but it is generally considered that the various branches were descended from Sergeant Thomas Howlett or Hulett of Boston. Thomas Howlett was an Englishman and is believed to have been of that family of the name which was of considerable distinction in England before the Cromwellian period. In England the name was spelled both Hulett and Howlett and probably was originally derived from the French family which used the spelling Hulett. Sergeant Thomas Howlett, who was born in 1599, came to America in the fleet with Governor John Winthrop in 1633 and settled in Ipswich. Savage says of him:[8]

"With the junior John Winthrop he was one of the founders of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1633, being made a freeman March 3, 1634, and elected to represent the town in the general court in 1635.

7. "A History of the Valley and County of Chemung." By Ausburn Tower, p. 116.

8. "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England." By James Savage, Vol. II, p. 480.

He married, first, Alice French of Boston, by whom he had a daughter Sarah, who married John Cummings. When he died, December 22, 1667, he left a widow Rebecca Howlett, who died in Newbury, Massachusetts, November 1, 1680, and a son, Samuel, who was in Topsfield, Massachusetts, in 1661."

Descendants of Sergeant Thomas Howlett, were early in the western part of Massachusetts and in Vermont, and from the latter colony they moved to New York. In the colonial records the name was spelled Hulett as frequently as it was spelled Howlett.

I. One of the Hulett colonial families was of Hadley, Massachusetts, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

II. Several of the sons of the Hadley, Massachusetts, family removed to Wallingford, Rutland county, Vermont, and there the bearers of the name became numerous in succeeding generations.

III. *John Hulett* of Wallingford, and Veteran, Ulster county, New York, married Martha Clark, daughter of Deacon Clark, of Wethersfield, Vermont. He died in Veteran, January 12, 1847, at the age of eighty. His children were Laura, Guy, Clark, Asahel, John M., Charles, Almira, Martha, Mason, Nehemiah, Marcia A., George W. and Benjamin F.

IV. *Charles Hulett,* son of John Hulett and Martha (Clark) Hulett, was born in Wallingford. He removed to Chemung county, New York, soon after 1825 and became one of the prominent citizens of the town of Horseheads. He was one of the three commissioners appointed to supervise the first town meeting of that town. He married, in October, 1835, Ann E. Munson, daughter of Isaac and Sarah (Bradley) Munson of Wallingford, Connecticut. Isaac Munson was of the Munson family of New Haven, descended from Thomas Munson, whose daughter Elizabeth Munson, married Joseph Tuttle, and was the ancestress of Harriet Tuttle, who married John Arnot, Jr.

I. Munson. *Thomas and Johanna Munson,* the Amer-

ican pioneers of Hartford and New Haven (See TUTTLE Family on a preceding page of this sketch).

II. *Samuel Munson,* son of Thomas and Johanna Munson, was baptized August 7, 1643, and died in 1693. He was a resident of New Haven and Wallingford, Connecticut, and was scarcely less prominent than his famous father. He was a freeman of the colony of New Haven, the first school master of the town, treasurer, recorder, auditor, selectman and ensign. He married, October 26, 1665, Martha Bradley, daughter of William and Alice (Pritchard) Bradley.

III. *Theophilus Munson,* son of Samuel Munson and Martha (Bradley) Munson, was born September 1, 1675, and died November 28, 1747. He was a town treasurer of New Haven, a deputy to the general court and a captain of the militia in the Indian war. He married Esther Mix, daughter of Thomas Mix.

IV. *Israel Munson,* son of Theophilus Munson and Esther (Mix) Munson, was born in New Haven, December 11,1701, and died July 28, 1754. He married, first, February 1, 1726-27, Elizabeth Bishop; second, October 28, 1736, Mary Brinsmade; third, September 27, 1744, Margaret Mansfield.

V. *Israel Munson,* son of Israel Munson and Margaret (Mansfield) Munson, was born October 9, 1737, and died December 27, 1806. He married in New Haven, April 11, 1765, Anna Griswold.

VI. *Isaac Munson,* son of Israel Munson and Anna (Griswold) Munson, was born in New Haven, April 5, 1771, and died February 11, 1835. He resided in New Haven and Wallingford. He married Sarah Bradley, who was born April 11, 1773, and died June 3, 1821. She was descended from Abraham Bradley, one of the pioneers of New Haven.

VII. *Anne E. Munson,* married Charles Hulett.

V. *Anne Elizabeth Hulett,* daughter of Charles Hulett and Anne E. (Munson) Hulett, married John Arnot, Jr.

Issue of John Arnot and Anne Elizabeth (Hulett) Arnott:

1. Harriet Tuttle Arnot, born March 22, 1859. Married, January 2, 1879, James Bailey Rathbone, of Elmira, New York.

Issue:

I. Anne Elizabeth Rathbone.

II. John Arnot Rathbone.

III. Catharine Rathbone.

2. John Hulett Arnot, born July 7, 1860; died July 25, 1899. He was graduated from Yale University in the class of 1885.

3. Edward Munson Arnot, born June 19, 1862; died March 22, 1865.

4. Matthias Charles Arnot, born October 27, 1867; died July 31, 1901. He was graduated from Yale University in the class of 1891. Returning to his home in Elmira, he began his business career as a clerk in the Chemung Canal Bank. Gradually advanced as he acquired proficiency in financial affairs, he ultimately became vice-president of the bank, which position he held at the time of his death. From boyhood he was strongly inclined to scientific studies and was especially proficient in mathematics. When he grew to manhood his interest in those pursuits still continued and what time he could spare from banking and other financial affairs he devoted to further study and original investigation in purely scientific directions. He was among the first Americans to become attracted to the subject of aeronautics and his application to this branch of science was of an intensely practical character. The aeronauts, Herring and Curtis, in their early experiments, profited much by his encouragement and definite support. Herring, who had been engaged with Octave Chanute in Chicago, in 1904 and subsequently, found later on in Mr. Arnot an associate who had both enthusiasm concerning the new airships and a mathematical and mechanical genius that was most valuable. The two working in conjunction built a successful flying ship in 1897 and Mr. Herring paid generous and deserved tribute to Mr. Arnot for his assistance both financial and in practical mechanics, in the production of the first really successful Herring machine in 1897. In "Gas Power," of which Mr. Herring was at one time editor, he gave a full account of Mr. Arnot's co-operation and support in this work. The talent

of Mr. Arnot in this direction was displayed to a notable extent and those who were most familiar with his accomplishments have been unreserved in their confidence, that had his life been spared he would have been numbered among the foremost of American authorities on aeronautics. The "glider," which he was instrumental in bringing to completion with Mr. Herring, was fully described in the scientific periodicals of that day, and was recognized as a distinct advance upon anything that had been produced up to that time. An illustration of the machine which was printed then in the "Scientific American" afterwards had a place of honor in the latest edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica.

He married Alice Hale Up de Graff, daughter of Doctor Thaddeus S. and Ella Up de Graff, of Elmira; she died March 15, 1898.

The Three Cushing Brothers

BY JULIA A. LAPHAM

AT the annual meeting of the Waukesha County Historical Society, held on the 6th of May, 1911, a committee was appointed to take the initiative in the matter of placing a monument, in memory of the three Cushing brothers at Delafield, Wisconsin, the early home of the Cushing family and the birthplace of Wm. B. Cushing.

As a result of this action the State of Wisconsin has appropriated $5,000 for such monument and it is hoped that a site can be provided by subscription.

Howard B. Cushing, the elder of these brothers was born in Milwaukee, August 22d, 1838. He did good service both in the artillery and the cavalry during the civil war. He was a member of the third cavalry which served in Arizona and aided in clearing that part of the country of Apaches. Cushing was killed by the Apache chief, Cochise, in May, 1871.

John G. Bourke speaks very feelingly of Howard Cushing in his book "On the Border with Crook." He said, "Howard Cushing was the bravest man I ever saw."

In a letter to the New York Herald at the time of Cushing's death Sylvester Maury, a graduate of West Point said in part, "There is not a hostile tribe in Arizona or New Mexico that will not celebrate the killing of Cushing as a great triumph. He was a *beau sabreur,* an unrelenting fighter; and although the Indians got him at last, he sent before him a long procession of them to open his path to the undiscovered country. * * * He has left behind him in Arizon a name that will not die in this generation."

Alonzo Hereford Cushing, the second brother, was also born in Milwaukee, January 19th, 1841. He, too, served with honor

during the Civil war. He was killed at Gettysburg July 3d, 1863. One writer said of him: "No task was ever placed upon the shoulders of Alonzo Cushing, whether in civil or military life, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that was not well and cheerfully done."

Gen. Couch, commanding the 2nd corps, in his report, said of him: "Lt. Cushing was with me throughout the battle and acted with his well-known gallantry," at Fredericksburg.

President Lincoln brevetted him captain, to date from December 13th, 1862, for gallant and meritorious services at battle of Fredericksburg. In May, 1863, the President gave Cushing the brevet of Major, dating from May 2nd, for gallant services at the battle of Chancellorsville. Two days before Cushing's death the brevet of Lieut. Colonel was made out for him for conspicuous gallantry at the battle of Gettysburg July 1st, 1863.

Wm. Barker Cushing, the youngest of the three brothers, was born in Delafield, Wisconsin, on a farm, now known as the Alden farm, November 4th, 1842.

He entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis as a cadet when fourteen, and, a few years later was acting master's mate on board the frigate Minnesota.

In a letter written in June, 1861, he said: "I have been to the north twice in command of prize ships captured from the enemy." He does not state that one of these ships "The Delaware Farmer," was taken by himself, the first taken by any one in the war. One of the two was worth $150,000.

The destruction of the confederate iron clad, the Albermarle, was one of the most daring exploits of this young man—he was only twenty-two at the time. This feat brought him a vote of thanks from Congress and a well-earned promotion. It also brought words of praise and congratulation from all parts of the north.

It has been said of him: "There was not a year during the war that Lt. Cushing did not distinguish himself by some perilous adventure." In November, 1862, he was ordered in the steamer "Ellis" to capture Jacksonville and destroy the salt works in New River Inlet. After performing this duty successfully the steamer got aground. Lt. Cushing set the "Ellis" on

fire and escaped in a small boat. He received special commendation for his coolness, courage and conduct in this affair.

Lt. Cushing was advanced to the rank of Commander in January, 1872—the youngest officer of that rank in the navy. In July, 1873, he was placed in charge of the "Wyoming." In November of that year he heard of the execution of several of the crew of the Virginius at Santiago, de Cuba. Without waiting for orders he steamed for that port and stopped the executions, pending instructions from Spain—by which they were entirely discontinued. His demand for an interview and reply to Gen. Burriel were perfectly characteristic of Wm. B. Cushing. With his hand on his revolver he said: "Gen. Burriel, this conduct may suit your subjects, but it does not suit an officer of the United States Navy. I must know positively and immediately, are you going to shoot any more of the crew of the Virginius? Give me an answer. I will not be insulted again."

Burriel, amazed and completely cowed, dropped the swaggering ranting manner with which he had begun the interview and meekly replied "I will not shoot any more without further trial."

Wm. B. Cushing died at Washington, D. C., December 17, 1874. A temporary marker has been placed to mark the birthplace of this man—until such time as a permanent memorial can be erected.

The American Bell

BY JULIA A. LAPHAM

IN the United States Centennial Almanac for 1875 the following account of the "American Bell" is quoted from a description written by Col. Etting, of Philadelphia, for the American Historical Record.

"This American bell was hung up in its place early in 1753, as will appear by the following bill:

Philadelphia, April 17, 1753.

The Province, To Edmund Wooley, Dr.

For sundrys advanced for raising the Bell Frame and putting up the Bell:

A peck of potatoes, 2s. 9d.; 14 lbs. Beef at 4s. 8d.; 4 Gammons*, 36 lbs., at 6d.—18s.	£1	6	5
Mustard, Pepper, Salt, Butter	0	2	0
A Cheese 13lbs. at 6d.—6c. 6d.; Beef, 30 lbs. at 4d.—10s.; a peck Potatoes, 2s. 6d.	0	19	1
300 Limes, 14s.; 3 gallons Rum of John Jones, 14s.	1	8	0
36 Loaves of Bread, of Lacey, ye Baker	0	9	0
Cooking and Wood, 8s.; Earthenware and Candles, of Duchee, 13s. 4d.	0	11	4
A barrel of Beer, of Anthony Morris	0	18	0
	£5	13	10

Errors excepted. Ed. Wooley."

*Smoked hams.

What use was made of these supplies is not explained, nor is the reason for recasting the bell given, but we are told it was

done in a "masterly manner" and that the letters were better than in the old one.

"When we broke up the metal our judges agreed it was too high and brittle, and cast several little bells out of it to try the sound and strength. We fixed upon a mixture of an ounce and one-half of copper to one pound of the old bell."

It was soon found this composition was defective, that too much copper had been added. Pass, a native of the island of Malta, with a son of Charles Stow, who were "the persons who originally undertook to recast the bell, and who had made the mould in a masterly manner and run the metal well," insisted on making another assay and in June, 1753, their second bell was placed in position in the State House steeple.

Of this event the Maryland *Gazette,* of Thursday, July 5th, 1753, said: "Last week was raised and fixed in the State House steeple [Philadelphia] the new great bell. Cast there by Pass and Stow weighing 2,080 lbs. with this motto: 'Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.' Lev. xxv. 10."

There was a great difference of opinion in regard to the success of this second attempt, but no further effort to improve its sound seems to have been recorded and the bell continued to be used.

This bell, on Monday, July 8th, 1776, rang out "to the citizens of Philadelphia the glad tidings that a new nation had, a few days before, sprung into existence, proclaiming in language understood by every ear, All Men Are Born Free and Equal."

"For full fifty years, as nearly as can be ascertained our Liberty Bell continued to celebrate every national anniversary and then—it cracked, it had performed its mission and was mute forever."

Major Reno and the Custer Massacre

PART II

AFTER being reinforced by Benteen, my own command numbered about four hundred, but one-third of these were detailed to protect the horses and mules, and were, in consequence, of no practical assistance to my fighting force and our situation was desperate in the extreme. The fight did not slacken till about half past nine A. M., when I discovered that the Indians were making a last desperate attempt which was directed against the lines held by Companies H and M. In this attack they charged close enough to use their bows and arrows and one man, lying dead within our lines, was touched by the "coup-stick" of one of the foremost Indians. He will never touch another. When I say that this "coup-stick" was only about ten or twelve feet long, some idea of the desperate and reckless fighting of these people may be understood.

But let me explain: Each Indian when preparing for battle, or hunting expedition provides himself with a pole, from six to twelve feet long and when he touches a dead body with it, the scalp of the man or skin of the animal, becomes his property. Then he makes a number of small bags from the skin or hide of his victim, which he fills with scalp-locks or fur, respectively. Each little bag represents one victim, and it is the Sioux's ambition to collect as many of these ghastly trophies as possible, which when completed and stuffed, are then attached to the "coup-stick." I have frequently seen these poles with as many as ten or twelve little bags fastened to them.

This charge of theirs was gallantly repulsed by Captain Benteen and the brave men on that line. The Indians also came close enough to send their arrows into the line held by Companies D and K, but were driven away by a like charge of the line, which I accompanied. We now had many wounded, and the

question of water had become vital, as we had had none since early on the previous day. The suffering was intense, for fighting and the hot sun had parched our throats, Some of the men's tongues were so swollen they could not speak, and our wounded were really dying for want of it. The river lay at our feet and could be approached by a deep ravine, but from the ravine to our lines was an open space one hundred feet in width, which was commanded by the Indians on the bluffs. Fully fifty soldiers volunteered to go for the water, and a skirmish line was formed under Benteen to protect the men as they dashed down the hill in front of his position, to reach the water. Thus we succeeded in getting some canteens full, but at the expense of many of the volunteers being struck and a few killed.

The fury of the attack was now over, and to my astonishment we soon saw the Indians going in parties down the bluffs to the village. Two solutions occurred to me for this movement; either that they were going for something to eat, and to get more ammunition—as they had been throwing their arrows—or, that Custer was coming and they had been informed of it by their runners. We took occasion of this lull to fill all our vessels with water, and soon we had it by the camp kettle full. The Indians continued to withdraw, and all firing ceased, except occasional shots from the sharpshooters sent to annoy us about the water.

Very soon, about two P. M., the grass in the bottom was set on fire and was followed up by the Indians who encouraged its burning. Evidently it was being fired for a purpose, which I discovered later to be the creation of a dense smoke, behind which they were packing and preparing to move their village *tepees*. Between six and seven P. M. the Indians came out from behind the clouds of smoke and dust and we had a good view of them as they filed away in the direction of the Big Horn mountains, moving in almost perfect military order. The length of their column was fully equal to that of a large division of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac, as I have seen it on its march.

We now thought again of Custer, of whom nothing had been heard or seen since the morning previous, when he separated his command, and we concluded that the Indians had gotten between

him and us and had driven him towards the boat at the mouth of the Little Big Horn river. That he and his entire command lay dead, only a short distance from us, down the valley, did not once occur to us as being within the realms of the possible. Afterwards we found that his massacre had been accomplished before Benteen joined me on the bluffs, at about the time of my fight with the Indians in the timber, where, had I remained five moments longer, I am convinced—as I was then—that my column would have shared the same awful fate as Custer's.

The departure of the Indians impressed me with the belief that they were only removing their village to where they could get fresh grass for their immense herds of animals, and feeling sure that they would renew the attack at daylight, I changed my position to a better one on the bluffs where we could have an unlimited supply of water and which we barricaded and fortified as we had our old one, the night before. Early the next morning, the 27th, while we were on the *qui vive* for Indians, I saw with my field-glass a heavy dust down the valley. For sometime, there could be no certainty of its cause, but finally I was satisfied that it was Cavalry, and if so, it could only be Custer as it was,—from my information,—too early for either Gibbon or Terry, to reach the Little Big Horn valley.

I had, previous to this time, written a communication to General Terry, which three of my men had volunteered to take to him. I could not get my Indian scouts to venture out, and beside I had no confidence in them. I told my men to go as near the approaching column as was safe, to ascertain if they were white men or Indians. If they proved to be soldiers, my volunteers were to return at once; if Indians, they were to push on to Terry as rapidly as possible. Almost immediately we were rejoiced to see our men returning over the high bluffs, and we knew then that relief was at hand.

During my fight with the Indians on these bluffs I desire to say that I had the heartiest support from my men and officers. I have never seen their equals for bravery and magnificent fighting. But the conspicuous services of Brevet-Colonel F. W. Benteen I desire to mention especially, for if ever a soldier deserved recognition by his Government for distinguished services, he

certainly does. After DeWolf was killed the whole responsibility of the wounded rested on Dr. Porter, and I have never known a man to act a braver part than he. He worked without intermission, trying to relieve our poor sufferers, taking off an arm here, a leg there, and enduring this strain amid scenes of sickening horror for over thirty-six hours. Custer's disasater was not the defeat of the Seventh Cavalry, who held their ground for two days, after his massacre, against a savage force outnumbering ours ten to one, and had he not separated his regiment, he and his five companies would not only have escaped their awful fate, but our united force could have whipped Sitting Bull and his entire village.

I think it was about ten A. M. that General Terry rode into my lines. He knew nothing definitely of Custer, but said that he heard from Crow scouts that the Indians had whipped Custer; but this he did not believe. He assumed command and immediately sent Benteen with his company to search for Custer and very soon our brave leader's unfortunate fate was known to us all. I had, in this last fight, lost forty men and had sixty wounded and all day of the 27th I was employed in caring for my sufferers, getting them doctors, medicine and canvas to protect them from the scorching sun and by evening I had them moved down to General Terry's camp. It was then too late to move my own camp, so we were compelled to remain another night on the bluffs, but fortunately during the cool night, the odor from the dead men and animals that surrounded us on all sides, was not so terrible as it had been under the heat of the sun. On the morning of the 28th at five A. M. I proceeded with my command to Custer's battle ground, where we buried the mutilated remains of all our dead comrades. The scene was beyond description. It filled us with horror and anguish. For the dead had been mutilated in the most savage manner and they lay as they had fallen, scattered in wildest confusion over the ground, in groups of two and three, or piled in an indiscriminate mass of men and horses. They had lain thus for nearly three days under the fierce heat of the sun, exposed to swarms of flies and carrion-crows and the scene was rendered even more desolate by the deep silence which seemed to hang like a weird mystery over

our dead friends. By force of contrast, this very quietness spoke more plainly than words, of the fierce hand to hand conflict, the din and crash of battle, the demoniac war-cry of the Sioux and of how our brave and daring men fell before the overpowering strength of a savage foe.

We found General Custer on the bluffs and near him lay the bodies of eleven of his officers. As a tribute to his bravery, the Indians had not mutilated General Custer and he lay as if asleep; but all the other men had been most brutally mangled and had been stripped of their clothing. Many of their skulls had been crushed in, eyes had been torn from their sockets, hands, feet, arms, legs and noses had been wrenched off; many had their flesh cut in strips the entire length of their bodies, and there were others whose limbs were closely perforated with bullet-holes, showing that the torture had been inflicted while the wretched victims were yet alive. There were twenty-nine enlisted men missing from this field of blood and they undoubtedly had been taken prisoners and perished at the stake, while the Indians were celebrating their scalp dance on the night of the 25th, in sight of my camp.

Lying almost at Custer's feet was young Reed, a nephew of the General's, who had been visiting him at Fort Lincoln and who had pleaded to go on the campaign, where this handsome lad of nineteen met such an untimely fate. Within a few feet of the General, lay his two brothers, Boston and Tom. There was in the whole army no more popular man, than gallant Tom Custer. He was young, handsome, a prince of good fellows and full of that bravery that ever characterized the Custers. He had served with distinction during the war and had frequently before been engaged in Indian fights. As we approached him we were horrified to see that his body had been opened and his heart torn out. Thus I knew that the vengeance of Rain-in-the-Face had been at work. Several years before Rain-in-the-Face had murdered two white men of our Fort and afterwards, boasted of it in the Reservation. He was arrested and brought to trial by Tom Custer, but before the time appointed for his case arrived, the wily Indian had escaped, sending back word to Captain Tom that he would be revenged by cutting out his captor's

heart. Rain-in-the-Face kept his word, by literally tearing out the loyal heart of young Tom Custer. Near these three brothers and their boyish nephew, lay their brother-in-law, Lieutenant Calhoun, who had fallen on the skirmish line.

We found the clothing, blood stained and torn, of Lieutenants Porter and Sturgis, but neither their bodies, nor those of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Harrington, could be found anywhere, on the battlefield and I have always thought that these gentlemen must have suffered burning at the stake with the enlisted men.

Ten years later Sitting Bull came to Washington with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Buffalo Bill—Mr. Cody—had been one of my guides during my fight with the Sioux, at the Custer Massacre, and through his courtesy I was granted an interview with Sitting Bull. Through an interpreter this old Sioux warrior talked quite freely with me about his fight with Custer.

He told me that when his warriors were celebrating their great religious festival, the Sun Dance, his runners came in and announced Custer's approach, and being thus warned eleven days in advance, he at once informed himself as to our strength and then prepared to meet us.

He also assured me that Custer's division of his regiment into battalions exactly suited *his* plans, for then he retained a sufficient force to overwhelm me and sent forward an equal number to surround Custer. Sitting Bull did not personally engage in the fight, but explained that he remained in the council tent and directed the operations of his leading generals, Black Moon and Crazy Horse.

He then described the details of the terrible battle, which he declared lasted only one hour. He said Custer was taken completely by surprise, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by numbers ten times greater than his own, and that the Indians were enabled to kill our men so quickly, because they were exhausted from the long march of one night and two days, and had been so long in the saddle that they were almost overcome with fatigue, while the horses were also broken down by hard travel and no food.

Their annihilation was effected with comparatively few shots being fired for, explained Sitting Bull, "my powder was scarce

and my warriors did great and quick work with their war-clubs to save my ammunition."

I then asked Sitting Bull to tell me what had become of Lieutenants Porter, Sturgis, Harrington, Dr. Lord and the twenty-nine enlisted men, but to this he would make no reply, and his reticence more deeply convinced me that they had been burned at the stake. I then asked him why he had retreated so unexpectedly on June 26th, when he had my command surrounded on the bluffs. To which he replied, that he was "very sorry to withdraw on that occasion, for it had been his intention to continue the fight till he had killed every man in my command, but that his runners announced to him the approach of Generals Terry and Gibbon with their large force and he deemed it prudent to retreat."

We spent some very sad hours that morning of June 28th on Custer's battle-field, and many of my brawny men, who had stood their own peril stoicalyl, were moved to tears at sight of the horror that had befallen their comrades. At every step we found signs of a desperate conflict and a fearful carnage. There lay George W. Yates, in a position that proved how dearly he had sold his life. Not far away and nearer Custer, lay all that was mortal of Colonel Myles W. Keogh. He was an officer of the Papal Guards at the beginning of the civil war, when he and six of his brother officers came to this country and entered the volunteer service. No one who knew the generous Keogh could ever forget him, and when he realized that the tide of battle was against him, I can well imagine the calm heroism with which he met his awful death. The Indians had robbed him entirely of his clothing, but about his neck was suspended an *Agnus Dei* of the Catholic Church, and although the chain that fastened it was of finest gold, it had been left untouched by the savages, which proved the Indian's well known fear of charms, or talismans.

As if to commemorate his bravery, Keogh's horse had escaped death most miraculously, the only living thing that remained of Custer's splendid column; we found the lonely animal wandering over the battlefield with his body perforated with bullets. No babe of a tender mother ever received such care as

did this old war-horse from my brawny men; we sent him to Fort Lincoln and when he was recovered, he was clothed in black velvet and led before the regiment on every occasion of "dress parade."

Custer's command was completely annihilated, not one of his men escaping, except a Crow scout,—an Indian named Curley. He says he remained with General Custer until he saw that everything was lost; then seeing a Sioux jump off his pony to kill a wounded officer, he sprang on the pony and wrapping himself in the Sioux's blanket he effected his escape. He says that Custer's command was entirely surrounded, but that the men made a brave resistance and only succumbed to overwhelming numbers.

He also stated that during the fight, the soldiers had some trouble with their carbines, for from his hiding-place he could see the men sitting down, under fire, and working with their guns—a story that had confirmation in the fact that I found knives with broken blades, lying near the dead bodies on the battlefield. Curley also tells of one soldier who seeing all was lost, tried to save himself by flight and he had reached a ravine unperceived, when he was suddenly confronted by a dozen young bucks and rather than fall into their hands and be tortured, the soldier placed his revolver to his head and fired. Many Indians, too young to fight, were ordered to stampede the horses and this was effected by the youthful bucks suddenly springing up before the horses and waving their blankets before them. The horses took fright and were driven into the Indian lines and thus they gained not only numbers of fine horses, but also a large amount of ammunition that was packed in the saddles. After the fight, Curley states the squaws, old gray-haired warriors and even children came on the battleground to plunder and mutilate the dead and to crush in their skulls with heavy stone mallets.

After leaving Custer's field I went with my command over my own battle-ground. Here we found the waistband of Sergeant Hughes' trousers very much stained with blood; he had been Custer's flag bearer, and as his was among the missing bodies we concluded that he had been brought here alive and had been given a death of torture. There lay a dead cavalryman with an

arrow sticking in his back and his skull crushed in. One ghastly find was near the center of the field where three *tepee* poles were standing upright in the ground in the form of a triangle, and on top of each were inverted camp-kettles, while below them, on the grass, were the heads of three men whom I recognized as belonging to my own command. These heads had been severed from their trunks by some very sharp instrument, as the flesh was smoothly cut, and they were placed within the triangle, facing one another, in a horrible, sightless stare. Their bodies were never found.

The plain was strewn with Indian ponies—some still struggling in their death agony—and horses that were branded "Seventh Cavalry," while frequently we came upon great blackened spaces in the grass which showed us where the fires had been built, in which so many of our men had perished, and around which the Indians had celebrated their horrible scalp-dance on the night of the 25th.

After burying all my men here, we pushed on to the recent site of the Indian village. It was larger even than I had expected and stretched three miles and a half down the valley, bearing evidence that it had contained fully eighteen hundred tepees, and from twenty-five hundred to three thousand lodges. A lodge represents a fighting man—that is, all males from twenty to fifty years of age—but when the Sioux are in active war all the males who are able to bear arms are pressed into the fight. Consequently, at the battle of the Little Big Horn, the Indian strength could not have been less than forty-five hundred, possibly five thousand fighting men. And it was this overwhelming force that was splendidly equipped—even better than our Cavalry was—that General Custer attacked with his little band of less than seven hundred men.

Everywhere throughout the village were signs of the Indians' hasty departure; piles of tepee-poles tied together, ready for trailing; buffalo robes, cooking utensils, cavalry saddles, elk skins, spades, axes, pistols, dishes fashioned from horn and wood and implements of all kinds lay scattered about, and a number of Indian dogs that had been left behind, fled like wolves at our approach.

Two tepees, made of fine white skins, had been left standing in the village and within them lay the bodies of nine great chiefs who had fallen in the fight. These dead warriors were laid out in state, in full war paint and costume, their robes, head dresses, leggins and moccasins being richly embroidered in the beautiful Indian bead-work. During the funeral services of these braves, their war-horses had been killed and placed in circles around the tents, so that, on their ponies' spirits, the spirits of the dead warriors might ride into the "Happy Hunting-grounds."

After burying our dead, my next move was to go over Custer's trail and study it. Our great mistake from the first was that we underestimated the strength of the Indians, and it was this alone which led to such disastrous results. I am convinced that, had Custer known the great force of the Sioux he would never have divided his command. Just before he ordered me to charge the Indians, a scout came in and announced that the village was near and the Indians were *running away.*

This seemed true for we could see a great cloud of dust ahead of us with mounted Sioux moving about as if greatly excited. This information must have had weight with Custer and caused him to change his plan of attack; for instead of following me, as I was informed he would, his trail proved that he intended to support me by moving farther down the stream and attacking the village in flank, that thus our two commands might work toward each other.

But he found the distance to the ford greater than he imagined and it must have taken him fully three-quarters of an hour to reach it, although his trail proves that he rode rapidly. This gave the Sioux an opportunity to see and understand his maneuver and an hour to prepare for his attack, at the lower end of the village. I am convinced that until General Custer actually made his charge upon the village and rode into an ambuscade of fully two thousand Indians, he was not aware of their great strength.

The point from which he made his charge was cut into deep ravines swarming with hidden foe, who poured upon him a sudden, staggering fire. Could he have gained any position, where defense was possible, he might have saved himself, but that was

impossible, for he was entirely surrounded; he could not retreat and even from the very first, I assume he must have known what the result would be.

Recognizing this, I can well believe how he and his gallant men determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible and fall as only brave men can, fighting to the last.

His battlefield told its own tragic tale, revealing unerringly each detail of the awful conflict, showing where the first shot was fired, where the column divided in its retreat, where the combat waged most fiercely and where the last stand was made.

In this encounter with the hostile Sioux the Seventh Cavalry lost over seven hundred of its men and officers, many of whom were of the elite of the army. The number of Indians killed can only be approximated. I saw only eighteen dead Sioux, but Captain Ball, Second Cavalry, who made a scout of thirteen miles over their trail, says that their graves were many, along their line of march on retreat.

It was simply impossible that numbers of them should not be hit in the several charges they made so close to my lines. They made their approach through the deep gulches that led from the hill-top to the river, and were often within a few feet of my lines; but when the jealous care with which the Indians guard their dead and wounded is considered, it is not astonishing that their bodies were not found. It is probable that the number of stores left by the Sioux in their deserted village on the Little Big Horn, was to make room for their dead and wounded on their *travois*.

After much reflection I have concluded that several great blunders were the direct causes of the Custer Massacre. It is an established fact that Custer disobeyed the orders of the general in command of the expedition; for instead of waiting to meet General Gibbon and General Terry on June 26, at the Rosebud and then co-operate with them, in their concerted plan of action, as he had been directed, as soon as he struck the trail of the Indians, he followed it till he came upon the Indian village, on June 25.

Then without attempting to communicate with either Terry or Gibbon and without taking the trouble to ascertain the

strength or position of the Indians, he divided his regiment into three seperate battalions—an act which nothing can justify—and dashed against the Indians, thus recklessly driving his own and my commands into an ambuscade of five thousand Sioux.

Nor did Custer take into consideration the unfed and exhausted condition of his men and horses, and he entirely ignored the fact that the Indians were on the *qui vive* and ready for attack, at noon, whereas it would have been an easy matter to surprise them very early in the morning.

The only explanation for such conduct on the part of so brilliant an officer as Custer undoubtedly was, otherwise, was his great personal ambition.

He had thought himself partially disgraced because he had been superseded in command of the expedition, by General Terry, and it was well known that he was resolved, if possible, to carry off all the honors of the campaign. For, being in command of the only cavalry regiment attached to the expedition, he knew the brunt of the fighting would necessarily fall on him, and he made no secret of his intention to cut loose from Terry, where there was fighting to do and to carry on the campaign on his own hook.

Absolutely insensible to fear, he was also reckless and daring in the extreme, and driven by an intense desire to distinguish himself by some brilliant exploit he made his headlong dash to a horrible death, without the most casual regard for the maxims of military prudence.

Even now, after the lapse of nearly ten years, the horror of Custer's battlefield is still vividly before me, and the harrowing sight of those mutilated and decomposing bodies crowning the heights on which poor Custer fell will linger in my memory till death.

Stephen Sayre

High Sheriff of London

BY WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, A. M.

STEPHEN SAYRE, prominent in London at the time of the American Revolution, and High Sheriff of the city, was born in Southampton, Long Island, N. Y., June 12, 1736, and was the fourth in the line of descent from Thomas Sayre, who was one of the original settlers of Southamton, in 1640, being the first English settlement in the Province of New York. His parents, were John and Hannah Sayre, the former of whom was born in 1692, and died March 12, 1767. The latter died June 5, 1782, aged 89. They were the parents of ten children: Prudence, Abigail, John, Luce, Eunice, Hannah, wife of Stephen Rogers, Sarah, Matthew, Ann and Stephen, the subject of this article.

The present representatives of the family are known as "the Sayres of Flying Point."

Stephen Sayre was a graduate from the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. He went to London before the Revolutionary War and was successful in founding a banking house in that city. He was made High Sheriff of London, and about the time of the opening of hostilities the ridiculous charge was made against him by Lord Rochford that he had engaged in a conspiracy to seize the person of the king as he went to the Parliament House, and to take possession of the Tower. He was imprisoned in the Tower for a few days, and being examined on a writ of *habeas corpus,* was dismissed as entirely innocent. He then instituted proceedings against Lord Rochford and the court awarded him one thousand pounds damages. He was on terms

of intimacy with the best society in London and highly respected. He returned to America after the war and settled at Bordentown, New Jersey. His estate was afterward the property of Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Spain. Mr. Sayre married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. William Noel, Esq., and had one son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, who went to Virginia and married a daughter of Philip Lightfoot Grymes of Brandon, Middlesex county, Va. By this marriage he had one daughter, Mary, who married Carter Braxton, and had many children, all daughters. He afterwards married Virginia Bassett, and had ten children, of whom only four arrived to manhood, and two were living in 1879, viz.: Burnwell Bassett Sayre, of Frankfort, Kentucky, and William Sayre of Charleston, South Carolina. The former had two children, Virginia and Elizabeth. The latter had one child.

Stephen Sayre and his wife occupied their estate "Point Breeze," at Bordentown, until 1816. They then removed to the residence of their son, at Brandon, Kentucky. Both died within a few hours of each other, and were buried together on the estate, one funeral service being said for both. Their son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, died at the same place in December, 1824.

Hannah Sayre, sister of Stephen Sayre, married Captain Stephen Rogers of Southampton, Long Island, N. Y. They had among other children, a daughter, Mehitable, who married Captain Oliver Howell, whose son, Captain Charles Howell, was during his long life, a very prominent citizen of Southampton.

The portrait of Stephen Sayre is taken from a miniature formerly in possession of the family of Captain Oliver Howell.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXV

The March of the Mormon Battalion

IT is not intended here to give a history of the march of the Mormon Battalion, except in very general outline. The history of that march has been very worthily written by one of its members, Sergeant Daniel Tyler, of Company C, who in addition to being a member of the Battalion, also had full access to every source of information to be found in the journals of his comrades and the compilation of data on the subject made by the Historians of the Church.[1]

At Fort Leavenworth the Battalion received its equipment of 100 tents, one for every 6 privates; also their arms and camp accoutrements. When drawing the checks for clothing, paid one year in advance, the paymaster expressed great surprise to find that every man was able to sign his own name to the pay roll, whereas of the Missouri Volunteers, who drew their pay but a

1. The full title of the book is "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-7, by Sargent Daniel Tyler." Bancroft referring to it in his "History of Utah," says: "We have a most valuable book, and one that forms the leading authority of the subject. . . . And no doubt speaks the truth when he says in the preface that neither labor, pains, nor expense has been spared in the effort to make this a just and authentic history." (p. 245 note). Referring again to this book in his History of California, Bancroft quotes Tyler as saying: "The author has not aimed at sensational effect, nor made any attempt at literary embellishment, but rather endeavored to offer a plain statement of facts, and give due credit to all concerned." To which the historian of the Pacific States adds—"and the result shows that no better man could have undertaken the task. Naturally his narrative is marked by that display of faith which is characteristic of all religious writers; but this while it adds a charm, detracts in no respect from the value of the record" (Hist. Cal., Vol. v, p. 477 note). The book by Sargent Tyler as a history of the march of the Battalion is worthy of all that is here said of it; though in relating the Battalion to larger movements connected therewith, it in some respects falls below its general excellence.

short time previously, not more than one in three could sign his name to the roll.

At Fort Leavenworth Col. Allen was taken ill, and on the 12th of August ordered the Battalion to start on its western march, while he would remain a few days, recuperate and overtake them. He died on the 23rd, much lamented by the Battalion, which had become warmly attached to him.[2]

On his death the question of succession in command was considered. It appears that this subject was mooted at the time the companies of the Battalion were enlisted; and "Col. Allen repeatedly stated to us," says Brigham Young, "that there would be no officer in the Battalion, except himself, only from among our people; that if he fell in battle, or was sick, or disabled by any means, the command would devolve on the ranking officer, which would be the Captain of Company 'A' and 'B,' and so on according to letter."[3] The Battalion appears to have had the same understanding, for at a council meeting of the officers it was agreed by them that Captain Jefferson Hunt, of Company "A," should assume command, which decision was afterwards sustained by the unanimous vote of the men. Meantime, however, Major Horton, in command at Fort Leavenworth, sent Lieutenant A. J. Smith of the regular army to take command of the Battalion. This led to a threatened complication; for an appeal to such written military authorities as were available to the officers of the Battalion, left them hopelessly divided in their conclusions. On the arrival of Lieutenant Smith a council of officers was held in which the Battalion officers demanded to know what reasons existed for their acceptance of him as commander rather than Captain Hunt. To which it was answered that the government property in possession of the Battalion was not yet receipted for, but that Lieutenant Smith could receipt for it, and being a commissioned officer of the regular army, he would be known at Washington, and his actions and orders

2. "Thus died Lieutenant Colonel Allen, of the first U. S. dragoons in the midst of a career of usefulness. under the favoring smiles of fortune, beloved while living, regretted after death by all who knew him, both among the volunteers and troops." Doniphan's Expedition—Hughes—p. 259. For Allen's Testimony as to his treatment among the Mormon camps, etc., see note 1 end of chapters.

3. President Young's letters to General Kearney, *Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, pp.* 216-7; also Ibid, p. 387.

recognized; whereas the officers of the Battalion had not yet received their commissions, and it would be doubtful if their selection of a commander would be approved. Moreover the Battalion would be in part dependent upon the supplies carried by the command of Col. Stirling Price.[4] who was a few days' march ahead of them with the mounted volunteers of Missouri. Enemy as he was known to be of the "Mormons," might not the provisions fall into other hands? Captain Hunt called the attention of Lieut. Smith to the fact that they had about twelve or fifteen families along and that certain promises had been made by Col. Allen with reference to them, that they should be protected, and have the privilege of traveling with the Battalion to California. The Lieutenant replied that all the promises which Col. Allen had made would be faithfully carried out, and that he would do all in his power for their comfort.

After this discussion Captain Hunt submitted the matter to the officers, and all but three voted in favor of accepting Lieutenant Smith as the commander of the Battalion.[5]

With Lieutenant Smith had come Dr. George B. Sanderson, whom Col. Allen, at Leavenworth, had appointed a surgeon in the U. S. army, to serve with the Mormon Battalion.[6] According to the historian of the Battalion, the volunteers suffered much because of the "arrogance, inefficiency and petty oppressions" of these two officers, much of which, however, is to be accounted for by the volunteers being suddenly brought under the enforced discipline of the U. S. army regulations. The heat of the season was excessive, the men were much exhausted by the strenuous labors and exposure during the journey through Iowa, earlier in the season, and as a result many of them fell a prey to the malaria prevalent in the country and at this season of the year. For this Dr. Sanderson prescribed calomel and arsenic, and as the men were averse to taking medicines, pleading even religious

4. This was Col. afterwards General Stirling Price, of Chariton county, Mo., who was connected with the mob movements against the Saints in Missouri, 1838-9. He it was who had charge of the Prophet Joseph Smith and fellow prisoners at Richmond, Mo., and under whose custody they suffered so much abuse. Documentary Hist. Ch., Vol. III., p. 208 and note; and introduction to the same, p. 2.

5. Hist. of B. Y. *Ms.*, pp. 211-12. The movements of the Battalion are followed throughout in this compilation by the Church Historians. See also Tyler's Battalion, pp. 143-4.

6. Tyler's Battalion, p. 135.

scruples against the drugs,[7] the matter gave rise to much unpleasantness between the Battalion physician and the command, involving therein Lieutenant Smith, who in the interest of what he no doubt regarded as discipline sided with the physician.

The Battalion's line of march, after crossing the Kaw or Kansas river, followed that of the first Missouri Dragoons, led by Col. Doniphan, *via* of Council Grove, thence some distance up the Arkansas River to a little beyond Fort Mann, where they crossed it in order to take what was known as the "Cimmeron Route"—because it crossed Cimmeron river and followed some distance up the south branch of that stream, called Cimmeron Creek. The last crossing of the Arkansas they reached on the 16th of September, and here the commanding officer insisted that the families which had so far accompanied the Battalion should be detached and sent under a guard of ten men up the Arkansas to Pueblo, which nestles at the east base of the Rocky mountain range. There were stout protests against this "division of the Battalion;" as it was held to be a violation of the "promise" that the Battalion would not be divided, also that these families should be permitted to travel with the Battalion to California. Unquestionably, however, the arrangement was in the best interests both of the families and of the Battalion, and accordingly the detachment was made up as proposed, and marched to Pueblo under command of Captain Nelson Higgins.

The main body of the command continued its march south westward to San Miguel, thence turning the point of a mountain range, marched north westward to Santa Fe, where they arrived in two detachments on the 9th and 12th of October, respectively. Upon the arrival of the first detachment the Battalion was re-

7. The Church of Christ in the New Dispensation and revived the neglected and even forgotten doctrine of healing by faith—"Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick and God shall raise him up." (St. James, V. 14, 15). And to this it was added, in the modern revelation reinstating the above law—"and whosoever among you are sick and have not faith to be healed, but believe, shall be nourished with all tenderness with herbs and mild food" (Doc. & Cov., sec. 42). President Young also in a letter to the Battalion, under date of August 19, 1846, had given a word of counsel in harmony with the foregoing principles: "If you are sick, live by faith, and let surgeon's medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild food as are at your disposal." (Tyler's Battalion, p. 146). Dr. Sanderson had no sympathy with all this, of course, hence the conflict between the men and physician.

ceived by a salute of one hundred guns by order of Col. Doniphan,[8] then in command both as civil and military head of the department of New Mexico; but making ready for what was to be his great and historic march upon Chihuahua. Col. Doniphan will be remembered as the steadfast friend of Joseph Smith and the Mormon people during their troubles in Missouri.[9]

On the arrival of the Battalion at Santa Fe it was learned that General Kearney, previous to his departure for California, had designated Col. P. St. George Cooke[10] to take command of the Battalion and to follow on his trail with wagons to California. The appointment of Cooke to the command of the Battalion was another disappointment to the Mormon Volunteers, who hoped that they would have marched from Santa Fe under command of one of their own number, which would have been the result of the promise by Col. Allen. It is questionable, however, if Allen had any right to make such a promise. President Young had written a very courteous letter to General Kearney, at Santa Fe, acquainting him with the promises made by Col. Allen at the time of the enlistment of the Mormon Volunteers;[11] but Kearney had left Santa Fe before it arrived; and hence Cooke was appointed to the command; and in all likelihood Kearney would not have held himself bound by Allen's promises, even had he been informed of them. It appears also that the officers of the Battalion wrote President Polk in relation to the appointment of a successor to Col. Allen. "The President informed them that was not his privilege," says Brigham Young, "that the command de-

8. Col. Doniphan had come to Santa Fe with Kearney, commanding the first Missouri regiment; and after the departure of the General for California, he was left in command at Santa Fe until the arrival of Col. Sterling Price, when he was under orders to march to Chihuahua and report to General Wool; while Price was to take command at Santa Fe, (Doniphan's expedition, Connelley, 1907, pp. 250-1-3). The historian of the Mormon Battalion notes that the command of Col. Price, numbering about 1,200 men, received no such marked honor on their arrival in Santa Fe as was accorded to the Battalion. (Tyler's Battalion, p. 164).

9. See this History *ante* Chs. XXVIII-XXX.

10. The Colonel was born in Virginia in 1809. Graduated from West Point in 1827; was in the Black Hawk war in Illinois—1832, and at the Battle of Bad Ax, fought in July of that year. In 1833 he was made a Lieutenant; saw service on the plains principally in what is now Kansas, before the Mexican war; in this war he took a prominent part in the affairs at Santa Fe and marched the Mormon Battalion to California. "During the fifties, in the border troubles in Kansas he saw much service; in the Civil War he was for the Union. He was retired in 1873, having served in the army continuously for forty-six years. He died March 20, 1895." "Doniphan's Expedition," p. 264.

11. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 384.

volved on the rank [i. e. on the ranking officer in the Battalion]; but inasmuch as they had made the request he dispatched Captain Thompson from the Jefferson barracks to take command if the Battalion wished it." (Letter of Brigham Young and Willard Richards in behalf of the Council to Elders Hyde Pratt and Taylor in England, Jan. 6th, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 99). Captain Thompson was met *en route* to Santa Fe by the agents of the Camp of Israel returning from that place to Council Bluffs with the checks paid to the Battalion. Captain Thompson informed them of his appointment and they encouraged him to go on as they were favorably impressed with the Captain, and were of opinion that the Battalion would be benefited by the change, "and the choice would be with the Battalion and not with the officers alone." (*Ibid*, also Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 424). Evidently Capt. Thompson did not reach Santa Fe until after the departure of the Battalion, and nothing came of his appointment.

At a council of officers of the Battalion with Colonels Doniphan and Cooke, these two officers "proffered to send all the sick, together with the remaining women and children belonging to the Battalion, to Pueblo to winter, with an escort, and with the privilege in the spring of intersecting the main body of the Church, *and going westward with them at government expense*, which was considered a fair and liberal proposal, as neither the sick, nor the women and children could stand the fatigue and exposures of the prospective journey."[12]

Accordingly eighty-six men were invalided,[13] and under two officers (Captain Brown and Lieutenant Luddington), were detached from the main body of the command, and together with all the laundresses and all the wives of members of the Battalion

12. Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, p. 387; Tyler fails to relate this consultation of officers, and these provisions so much to the advantage of the Battalion.

13. During the inspection to designate the invalids to be marched to Pueblo (October 15th), Dr. Sanderson after naming about thirty "discharged them without pay or means to procure conveyance to the states" (Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk 2, p. 389); whereupon the matter being reported to Col. Doniphan, that officer "went to Col. Cooke and countermanded the order, saying General Kearney would never discharge a man under such circumstances, and ordered the men to be sent to Pueblo with the laundresses and others ordered there, and to draw pay for the time of their enlistment. He said if the President of the U. S. wished to discharge them he might when he learned their situation (Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, pp. 391-2).

(except the wives of five of the officers, who were reluctantly allowed to accompany the march—but with the understanding that they would furnish their own transportation) were conducted to Pueblo, a distance of nearly two hundred miles where they arrived on the 17th of November and went into winter quarters near the encampment of Captain Higgins, who had preceded them to that point.

Speaking of the Battalion in general, and particularly of its unfitness to undertake a march from Santa Fe to California, Col. Cooke says:

"Everything conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this Battalion eleven hundred miles, for the much greater part through an unknown wilderness, without road or trail, and with a wagon train.

"It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old and feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by traveling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant; there was no money to pay them, or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down; the quartermaster department was without funds, and its credit bad; and animals were scarce. Those procured were very inferior, and were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage or grazing."[14] * * *

"By special arrangement and consent, the Battalion was paid in checks—not very available at Santa Fe.

"With every effort, the quartermaster could only undertake to furnish rations for sixty days; and, in fact, full rations, of only flour, sugar, coffee and salt; salt pork only for thirty days, and soap for twenty. To venture without pack-saddles would be grossly imprudent, and so that burden was added."[15]

The Battalion began its march from Santa Fe on the 19th of

14. Later, Col. Cooke again complains of his teams, in the following passage: "I have brought road tools and have determined to take through my wagons; but the experiment is not a fair one, as the mules are broken down at the outset. The only good ones, about twenty, which I bought near Albuquerque, were taken for the express for Fremont's mail—the General's order requiring the twenty-one best in Santa Fe." (Cooke's Conquest, p. 93). To this Sargent Tyler adds: "It is but justice to the Col. to state here that with few exceptions, the mule and ox teams used from Santa Fe to California were the same worn out and broken down animals that we had driven all the way from Council Bluffs and Fort Leavenworth; indeed, some of them had been driven all the way from Nauvoo, the same season." (Tyler's Battalion, p. 175).

15. Conquest of New Mexico and California. An Historical and Personal Narrative by P. St. George Cooke, G. P. Putnam and Sons, N. Y. 1878: pp. 91-2.

October, Col. Cooke in command. Lieutenant A. J. Smith,[16] who had led the Battalion to Santa Fe, became the acting commissary of subsistence, and Lieutenant George Stoneman, acting quartermaster, instead of Lieutenant Samuel E. Gully, who had resigned.[17] Both Smith and Stoneman were of the regular army. Dr. Sanderson was continued as Physician-surgeon to the command. The guides to the expedition were Weaver, Charbonneau, and Leroux, and Stephen C. Foster, called "Dr." in all the narratives, was employed as interpreter.

The course of march for some time was southward down the valley of the Rio Grande. On the 10th of November, fifty-five more men were declared physically unable through sickness to continue the march, and accordingly were detached, and under Lieutenant W. W. Willis were ordered back to Pueblo to join the other detachments that had been sent there. After much suffering from the hardships of the journey—weak teams, scant supplies of food, illy clad, general sickness among the men, the fall of December snows in the mountain ranges north of Santa Fe, excessive cold, and several deaths occurring, this detachment finally arrived at Pueblo between the 20th and 24th of December, in a most pitiable condition; but they were warmly received by members of the Battalion already quartered there,[18] numbering, now, all told, about one hundred and fifty.

As the command in its southward movement down the Rio Grande reached the point where General Kearney left the valley for a direct march westward—228 miles south of Santa Fe—and where, too, Kearney had abandoned his wagons; the guides declared it impossible to follow the Gila route proper with the wagons; and hence a circuit to the south through Sonora *via* of Janos and Fronteras was proposed and determined upon at a council of officers.

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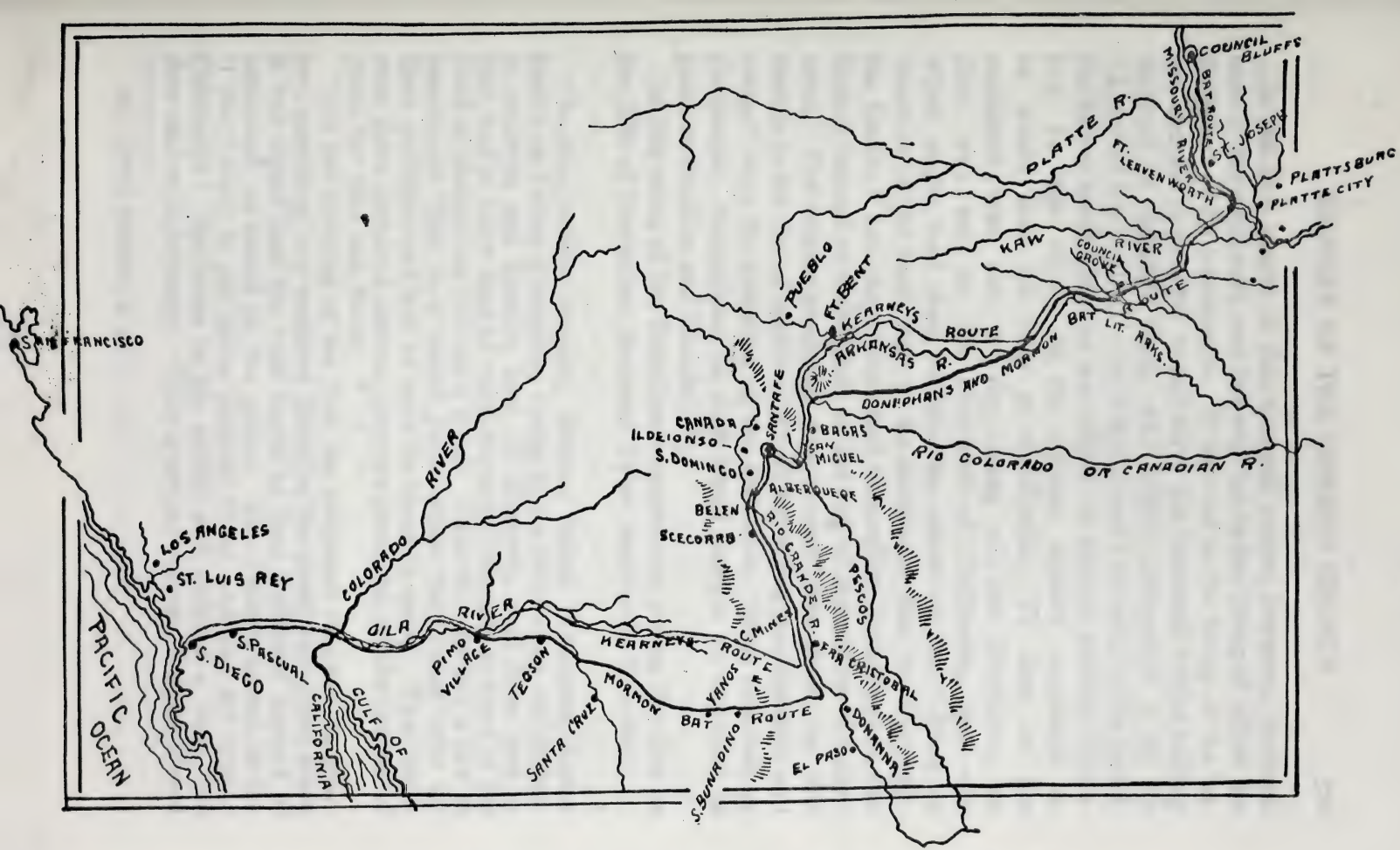
16. Cooke states that A. J. Smith afterwards "became a very distinguished Major General," Conquest of New Mexico and California, p. 90, and note.

17. Gully had taken sides with the men in their controversies with the commanding officer, Dr. Sanderson, and Adjutant, Geo. P. Dykes; and as he had incurred the displeasure of the non-Mormon officers, it was thought best that he resign. He returned to Council Bluffs this same fall, and started for Salt Lake Valley the next year, but died en route. (Tyler's Battalion, p. 175).

18. See Tyler's Battalion Ch. XX. Lieutenant Willis gives the date of arrival 24th of December, Captains Brown and Higgins stationed at Pueblo, give the 20th. The latter kept a daily journal.



Route of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs, Iowa, to San Diego, California—1846

In the first stages of this changed course, however, the road bore to the southeast, and this was not to the liking of either the Battalion or its commander. It was not to the liking of the latter, because it possibly would carry his command within hailing distance of General Wool, who might incorporate it in the "Army of the Centre,"—as that General's division of the invading forces against Mexico was called—to operate against Chiluahua. In that event, as the Colonel himself expressed it, he would lose his trip to California. To bear to the southeast was not to the liking of the Battalion, as that was not in the direction of California, but one which might lead them within the sphere of the "Army of direction of the road, then to the southwest, then west, saying: the Centre," and they would find themselves discharged in Old Mexico instead of California, at the end of their term of enlistment. The entire command was thrown into gloom by this change in the line of march: "All of our hopes, conversation and songs," says the historian of the Battalion, "were centered on California. Somewhere on that broad domain we expected to join our families and friends."[19]

In this crisis of the Battalion's experience, giving the date as the 20th of November, Sergeant Tyler records the following:

"In this critical moment, Brother David Pettegrew, better known as Father Pettegrew, owing to his silver locks and fatherly counsels, and Brother Levi W. Hancock, went from tent to tent, and in a low tone of voice counseled the men to pray to the Lord to change the Colonel's mind. Then they invited a few to accompany them to a secret place where they could offer up their petitions and not be seen by those in camp. That night over three hundred fervent prayers ascended to the throne of grace for that one favor. * * *

"On the morning of the 21st, the command resumed its journey, marching in a southern direction for about two miles, when it was found that the road began to bear southeast instead of southwest, as stated by the guides. The Colonel looked in the 'I don't want to get under General Wool, and lose my trip to California.' He arose in his saddle and ordered a halt. He then said with firmness: 'This is not my course. I was ordered

19. Tyler's Battalion, p. 206.

to California, and,' he added with an oath, 'I will go there or die in the attempt!' Then turning to the bugler, he said, 'Blow the right.'

"At this juncture Father Pettegrew involuntarily exclaimed, '*God bless the Colonel!*' The Colonel's head turned and his keen, penetrating eyes glanced around to discern whence the voice came, and then his grave, stern face, for once, softened and showed signs of satisfaction."[20]

Turning westward at this point, 32° 41′ north latitude, and but a short distance north of the present city of El Paso, the course of march was westward to San Bunadino rancho, thence to Yanos and so to the San Pedro river where the command arrived on the 9th of December. Here occurred the only fighting the Battalion engaged in on its expedition, a battle with wild bulls. This section of the country seemed to abound with herds of wild cattle, and the males among them were much more bold and ferocious than among the buffalos. Attracted by curiosity these herds gathered along the line of march, alternately scampering away and approaching; and some of the bolder ones, as if in resentment of the Battalion's invasion, attacked the column. Several mules were gored to death by them, both in the teams and among the pack animals; and Colonel Cooke records how some of the wagons were thrown about by the mad charge of these furious beasts. The troops had been ordered to march with guns unloaded, but in the presence of such a danger the men loaded their muskets without waiting for an order to that effect, and when attacked would fire upon the charging beasts, so that the rattle of musketry was for once heard all along the line. The bulls were very tenacious of life, however, and more desperate and dangerous when wounded than before.[21] The

20. Tyler's Battalion, pp. 206-7.

21. Tyler speaks of one fight between Dr. William Spencer and a bull which was shot five times, twice through the lungs, twice through the heart, and once through the head, and yet would alternately rise and fall and rush upon the Doctor until a sixth ball between the eyes, and near the curl of the pate, proved fatal. (Tyler's Battalion, pp. 219, 220). Colonel Cooke confirms Tyler's narrative and adds: "I have seen the heart" (Cooke's Conquest, pp. 145-6). Cooke also relates the feat of Corporal Frost in bringing down one of these ferocious animals: "I was very near Corporal Frost, when an immense coal-black bull came charging upon us, a hundred yards distant. Frost aimed his musket, a flint-lock, very deliberately, and only fired when the beast was within six paces; it fell headlong, almost at our feet." (Cooke's Conquest, pp. 145-6). Tyler adds: "The Corporal was on

number of the wild bovine enemy killed in the engagement is variously reported as from twenty to sixty, and by one writer as high as eighty-one.

Leaving the San Pedro the command marched northeasterly to Tucson, a Mexican town of between four and five hundred inhabitants. It was garrisoned at the time by a Mexican force two hundred strong, according to Cooke, commanded by Captain Comadurau, who was under order from the Governor of Sanora, Don Mannuel Gandara, not to allow an armed force to pass through the town without resistance. The guides furnished the Battalion by General Kearney, however, declared it was for the command either to march through Tucson, or make a detour which would mean a hundred miles out of the way over a trackless wilderness and mountains. Cooke determined to march through Tucson. Foster, the interpreter, went into the town in advance and was put under guard; a Corporal, son of the Mexican commander, with three Mexican soldiers was met by the command and questioned about Foster, and on admitting that he was under guard, the Corporal and his escort were immediately placed under arrest by Cooke, to be held as hostages for the safety of the interpreter. One Mexican, however, was released, who with two of the Battalion guides carried a note demanding Foster's release. This was complied with, and about midnight Foster was brought to camp, attended by two officers authorized "to make a special armistice." Cooke proposed that the Mexican command deliver up a few arms as a guarantee of surrender, and a token that the inhabitants of Tucson would not fight against the United States unless they were exchanged as prisoners of war; the Mexican prisoners were also released.[22] These events occurred while the Battalion was about sixteen miles from Tucson.

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foot, while, of course, the Colonel and staff were mounted. On the first appearance of the bull, the Colonel, with his usual firm manner of speech, ordered the Corporal to load his gun, supposing, of course, that he had observed the previous order of prohibition. To this command he (the Corporal) paid no attention. Thinking him either stupefied or, dumbfounded, with much warmth and a foul epithet he next ordered him to run, but this mandate was as little heeded as the other. Doubtless Cooke thought one man's 'ignorance with some stubbornness' was about to receive a terrible retribution, but when he saw the monster lifeless at his feet, through the well-directed aim of the brave and fearless Corporal, how changd must have been his feelings!" (Tyler's Battalion, p. 219).

22. Cooke's Conquest, p. 149.

The next day, when on the march, Cooke received a message from Captain Comaduru declining the proposition to surrender. The Battalion were ordered to load their guns with ball. Before reaching the town, however, another message was received saying that the garrison had retreated taking two brass cannons and forcing most of the inhabitants to accompany them. About a dozen armed Mexicans met the American force to escort them into the town. Before passing through the gates, the commander of the Battalion addressed the soldiers saying, in effect, that the garrison and citizens had fled leaving their property behind; but they had not come to make war upon Sonora, and there must be no interference with the private property of the citizens.[23] The Battalion marched through Tucson and went into camp about half a mile beyond on a small stream.

Before leaving the vicinity Cooke with a party of fifty reconnoitered the country above the town towards a village and church, where, it was supposed, the garrison and main body of the people had taken refuge. As the nature of the country, however, afforded excellent opportunities for ambush, if the Mexicans should choose to make resistance, the company of fifty returned. However the movement was not without its value since, according to Col. Cooke, and as was afterwards ascertained, it caused the Mexicans who had fled to the aforesaid village to still further retreat, and the reinforcements which had come from the presidios of Fronteras, Santa Cruz and Tubac, to return to their posts.[24]

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23. Previous to this the Colonel had issued the following order:

"Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
"Camp on the San Pedro,
"December 13th, 1846.

"Thus far on our course we have followed the guides furnished us by the General (Kearney). These guides now point to Tucson, a garrison town, as our road, and assert that any other course is a hundred miles out of the way and over a trackless wilderness of mountains, rivers and hills. We will march, then, to Tucson. We came not to make war on Sonora, and less still to destroy an important outpost of defense against Indians; but we will take the straight road before us, and overcome all resistance. But shall I remind you that the American soldier ever shows justice and kindness to the unarmed and unresisting? The property of individuals you will hold sacred. The people of Sonora are not our enemies.

"By order of

"Lieut. Col. Cooke,
"(Signed) P. C. Merrill,
"Adjutant."

24. See Cooke's Conquest, p. 151; also Tyler's Battalion, pp. 228, 230.

Renewing its journey the command in the course of three days, by hard marching, reached the Gila river and intersected the route followed by General Kearney, 474 miles from the point at which they left it in the valley of the Rio Grande.[25]

The Battalion was now among the Pima and Maricopia Indian villages, and found them a rather superior people inhabiting a fertile country. While passing through their settlements Col. Cooke took occasion to suggest to Captain Jefferson Hunt that this might be a good place for the settlement of the exiled Mormons, to which Hunt assented and asked permission to talk to the chief on the subject, and the Colonel approved of his doing so.[26] Tyler says that "a proposition for the settlement of the Saints among them was favorably received by the Indians.[27] This fertile region was not destined to receive the exiled Saints however, but strangely enough, both in the valley of the San Pedro and of the Gila, and upon the lands formerly occupied by the Pima and Maricopia Indians, through which the Battalion Marched, many and populous prosperous settlements have been founded by the Church of the Latter-day Saints, grouped now into two flourishing stakes of Zion—the outcome, doubtless, of this march of the Battalion through that region, and the knowledge they obtained of the desirability of that country for habitation.[28]

Following more or less the windings of the Gila, the way made

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25. The Southern Pacific Railroad traverses practically the route of the Battalion. Colonel Cooke made a map of this part of the Battalion's journey, and referring to it, in connection with the Southern Pacific Railroad, he says: "A new administration, in which Southern interests prevailed, with the great problem of the practicability and best location of a Pacific Railroad under investigation, had the map of this wagon route before them with its continuance to the west, and perceived that it gave exactly the solution of its unknown element, that a southern route would avoid both the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, with their snows, and would meet no obstacle in this great interval. The new 'Gadsden Treaty' was the result; it was signed, December 30, 1853." (Conquest of New Mexico and California—Cooke—p. 159).

26. Cooke's Conquest, p. 161.

27. Tyler's Battalion, p. 236.

28. The stakes of Zion which occupy the San Pedro valley, and the Gila valley, eastward of the mouth of the San Pedro, are comprised of the following organized wards: Bisbee, Bryce, Central, Eden, Franklin, Graham, Hubbard, Layton, Lebanon, Matthews, Pima, San Pedro, St. David, and Thatcher. Branches: Artesia Clifton, and Douglas. Maricopa stake, further down the Gila, in the vicinity of Phoenix, is comprised of the following wards: Lehi, Mesa, Pine and Papago. The two stakes now (1912), have a population of between six and seven thousand Latter-day Saints.

difficult from alternating stretches of deep sand and miry clay, the command arrived at the mouth of that river on the 8th of January, and on the 9th crossed the Colorado, into which it empties, and continued the march under great difficulties—teams weak and worn out, men on very scant rations and constantly being reduced, and all but naked withal, suffering alternately from heat and cold, "from a tropical sun in the day time to a December cold atmosphere at night—* * * very hurtful and weakening both to man and beast."[29] At last, however, the coast range of mountains was crossed and the Battalion descended the Pacific slope to the town of San Diego, and went into encampment on the 29th of January, 1847. "Our camp," says Sergeant Tyler, "was located a mile below the Catholic mission and some four or five miles from the seaport town of San Diego, where General Kearney was quartered. The Colonel rode down in the evening and reported to the General.[30]

On the 30th of January the following Bulletin was written by the Lieutenant-Colonel Commander, though not read to the Battalion until the 4th of February. It tells in studied military brevity the achievements and faithfulness of the Battalion; its service to the country and is an imperishable monument in the literature of the nation and of the Church, which this Battalion represented in the splendid march from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean—a march of infantry of more than two thousand miles. Read the epitome of the History of the march of the Battalion in the Bulletin of its commander:

"Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
Mission of San Diego,
January 30, 1847.

(Orders No. 1).

"The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding, congratulates the Battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles.

"History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost

29. Tyler's Battalion, p. 244.
30. Tyler's Battalion, p. 254.

hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them we have ventured into trackless table-lands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a pass through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss. The garrison of four presidios of Sonora concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause. We drove them out, with their artillery, but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

"Arrived at the first settlements of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we supposed, the approach of an enemy; and this too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

"Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the First Dragoons, have shared and given invaluable aid in all these labors.

"Thus volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon, you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

"By order

"Lieut. Colonel P. St. George Cooke.

"P. C. Merrill, Adjutant."[31]

Small wonder, though the reading of this Bulletin to the Battalion was unaccountably delayed, that the Mormon volunteers received this official announcement of their achievements with cheers.[32]

NOTE 1: COL. ALLEN ON HIS TREATMENT WHILE IN THE CAMPS OF ISRAEL—CHARACTER OF MORMON PEOPLE:

31. Cooke's Conquest, p. 197. Subsequently, viz, on the 9th of May, on the occasion of General Kearney visiting the Battalion at Los Angeles, he is reported to have said that history would be searched in vain for an infantry march equal to the Battalion's, and added: "Bonaparte crossed the Alps, but these men have crossed a continent." Tyler's Battalion, p. 282.

32. Cooke gives the following introduction to the above Bulletin: "The Battalion seemed to have deserved and cheered heartily the following order." Cooke's Conquest, p. 196.

"Headquarters, Mormon Battalion,
"Council Bluffs, July 20th, 1846.

"Dear Sir—Colonel Kane has informed me of your intended departure for the east, and of your desire that I would express to you my opinion concerning the character of the Mormon people, as derived from my observation among them on my present duties.

"I have been intimately associated with this people since the 26th ult., as my duty required in raising the battalion of volunteers now under my command.

"In the hurry of business connected with my immediate march from this place I have only time to say, that in all of my intercourse with the Mormons I have found them civil, polite and honest as a people. There appears to be much intelligence among them, and particularly with their principal men or leaders, to whom I feel much indebted for their active and zealous exertions to raise the volunteer force that I was authorized to ask for, for the service of the United States.

"The President of the Council, Mr. Brigham Young, is entitled to my particular thanks, all of this people are entirely patriotic and they have come not only with cheerfulness, but under circumstances of great difficulty to them, to enlist themselves in the services of their country.

"In my official report to the War Department, which I shall make on my arrival at Fort Leavenworth, I will speak more fully of the community of the Mormon people or Mormon church, and will here say to you that I think them as a community and in their circumstances deserving of a high consideration from our government.

"Very respectively, your obedient servant,

"J. Allen,

To J. C. Little, Esq.

"Lieutenant. Col. Commanding Mormon Battalion." (Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, pp. 96-7).

CHAPTER LXVI

Winning Golden Opinions—The Part of the Mormons in the Discovery of Gold—Duty Above Mammon—Efforts to Raise a Second Mormon Battalion

The Battalion had arrived too late to participate in the Conquest of California, but was useful in the performance of garrison duty at San Diego, San Luis Rey and Los Angeles; and in

STEPHEN SAYRE
High Sheriff of London

connection, of course, with the New York volunteers, who arrived *via* of Cape Horn in March, and the constantly increasing naval forces along the coast, assisted in making secure the conquests achieved.[1]

While in garrison many members of the Battalion obtained permission to accept employment of the inhabitants of the towns at which they were stationed, such as making adobes, digging wells, building houses, and making bricks. The first bricks in San Diego, and for matter of that in California, were made and burned by members of Mormon Battalion.[2] The Battalion no less than other divisions of the camps of modern Israel kept up the reputation of the Mormon people for industry and frugality. They won golden opinions among the Californians for industry, honesty, and sobriety, notwithstanding the efforts of Missourians among Fremont's command to prejudice the people against them.[4]

As the expiration of the term of the Battalion's enlistment drew near, strong efforts were made for their re-enlistment by General Kearney, before departing for the east in May;[5] by Col.

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1. See note I. End of chapter.
2. See ante, this History, ch. LXII.
3. Tyler's Battalion, p. 286-7.
4. "Many of the latter [Fremont's troops] immigrants from the western states, were hostile and circulated among the Californians damaging reports on Mormon character; but it is probable that this enmity, especially that of Fremont himself, and the rumored threats to attack the camp and wipe the Saints 'out of existence,' were seen through the glasses of prejudice. It is true that the Californians had formed in advance a very unfavorable opinion of the Mormons, but equally true that the latter by their conduct succeeded in almost entirely removing this feeling. In morals and general deportment they were far superior to other troops in the province, being largely under the control of their religious teachers. Church meetings were held often, and sermons were preached by Captain Hunt, the spiritual guardians Pettegrew and Hancock, or by Hyde, Tyler and others." (Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 488). Tyler refers to the vindictiveness of the men of Fremont's command and reports that the Mexicans were told that cannabalism was common among the Mormons. (Hist. Battalion, p. 276).
5. "On the 4th of May, an order was read from Col. Cooke, giving the Battalion the privilege of being discharged on condition of being re-enlisted for three years as U. S. Dragons; but under the circumstances the generous proposition could not consistently be accepted." (Tyler's Battalion, p. 280). General Kearney addressed the Battalion on the 10th of May; "He sympathized with us in the unsettled condition of our people, but thought, as their final destination was not definitely settled, [in this of course his information was defective] we had better re-enlist for another year, by which time the war would doubtless be ended, and our families settled in some permanent location. In conclusion he said he would take pleasure in representing our patriotism to the President, and in the halls of congress, and give us the justice our praiseworthy conduct had merited." (Tyler's Battalion, pp. 282-3).

Jonathan D. Stevenson, of the New York Volunteers, who succeeded Col. Cooke in command of the Battalion, by being given command of the southern district of California, Cooke having accompanied Gen. Kearney on his return to the east. Stevenson's efforts for the Battalion's re-enlistment were prompted by Governor Mason's instructions.[6]

Stevenson represented among the advantages of the Battalion's re-enlistment, the privilege of choosing their own officers, "with the fact that the Mormon Commander would be the third in rank among the officers of California, and might become first."[7] The close of Stevenson's speech was most unfortunate, and gave offense. It is reported as follows: "Your patriotism and obedience to your officers have done much towards removing the prejudice of the government and the community at large, and I am satisfied that another year's service would place you on a level with other communities!"[8] Very properly the remark was resented as an insult.[9]

The Battalion's officers quite generally favored re-enlistment, as the best means of aiding the work of the Lord and their absent families; but not so the men, who, under the leadership of Father Pettegrew, William Hyde, and Sargent Tyler, were in favor of returning to their families and the body of the Church.

The result was that a company of eighty-one, officers and men, re-enlisted for six months, and performed garrison service at San Diego; while the rest of the Battalion, on being mustered out of service, in July, began their march for the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains, going *via,* of Sutter's Fort, at the juncture of the American and Sacramento rivers, northeastward from San Francisco about seventy-five miles, and now the site of Sacramento, capital of the state. About one-half of these returning volunteers arrived in Salt Lake val-

6. Col. Richard B. Mason had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of U. S. forces in California by order of the President. (Bancroft's Hist. Cal. Vol. V., p. 583). That Stevenson acted under Governor Mason's instructon, see Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 490. Also History of the Church-Cannon-*Juvenile Instructor,* Vol. XIX, p. 133.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 491.

9. Tyler's Battalion, p. 294.

ley on the first of October. The reason for not more than one-half of this number reaching Salt Lake valley that fall—they numbered about 240 when leaving Los Angeles—arose from the following circumstances: Arriving at Sutter's Fort, and finding opportunity for employment at good wages there, a number desired to take advantage of that opportunity, and accordingly, with the consent and approval of their associates, "a few" remained. On the sixth of September, when the returning volunteers were leaving the basin of Lake Tahoe, they met Samuel Brannan, leader of the Brooklyn colony, returning to California from his visit to Brigham Young. He gave them a doleful account of the semi-desert region where the Church was settling, and predicted the final removal of the Saints to California. He urged all, except those known to have families in Salt Lake valley, to return to California and work until spring; but without avail. The next day, however, the volunteers met Captain James Brown, ranking officer of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and a small party enroute for California. He brought with him letters from many of the families of the Battalion; also an epistle from the Twelve Apostles advising those who had no means of subsistence to remain in California and labor during the winter, and make their way to Salt Lake valley in the spring, bringing their earnings with them. About one-half of the volunteers accepted this suggestion and returned to Sutter's Fort where they found employment.[10]

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10. I am following Tyler in the matter of the number that returned; his language is—"probably over half of the company returned, in accordance with the instructions from the Twelve, to spend the winter in California" (Tyler's Battalion, p. 316). The number as given by others is forty. But if the number leaving Los Angeles for Salt Lake valley in July was 240, as stated by Bancroft (Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 493), and only "a few" from this number remained at Sutter's Fort, when the main body resumed its journey over the mountains, and one-half of these returned to Sutter's Fort, the number returning must have been more than forty. The distribution of the Battalion roughly stated, and that is all that may be done, is as follows: 150 in various detachments were sent to winter at Pueblo; 81 re-enlisted at Los Angeles, in July, 1847 (Tylers, p. 326-7); 3 from each of the companies were detailed to accompany General Kearney to Fort Leavenworth (Tyler's Bat., p. 283 of Bancroft Hist. of Cal., Vol. V., p. 489): 3 were discharged or resigned, and 7 died. The following note from Bancroft's Hist. Cal. (Vol. V., p. 477), shows that some slight discrepencies exist as to the exact numbers of the Battalion: "An official report, U. S. Govt. Doc., 31st Cong., Ist Sess., H. Ex. Doc., 24, p. 228, gives the number mustered in as 15 officers and 468 men. There is apparently some error here, to say nothing of the fact that about 150 men did not reach California. Tyler gives the names of 506 men, including officers and the men left behind [516 men, and officers, see list of officers and men, Mor-

The rest of the company continued their journey to Salt Lake valley where they arrived at the time already stated.

Captain Brown brought with him the muster rolls of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and also had a power of attorney from all its members to draw their pay. The Pueblo detachment had drawn its pay per Captain Brown up to May at Santa Fe, at which time he received orders to resume the march to California, *via* of Fort Laramie. The detachment arrived in Salt Lake valley on the 27th of July, where they were disbanded, since the term of their enlistment had expired on the 16th of that month.[11] On the presentation of the claims for pay of this detachment to Governor Mason of California, they were allowed. "Paymaster Rich," says the Governor, "paid to Captain Brown the money due to the (Pueblo) detachment up to that date, according to the rank they bore upon the muster rolls upon which the Battalion had been mustered out of the service."[12]

One thing more remains to be mentioned in connection with the Mormon Battalion—the part its discharged members took in the discovery of gold in California. As already stated a number of the Mormon Battalion members found employment at Sutter's Fort, with Mr. John Sutter himself, in fact, who was a rather enterprising Swiss; one "who had houses and land, flocks and herds, mills and machinery." "He counted his skilled artisans by the score," says the account I am following, "and his savage retainers by the hundred, He was, moreover, a man of progress."[13] Among his pressing needs and the needs of the country at large, was a saw mill. The flour mills he then had in course of construction needed timbers, and there would be large profit in shipping lumber to San Francisco. Accordingly his foreman,

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mon Battalion, pp. 118-125]. Kane says there were 520 men. Other authorities speak of the number as about 500." In addition to these there were about fifteen families that expected to leave with the Battalion, and a number of wives and children belonging to members of the command (see Tyler's Battalion, pp. 125-6). Which justified the remark of Col. Cooke, that it was enlisted too much by families for effective soldiering. See *ante* this chapter.

11. Tyler's Battalion, Chs. XVI, XVII.

12. This circumstance is noted in Governor Mason's report of October 7th, 1846, *Cal.* and *New Mexico Messages* and *Documents 1850, p. 355;* quoted by Bancroft, Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 494 and note 25.

13. Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 26.

a Mr. James William Marshall, a native of New Jersey, and then about thirty-three years of age, and a carpenter, took in hand the task of building a saw mill. After considerable exploration the requisite combination of water power, timber, and the possibility of easy access to the Fort, was found in the Coloma valley, on the south fork of the American River, and about forty-five miles due east of the Fort.

In the latter part of August, or the first of September, Mr. Marshall with a party of about a dozen white men, nine of whom were discharged members of the Mormon Battalion,[14] and about as many Indians, went to Coloma valley and began the construction of the proposed mill. A brush dam was built in the river and a mill race constructed along a dry channel, to economize labor. The largest stones were thrown out of this and during the night the water would be turned in to carry off the dirt and sand. On the 24th of January "while sauntering along the tail race inspecting the work, Mr. Marshall noticed yellow particles mingled with the excavated earth, which had been washed by late rains."[15] Sending an Indian to his cabin for a tin plate Marshall washed out some of the soil and obtained a small quantity of yellow metal. During the evening he remarked to his associates of the camp that he believed he had found gold, which was received with some doubts, the expressions being, "I reckon not;" and, "no such luck!" But Henry W. Bigler, one of the Battalion members, made the following entry in his journal that day:

"Monday 24 [*January*]: *This day some kind of metal was found in the tail race that looks like gold."*

"Jan. 30*th*: *Clear, and has been all the last week. Our metal has been tried and proves to be gold. It is thought to be rich. We have picked up more than a hundred dollars worth this week."*

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14. Their names given by Bancroft are as follows—I add the given names: Henry W. Bigler, Alexander Stephens, James S. Brown, James Barger, William Johnson, Azariah Smith, William Ira Willis, Sidney Willis, [Brothers] William Kountze (History of California, Vol. VI., p. 31, note). The brothers Willis and Kountz returned September to work on Sutter's flour mill, so were not in the Coloma valley at the time of the gold discovery. (Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 31, note).

15. Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 33.

That is the historical record of the event that turned the eyes of the civilized world to California. Which within a year started that mighty wave of western emigration from all parts of the United States, many parts of Europe, and even from Asia.[16] It was to be a subject of the President's message to congress before the close of the year;[17] within two years it would make California one of the sovereign states of the American Union, with a population of nearly one hundred thousand; in seven years it would result in adding nearly five hundred million dollars to the world's store of gold;[18] and then as the gold from soil and sand was exhausted, and costly operations upon gold-bearing quartz ledges, and delving into the earth were required to secure the precious metal, many men who came to the mines turned their attention to agriculture and to horticulture and found in the grain fields vineyards and orchards of the Pacific slope, even a greater source of wealth than in the gold mines.

It is the Mormon's journal which determines the date of the event which started all this. Usually the 19th of January is given as the date, but in his History of California, Bancroft discusses the subject as follows:

The 19th of January is the date usually given; but I am satisfied it is incorrect. There are but two authorities to choose between, Marshall, the discoverer, and one Henry W. Bigler, a Mormon engaged upon the work at the time. Besides confusion of mind in other respects, Marshall admits that he does not know the date. "On or about the 19th of January," he says (Hutchings' Magazine, ii. 200); "I am not quite certain to a day, but it was between the 18th and 20th." Whereupon the 19th has been generally accepted. Bigler, on the other hand,

16. The following is a brief discription of that great movement from a standard History of the U. S.

"The 'Gold Fever':—When tidings of the discovery reached the East a rapid emmigration to California began. From all parts of the United States and from Europe men hastened to the gold fields. Some crossed the continent, some made their way across the Isthmus of Panama, some sailed around Cape Horn. Many died on the Isthmus route. Many perished in the long journey over the plains, where the line of march was indicated by the skeletons of animals. But thousands reached California, whose population rapidly increased. The growth of San Francisco was a marvel. In a short time its population rose to twenty thousand, while a far greater number had flocked to the mining region." (Hist. U. S., Morrison, p. 328).

17. Lossing's Hist. of U. S., p. 497; also Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. IV., p. 636.

18. Hist. U. S., Morris, p. —.

was a cool, clear-headed, methodical man; moreover he kept a journal, in which he entered occurrences on the spot, and it is from this journal I get my date. If further evidence be wanting, we have it. Marshall states that four days after the discovery he proceeded to New Helvetia [Indentical as to location with Sutter's Fort] with specimens. Now, by reference to another journal, *New Helvetia Diary,* we find that Marshall arrivd at the Fort on the evening of the 28th. If we reckon the day of discovery as one of the four days, allow Marshall one night on the way, which Parsons gives him, and count the 28th one day, we have the 24th as the date of discovery trebly proved.[19]

Later of Bigler and his journal Bancroft says:

"To me * * * he [Bigler] kindly presented an abstract of the diary which he kept at the time, with elaborations and comments and which I esteem as one of the most valuable original manuscripts in my possession. The version given in this diary I have mainly followed in the text [i. e., of his History of California] as the most complete and accurate account. The others wrote from memory, long after the event; and it is to be feared, too often from a memory distorted by a desire to exalt their respective claims to an important share in the discovery. But Bigler has no claims of this kind to support."[20]

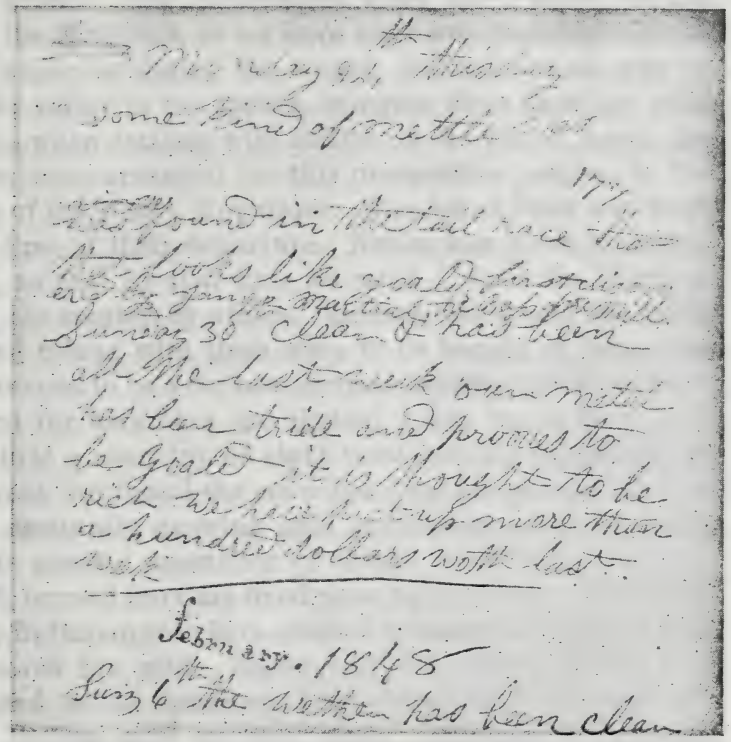
For a time an effort was made to keep the discovery quiet, but gradually it became known, and the secret of the Sierras was revealed to the world, with the result already noted. San Francisco, however, was indifferent for some time, the final conversion of that town did not take place until Samuel Brannan, the leader of the Brooklyn Colony of Latter-Day Saints to California, came down from Sutter's Fort—where he had a store—to San Francisco in company with a number of others who had with them specimens of collected gold in both dust and nuggets. Brannan, holding in one hand a bottle of yellow dust, and with the other swinging his hat, passed down the street shouting, "Gold! Gold! Gold, from the American River!" This in May; and soon afterwards San Francisco was nearly deserted for the goldfields.

The spare time of the Mormons at Sutter's saw-mill was de-

19. Bancroft's California, Vol. VI., p. 32, note.
20. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 34.

voted to washing out gold in the millrace and from the deposits of the sand bars along the river. Henry Bigler on the 21st of February wrote to members of the Battalion at Sutter's Fort, telling them of the discovery of gold, but cautioned them to impart the information only to those who could be relied upon to keep the secret. They entrusted it to three other members of the Battalion. Six days later three of the number, Sidney Willis, Levi Fifield and Wilford Hudson, came up to the sawmill, and frankly told Mr. Sutter they had come to search for gold, and he gave them permission to mine in the tail of the millrace. The next day they began work and were fairly successful. Hudson picked out one piece of gold worth six dollars. After a few days, however, these men felt under obligations to return to the Fort as they had given it out that they were merely going to the saw-mill on a visit and a few days' shooting. Returning, Willis and Hudson followed down the stream for the purpose of prospecting. Fifield, accompanied by Bigler, followed the wagon road. About half way between the saw-mill and the Fort Hudson Willis, on a bar opposite a little island in the river, found a small quantity of gold, not more than half a dollar in value; and while the smallness of the find filled the two prospectors with disgust, the other Battalion members at the fort insisted upon being taken to the point where the gold had been found, that "together they might examine the place." "It was with difficulty that they prevailed upon them to do so," remarks Bancroft; but finally Willis and Hudson consented, "and the so lately slighted spot," continues the historian of California, "presently became famous as the rich 'Mormon Diggins;' the island, 'Mormon Island,' taking its name from these Battalion boys who had first found gold there."[21] But notwithstanding this new discovery by these members of the Battalion, and notwithstanding their development of the discovery of Mr. Marshall, and the huge excitement which followed, and the fact that whenever they could get released a day from their duty to their employer they could usually obtain in gold several times over their day's wages, history has to record that they were true to their engagement to Mr. Sutter. "They had promised Sut-

21. Boncroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 49.



Monday 24th this day
some kind of mettle was
177
was found in the tail race that
that looks like goald first discov-
ered by Jan[illegible] Martial he was fire mill
Sunday 30th Clean & has been
all the last week our metal
has been tride and proves to
be Goald it is thought to be
rich we have put up more than
a hundred dollars worth last
week

February. 1848
Sun 6th the wether has been clean

Facsimile of Henry W. Bigler's Journal, from a photograph

ter," says Bancroft, "to stand by him and finish the saw mill, this they did, starting it running on the 11th of March. Henry Bigler was still there. On the 7th of April Bigler, Stephens and Brown presented themselves at the fort to settle accounts with Sutter."[22]

The call of duty was also pressing upon them from another direction. And here it is the pleasure of the historian to record an incident of which in behalf of his people and their religion, he is truly proud. The instructions from the Twelve, to the members of the Battalion, as we have seen, was that they should remain in California during the winter, but make their way to the Salt Lake valley in the spring, bringing their earnings with them. Hence when settling with Sutter on the 7th of April, the preliminaries were arranged for this prospective journey to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. The 1st of June was fixed upon as the time of their departure. Notice was given to Sutter accordingly, so that by that time he could place the Mormon workmen in his employ by others. Horses, cattle and the seeds they intended taking with them were to be bought of him; also two brass cannons to be a defense against possible Indian attacks en route, and for defensive use against a like foe in Salt Lake valley. At first a company of eight went into the mountains to explore a route, but found the snow too deep for passage at that time. The constantly growing gold excitement, also, in consequence of its general unsettling of things delayed their departure a month beyond the time fixed upon for starting. Meantime many of the Battalion members availed themselves of the opportunity to search for gold. Bigler and two others of the Battalion followed up the American river from the Fort about fifteen miles, finding gold as they went. Arriving at Mormon Island they came upon the seven members of the Battalion mining there who that day had taken out $250.[23] Bigler and his associates mined for two months about one mile below the saw mill, dividing with Sutter and Marshall, who furnished tools and provisions. The land owners demanded one-half the product for a time; this was finally reduced to one-third.[24] Brannan, as ex-

22. Bancroft's Cal. Vol. VI., p. 50.
23. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 50.
24. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 51, note.

ercising a sort of presidency over the Saints in California, urged the payment of ten per cent. for tithing.

In the midst of this prosperous mining venture, and the daily growing gold fever, the mad rush from San Francisco and other parts of California, the members of the Battalion sought out a rendezvous for the gathering of the Saints preparatory to their journey across the mountains. The place of rendezvous was called by them Pleasant Valley, near the present site of Placerville, a short distance up the south fork of the American river, and not far from the place where gold was first discovered on that stream. Parties came in one after another until the 3rd of July, when about forty-five men and one woman, the wife of one of the party, had assembled, bringing with them wagons, horses, cattle, and other effects. On the 3rd a start was made. "As the wagons rolled up along the divide between the American river and the Cosumnes, on the national 4th, their cannon thundered independence before the high Sierras."[25] Thus, as further remarked by the author here followed, "amidst the scenes now every day becoming more and more absorbing, bringing to the front the strongest passions in man's nature, * * * at the call of what they deemed duty, these devotees of their religion unhesitatingly laid down their wealth-winning implements, turned their back on what all the world was just then making ready with hot haste and mustered strength to grasp at, and struggle for, and marched through new toils and dangers to meet their exiled brethren in the desert."[26]

And this is the event to which the writer alluded to a moment since, as being proud of in behalf of his people—this placing of duty above gold by members of the Mormon Battalion, and of the "Mormon" Church. The fame of having discovered gold may not be claimed for members of the Mormon Battalion, that belongs to Mr. Marshall, unquestionably, though the Mormons in camp when it was found, of white men were in large majority, and the shovels in their industrious hands it was which threw up the gold-laden soil; and they were the first to extend the discovery and enlarge upon it; and theirs the honor

25. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 51.
26. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 49.

to first chronicle the date and fact of the event that was to mean so much to the Pacific coast of America, and to the world. But while the honor of making the mere discovery of gold may not be claimed for them, nor the honor of making the conquest of California, that which is infinitely better than either of these achievements, or both of them combined may be claimed for them, the honor of writing into the annals of California and of the world's history this example of fidelity to duty, detailed above, which is not over-matched in any of the records written by men.

It was a difficult task to cut a wagon road through the lofty Sierras that faced them. A task of infinite toil and in the presence of great danger from the lurking savages. Three pioneers who had insisted upon going in advance to blaze the route for the main company had been murdered by the Indians. These pioneers were named Daniel Browett, Ezra H. Allen, and Henderson Cox. The main camp came upon their mutilated bodies at a spring which, because of this event, still bears the name "Tragedy Spring." What numbers of these savages the main company would encounter, what their mood would be—murderous or friendly—of course could not be conjectured, it was of the dangers they must risk. By almost incredible toil and patience, however, this company of Mormon Battalion men conquered the assent of the Sierras from the western side, hewing a roadway for their seventeen wagons through stony heights, and in like manner down steep declevities and narrow gorges, until the eastern sloping deserts beyond were reached and finally the valley of the Great Salt Lake,—about the first of October—to them, for the time, the place to which duty had called them.

The company that re-enlisted at Los Angeles for six months beyond the Battalion's original term of enlistment, served eight and then were mustered out of the service. Some of these on being disbanded went by way of the coast to the mines or engaged in other industries in California for a time, but most of them finally made their way to Salt Lake valley in the course of one or two years, though a few remained permanently in California. A squad of twenty-five from this company, how-

ever, on being mustered out of the service, organized at once for the journey to Salt Lake valley, taking with them one wagon and a band of 135 mules. They went by way of what was called the "southern route;" hitherto, however, traveled only by packers, and the wagon of this Battalion company was the first to make the journey over the pack trail. This company reached Salt Lake valley on the 5th of June.[27]

The best evidence that the service of the Mormon Battalion was honorable and appreciated by both the people of California and the U. S. government exists in the fact of the efforts that were made on the part of both the people and the government to prolong their service, some of which efforts have already been noted in these pages. As the time approached for the company to be mustered out of service that had re-enlisted, and was called the "Company of Mormon Volunteers," the people of San Diego drafted a petition, begging the Governor to use his influence to keep the company in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in town and Governor Mason tried hard to induce the company to remain in the service another year; failing in that, then to stay six months longer.[28]

When the Battalion proper was mustered out of service in July 1847, efforts were set on foot to raise a second "Mormon Battalion" of which Captain Jefferson Hunt was to be given the command, with the office of Lieutenant Colonel, the office held by its first commander, Allen, and later by Col. Cooke. It is learned from a report made by Governor Mason that the war department, and hence the national administration, sought the enlistment of this second Battalion.

In his report to the Adjutant General of September 18th, 1847, Governor Mason says:

"Of the service of this battalion, of their patience, subordination, and general good conduct, you have already heard; and I take great pleasure in adding that as a body of men they have religiously respected the rights and feelings of these conquered people, and not a syllable of complaint has reached my

27. Tyler's Battalion, Ch. XL.
28. Tyler's Mormon Battalion, excerpt from Bigler's journal, pp. 330-1. Bancroft follows Tyler as authority Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 495-6.

ears of a single insult offered or outrage done by a Mormon volunteer. So high an opinion did I entertain of the battalion and of their special fitness for the duties now performed by the garrisons in this country, that I made strenuous efforts to engage their service for another year."[29]

The month following, after Governor Mason had met Captain Brown of the Pueblo detachment, and received his report, and paid off that division of the command; also after Captain Hunt, who had been for some time acting as Indian agent at Luis del Rey, was well on his way to Salt Lake valley to raise the proposed 2nd Battalion of Mormon Volunteers, Governor Mason wrote to Washington:

"Captain Brown [after making his report and receiving the pay of the Pueblo detachment] started immediately for Fort Hall, at which place and in the valley of Bear River he said the whole Mormon emigration intended to pass the winter. He reported that he had met Captain Hunt, late of the Mormon battalion, who was on his way to meet the emigrants and bring into the country this winter, if possible, a battalion, according to the terms offered in my letter to him of the 16th of August, a copy of which you will find among the military correspondence of the department. In my letter I offered Captain Hunt the command of the battalion, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, with an adjutant; but I find, by the orders lately received, that a battalion of four companies is only entitled to a Major and acting adjutant. I will notify Captain Hunt of this change at as early a moment as I can communicate with him. *I am pleased to find by the despatches that in this matter I have anticipated the wish of the department.*"[30]

When, however, the subject of raising a 2nd Battalion was presented to Brigham Young, both through Col. J. D. Stevenson, formerly of the New York regiment of volunteers, prompted by Governor Mason, also through Captain Hunt in person, the proposition was declined. Regarding the first enlistment from the standpoint alone of the sacrifices it involved,

29. Cal. and New Mexico Mess. and Doc. 1850; also quoted by Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 492.

30. Cal. and New Mex. Mess. and Doc. 1850, p. 355. Also quoted by Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 494, note.

President Young saw no occassion to make like sacrifices a second time.[31]

NOTE 1. THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA: The conquest of California was easily achieved. Fremont in the north with a company of but sixty Americans, with whom he had been sent to explore portions of New Mexico and California, was opposed in the vicinity of Monterey by a force under General Castro in June, 1846. With the aid of American settlers in the vicinity of San Francisco, Fremont defeated the Mexicans in two engagements and on the 5th of July, the American Californians declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of their affairs.[32] On the 7th of the same month Commodore Sloat, then in the command of the U. S. squadron in the Pacific bombarded and captured Monterey. On the 9th Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Commodore Stockton arrived on the 15th of July and in co-operation with Colonel Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles on the 17th of August. There was, however, a subsequent uprising in the south, an attempt of the Mexicans to regain possession of the country. The attempt, however, proved abortive, and was chiefly noteworthy as occurring at such time as to allow General Kearney's troop of one hundred soldiers, who had marched from Santa Fe, to participate in some of the last engagements—December 16th, 1846, Jan. 8th, 1847—that ended in the conquest and pacification of California.

A question of authority arose between Col. Fremont and General Kearney. The former had acted in the self appointed capacity of "Military Commandant of California." General Kearney refused to recognize him in that capacity since in addition to being Fremont's superior military officer, Kearney also had been instructed himself to establish civil government in California (see Letter of Secretary of War to Kearney, Executive Document No. 60, of June 3rd, 1846, delivered to Kearney by Col. Kane). Fremont refused to obey the orders of his superior, and was ordered home to be tried for his disobedience. He was deprived of his commission; but in consideration of previous service, it was offered to him again, but refused; and Fremont "went again to the wilderness and engaged in Exploration." (Lossing's Hist. U. S., p. 487. Bancroft's Hist. of Cal., Vol. V, *passim,* but especially pp. 411-468).

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31. Tyler's Battalion, Ch. XLIV. Also "Hist. of the Church" Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XIX, 133.

32. The exact date is in controversy, some hold the declaration to have been made on the fourth of July. Lossing gives the 5th (Hist. U. S., p. 487); and Bancroft the 5th, though mentioning the claims for the fourth (Hist. Cal., Vol. V. pp. 178-9).

Interesting Letters of Hon. Gideon Welles

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY DUANE MOWRY

THE letters of the Hon. Gideon Welles, Presidents Lincoln's and Johnson's Secretary of the Navy, which follow, are valuable contributions to the political history of the country of the period to which they particularly relate. They are valuable, as it seems to the writer, because they undoubtedly reflect the true sentiment of the author of them, a gentleman of large, intelligent and patriotic vision, in so far, at least, as that vision concerned the public men and measures of the hour. They are valuable, also, because they were written for private view, only, passing from one patriotic friend to another, and indicate the high esteem in which the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, was held by Secretary Welles, his colleague and co-worker during the civil war times and the years immediately following, an opinion which was held also, we are assured by Mr. Lincoln's son, by President Lincoln himself.

It is quite significant that so many of President Lincoln's nearest and dearest friends and personal advisors were so thoroughly in accord with the policies opposed by Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and others, at a later date. They include, practically, all of Lincoln's cabinet officers. Letters in the writer's possession from most of them amply sustain that view.

It is worthy of comment, too, that the reconstruction policies of President Johnson called forth the approval of Secretary Welles. And the discussion of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution is especially significant and something out of the ordinary.

Possibly, Mr. Welles would not have sought publicity as to his estimate of President Grant. But it can do no harm to let it stand for what it is worth at this late day. Human judgments

are never perfect. And it is not to be claimed that this implied criticism of Mr. Grant and his administration is correct.

The letters are also interesting as indicating that the much-abused and greatly-maligned Judge Doolittle was beginning to be understood; he was coming into the public opinion which was justly and properly his. A great statesman and patriot was coming into his own.

The letters have never been published.

DUANE MOWRY.

HARTFORD, 10th June, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR:—I was very glad to get your letter of the 26th ulto which, with its enclosure was duly received. Mr. Burr, whose health is somewhat impaired left a day or two before its receipt for the Virginia springs whither his physician advised him to go for a short period. He will be absent, I suppose, two or three weeks from this time.

On the subject matter of your letter I have had not a word of conversation with him or any one else. There seems to be no concentration on candidates, but a general disposition to unite, I think on almost any one in preference to the wretched occupant, who now so unworthily has the place. I have no doubt that Mr. Burr would feel gratified were you nominated, and would cheerfully and gladly support you. But, as I have remarked, nothing is at present being done—at least I am aware of nothing. I suppose such schemers as Pendleton and Seymour will again press forward to the injury of great principles, and the sacrifice of the cause which they profess to regard. If they and others would stand aside who were wrong-headed during the war, there might be an opportunity to accomplish something in 1872, but they were ready to support secession in 1860, and to sacrifice their party and its chances in 1868, and I expect little of them in 1872.

All could unite on you if selfish and aspiring leaders would acquiesce,—they have not yet learned to humble themselves that they may be exalted. I am a quiet looker-on, taking no active part in current politics, but were you, or some one as acceptable in the field I could enlist with earnest zeal.

I am not one of Valandigham's disciples, nor an admirer of the platform, or "new departure" recently put forth in Ohio. In fact I see no necessity for saying anything *pro* or *con* on the subject of the constitutional amendments. We must submit to them for the time being. As to the green-back theory, it belongs to the school of demagogues and tricksters for whom no one can have respect. It is neither democratic nor honest. We want no amendments of the constitution by congressional usurpation and fraud-passed through a fragment of congress which excluded ten states from their inherent and guaranteed right of representation. But, we must submit to this as we submit to other radical usurpations of this pitiful administration. It is not necessary to indorse those usurpations and amendments. As regards our public debt, I am for its payment, full, fair and honest, without trick or equivocation—or any attempt to repudiate our engagements and government promises, under the pretext that our vicious legal tenders and greenback currency are not what they profess.

I do not take "departure" with Valandigham, Pendleton & Co. There is no necessity for unwise and unprincipled committals to usurpations and fraud, in order to beat the radicals. It may not be expedient to make issue with or join the Radicals, or go beyond them, in folly. We can be silent and submissive.

I am glad to hear from you—should be more glad to see you and talk over, as we were accustomed to, measures and men. Do you not sometimes get East? My son said he met you in New York. Make my regards to Mrs. Doolittle and your daughters. Write me as you have leisure.

What wretched work this man Grant and his radical congress are making. They are tearing the government to pieces,—breaking down all constitutional barriers—centralizing power—hurrying on to empire.

Wishing you success and health, I am very truly,

Your Friend,

GIDEON WELLES.

HONORABLE JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

HARTFORD, 29th Aug., 1871.

My Dear Sir:—I congratulate you on the proceedings of the democratic convention of Wisconsin, both in the nominations which they have made and the resolutions they have adopted. For one, I should prefer to say nothing on the 14th and 15th amendments. They have the superficial forms prescribed for amendments, but you and I both know that in their very inceptions they are usurpations—that had all the states been represented in congress as they should have been—had no state been excluded by arbitrary and unconstitutional authority—those amendments, as they are called, could never have got through congress in the first instance. As it is we must, for the time at least, submit to these usurpations, but I cannot adopt or sanction them, and, under the circumstances would say nothing about them. Galileo was compelled to renounce a great truth, publicly, but he could not change his convictions or the fact. Knowing these amendments are not *legitimately* a part of the constitution, I cannot say that they are a part of the fundamental law, or that I so consider them. Yet I must submit to this, as to any other tyranny, which I cannot throw off.

Were the amendments correct in principle, which they are not in some respects, they are not a part of the constitution. But it would be useless to make an issue in regard to them at this time. To adopt them would be a "new departure" indeed. If congress were to declare Grant president for life, and the people were to sustain congress in the usurpation, we should be compelled to submit for the time, or resort to armed resistance. So with the 14th and 15th amendments.

Our friends should be extremely cautious in giving them any countenance whatever.

I sincerely hope you may be elected. The majority for the radicals has not been so large in Wisconsin as some of the states, and if it can be overcome, it will be an important step towards redeeming the country. Our best wishes are with you.

Please present my kind regards to Mrs. Doolittle and your family.

Yours truly,

Gideon Welles.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,
Racine.

A Dreadful Battle

BY EDGAR WHITE

SOME two years ago I was commissioned by a large publishing house of Chicago to get up the general history part of a work the firm was getting out for North Missouri. Other men looked after the "biographical sketches of prominent personages," a feature of the work that supplied the wherewithal to meet the Saturday night pay-roll. All I had to do was to find out things that had happened from the time of the Red Man down.

While knocking about the Chariton valley a pioneer asked me if I had "writ" anything about the battle of Painter Creek.

"No," I said; "never heard of it."

"Well," he remarked, "you don't want to leave that out if you're going to print a history, for it was shore some battle."

"Were you here then?"

"Yes, but I didn't see it. I was living t'other side the hills. We could hear the cannon, though, roaring clear on till sundown. It was awful!"

He mentioned some man living further down the valley who might have been there, and after making careful note of the direction. I left. The first thing I did when I got to town was to hunt up an old history of that section that had been printed some 25 years before. From cover to cover there was not a hint of the sanguiny struggle on Painter Creek. By this I judged my pioneer friend had been mistaken or he had overrated the action. It couldn't be possible that I'd have the luck to run on such an important piece of history that had never been printed before. I made some inquiries at the county seat. Several knew there was a stream called Painter Creek, but no one ever heard of a battle being fought there.

I dropped the subject until a few weeks later, when I was in the valley again, and then hunted up the man to whom I had been directed. His eyes glistened, and hope returned to me.

"There was such a battle," he said, "I never saw it, but there's an old gentleman living acrost the creek that did. We call him Uncle Charley Coleman. He piloted the rebel—I mean the southern forces up against the federals. I'll show you where Charley lives."

My good-natured friend, who didn't seem to be very busy that day, volunteered to accompany me to Uncle Charley's house. We found the eye-witness at home, entirely unoccupied and glad to see us. He was naturally getting along in years, but was as active and animated as a youngster. Time had whitened his hair and mustache and ornamented his eyes with many little wrinkles; still the eyes were young, and sparked with interest when I mentioned the subject of our call.

"The Painter Creek battle!" he exclaimed. "Sure, I saw it from start to finish. I was only a boy then—it was in August, 1862—but I remember same as if 'twas yesterday. What say we go down to it?"

That was just what I wanted. Inside half an hour Uncle Charley had his spring wagon hitched up and we were on the way down the beautiful valley road, going at a brisk gait. My first acquaintance, Thomas Jobson, accompanied us, saying he had never been on the field himself, but had always been anxious to see it. As we drove along Uncle Charley gave us the initial details of the battle.

It seems General Joseph Porter of Price's army had been up in Northern Missouri on a recruiting expedition, and was in command of about 2,000 men. Of these less than 500 had had experience on the battle line. The national forces had been instructed to do everything in their power to keep Porter from getting South with his recruits. There had been a battle at Kirksville, but Porter had managed to withdraw his men. Then the commandant at Kirksville telegraphed the department at Macon that Porter was hurrying southward down the Chariton Valley and to send as many regiments as possible over to intercept him.

These regiments, all militia, were under command of General Wolfolk.

"Here's Painter Creek," said Uncle Charley, stopping the team. "We'll hitch here and walk over the field. We can see it better thataway."

A thick hedge of willows bordered the little stream. There was water here and there in pools, but Uncle Charley explained that sometimes it was bank full, and even flowed out over the bottom. Our guide showed us the position of the forces, where the cannons were placed, the hill on which General Porter stood, and the bluffs under which some of the raw recruits took refuge to keep from getting hit.

As one looked across the wide stretching bottom the sad thought occurred that many a poor fellow's bones had long since enriched the soil, and brought with it the words of that beautiful poem:

> "On fame's eternal camping ground
> Their silent tents are spread,
> And glory guards with solemn round
> The bivouac of the dead."

I took out my note-book and the guide began:

"General Porter's men had been in a sharp skirmish at Kirksville. Many wore bandages around their heads, and some had their arms in slings. Mart and John Souther and I went up to meet them. I never saw so many soldiers in all my days. The prairie seemed to be covered with 'em. There were only about 2,000, but in my boyish imagination there were a million or more. We met General Porter, and he said he was glad to see us and to have us pilot him down the valley. When we reached my stepfather's farm the women folks, who knew the army was coming, were all busy cooking things for the soldiers to eat. You bet they were hungry! Some were so nearly starved they grabbed the meat before it was cooked.

"There was no attempt at discipline. The soldiers scattered all over the place and just made themselves at home. I guess they didn't think there was a blue coat within a hundred miles,

when all of a sudden a man came galloping up on a horse covered with sweat and shouted:

" 'The Yankees is coming!'

"It was worse than if he had said, 'Look out for the earthquake.' You never saw such yelling and scampering about in all your life! Men run around hunting their guns and things, falling over each other and cussin'. Some of the recruits didn't try to get their guns, but took out for tall timber. They could see Yankees raining from the clouds. Everything looked blue to 'em. I'm talking about the youngsters who had just joined. Porter and his officers, and some 500 men of the line would stand all right, and they formed up on them bald knobs you see over there to the northwest.

"Us boys laid low on the hills to the west, watching the fight until the valley was so covered with smoke you couldn't see. Porter had some cannon and now and then we could see the red flashes bursting through the smoke. Of course we was some ways out of range, but we had a pretty good idea of the movements. The Yankees was in that ravine down there, strung out in a sort of semi-circle. There was a good deal more of 'em than Porter had in action. They fired steadily, like trained men. Now and then we could hear cheering from one side or the other. A courier came up and frantically announced that Porter and the rebels had all 'been cut to pieces!' We felt awful bad, because our folks were all friends of the 'rebels.' The women in the house got armsful of bandages and liniment, and had 'em ready for the wounded.

"The fight commenced before dinner, and continued till dark, without cessation. Then it began to slacken and finally it stopped altogether. Some one come up and said a truce had been agreed upon between the commanders to bury the dead and look after the wounded.

The old gentleman paused.

"Did you go down to the battlefield that night, Mr. Coleman?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, all of us went down," he said.

"Pretty bad sight?"

"Somewhat bad—yes. Cornstalks knocked down, fences bust-

ed, fields plowed up by cannon balls. Yes, it was a pretty bad sight."

I stopped writing and waited expectantly.

"Were the dead and wounded counted?"

"Yes—that is—there wasn't any dead and wounded," said Uncle Charley, somewhat bashfully.

"Fighting all day long and no dead and wounded!" I exclaimed. "How could that happen, Mr. Coleman?"

"Why, you see—er—they never got close enough to each other to hit!"

Well, history was history, whether grotesque or tragic, and I wrote up the battle of Painter Creek as Uncle Charley had described it. A few months later I met him over in the county seat.

"Are them histories printed?" he asked anxiously.

"Yes," I said; "printed and delivered."

"Did you put the battle of Painter Creek in?"

"To be sure. It was all right, wasn't it?"

"Yes—er—I guess so. But since you was there I got to thinking about it, and it's come back clearer than it was that day. You know I told you there wasn't any dead and wounded. Well, I was mistaken."

He looked so sorry over the matter that I smiled.

"It can't be helped now," I said. "The history's printed. I thought it funny those two big forces, well armed with muskets and plenty of ammunition, should be shooting at each other all day and no killed or wounded. It would certainly have been the most remarkable battle of the war. Do you recall now how many were killed?"

"Yes," replied Uncle Charley with the confidence that comes from an accurate memory. "One of them young recruits, when he heard the Yankees was coming, started to swim his horse across the creek. He was drowned."

Historic Views and Reviews

Monmouth Cave to be Amusement Resort

BEFORE the United States Committee on Military Affairs the trustee of the heirs who own the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, A. A. Janin, has announced that the owners have received a number of offers from corporations to take over and operate the cave property as a resort or amusement park. One offer is said to come from a New Yorker, born in Kentucky, who will agree to pay the heirs the first $18,000 profits and 6 per cent. on the investment thereafter. With this unknown purchaser a tenative agreement has been made.

The matter is of especial interest to the Committee at this time because of the Thomas bill for the acquisition of the cave property by the Government, which has come up. This measure plans the expenditure of a million dollars for the Mammoth Cave site, $600,000 for purchase and $400,000 for improvement, landscape gardening, etc. It proposes that the site shall thus be preserved as a national military park.

Five elderly women, of whom the youngest is more than seventy and the oldest four-score, are the owners of the cave. They are the descendants of Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, who was quartermaster-general of the army for forty-two years, and of a Col. Groghan. Their trustee has informed the Committee on Military Affairs that they were indifferent as to the action which the Government might take toward the property, as private interests were more than ready to take it over. He put the market value of the tract at $600,000.

Tablet for Cobbler

Recognition of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry Wilson, "the Natick Cobbler," was made by the New

England Shoe and Leather Association in Boston on February 16. It placed on its building a temporary tablet bearing an effigy of the American shoe industry's patron saint and a few of the salient facts regarding his career. The inscription reads:

Henry Wilson
"The Natick Cobbler"
Born in Farmington, N. H.
Feby. 16, 1812
Shoemaker
United States Senator
Vice-President of the United States
Public Spirited Citizen

Mr. Wilson walked from Farmington, N. H., his birthplace, to Newburyport and thence to Natick, where in 1833 he began as a shoemaker.

Later he became prominent in Massachusetts politics, eventually rose to be United States Senator from this State, and afterward was chosen Vice-President of the United States with President Grant.

Mrs. Surratt Exonerated

Almost fifty years after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln the pen of Ben Pitman, pioneer of stenography, who acted as official stenographer at the trial of the conspirators, has revealed facts supporting his belief that Mrs. Mary Surratt, the woman hanged with the three other conspirators, was innocent of the crime for which she was executed.

The statement was written by Pitman just before his death here a year ago. He says in part:

"That Mrs. Surratt, who was hanged with three male conspirations concerned in a plot to assassinate President Lincoln and other government officials, was entirely innocent of any prior knowledge of or participation in those crimes is, to my mind, beyond question."

Indian Maiden Visits East

Pe-ahm-e-squeet, or Floating Cloud, is a real Indian maiden who is now visiting in eastern Massachusetts.

She is devoting her time there to making speeches, dancing Indian dances and playing the Indian songs which were taught her when she romped about the Western camps with other little Indian girls.

"Perhaps, after all, the white man is not to blame for not knowing the true talent of the Indian," said Pe-ahm-e-squeet, "for the Indian never sings when the white man is within hearing distance.

"Last summer I returned home to pay my people a visit and all the words of greetings were uttered with sincerity. The Indian maidens are very modest. They do everything conservatively, and are much unlike white girls. Even when they greet one there is a strange contrast between the hugging of the white girls and the quiet joy of the Indian girl, who almost speaks gladness with her eyes.

"Indian maidens are very healthy, for they have everything to make them so. White women are not careful of their feet, their forms or their speech as are the Indian women. We are trained, when mere babies, to develop keen eyesight and acute hearing. Our ability to hear and see so well is not instinct, as many think, it is careful training.

"We are not instructed in school, but we are taught while doing our work, or while out shooting, running or walking. Perhaps a group of ten will be walking, when suddenly in the distance an object will appear on the horizon. We are told by the older woman or man to suggest what the object is. Some say it is a cow, others declare it to be a man on horseback. Those that are at fault are teased for days to come. Hearing the rustling of the leaves and being able to tell whether the sound is caused by the swaying of the trees or the stepping of man or beast is a training that is very valuable to us in years to come. Such training makes us keen."

"Dawg" Ditty Revived

The "dawg song" has now been accepted as the official anthem of the Democratic-State Convention, which will meet in this city next Tuesday. Copies of the words and music have been printed and every delegate and spectator at the Convention will receive one. All are expected to join in the chorus when the Convention band strikes up the strains that have been loved in the Ozarks ever since the days when "Heck was a pup."

It is expected that the next session of the Legislature will pass the necessary measure to make the song official in Missouri. A committee was appointed several months ago to report on a State song and this was the cause of the revival of the "dawg" ditty, which dates back to Daniel Boone's time.

It seems that the song has also survived in Texas, but in the process of being handed down from pioneer to son and also in th process of revision by country dance troubadours its wording has been changed. The coon hunters of the Ozarks, however, are said to have preserved the original text.

There are two stanzas in the version printed for the use of the Democratic State Convention, as follows:—

"Every time I come to town
The boys keep a-kickin' my dog aroun'.
Makes no difference if he is a houn',
They gotta quit kickin' my dawg aroun'."

The chorus is sung by the natives with much gusto and with vigorous expenditure of breath at every rhythmic pause:—

"Chaw de meat and save de bone;
Ol' Blue Neck lives on Tallyhone.
Makes no difference if he is a houn,'
You gotta quit a-kickin' my dawg aroun'."

When U. S. Paid Wine Bills

That the members of the old Continental Congress had much more leeway than the lawmakers of the present day was proved recently, when the renovators of Independence Hall revealed

the contents of some of the old papers found yesterday, one of them being a receipt for $100 paid for a case of wine purchased for a certain member of the Continental Congress. Just who the tippler was—the historians in charge of the work refuse to reveal at the present time.

The receipt bears the date of 1785, and with it are many old account books, many of which contain entries showing items for "extraordinary expenses." That's what the wine was. The officials refuse to make public the contents of these mysterious books, but admit startling developments will follow the publication of some of the items.

Another interesting discovery was the notebook of one of the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. This notebook contains extracts from speeches made during secret deliberations of the body. This is the first record of this kind in existence, and it also shows that the wine bills of the members were passed during executive sessions of the body, the members apparently, even at that early day, fearing the cry of "graft."

Other old records brought to light are account books used by the Federal Government during its abode in Philadelphia. These bear upon the departmental expenses. In this record is shown how one of the members of the Continental Congress even charged a bill for intoxicating drinks to the United States. He obtained the intoxicants at the City Tavern, which formerly stood on South Second Street, near Walnut Street. There is no record to show this bill was paid.

Reunion of Blue and Gray

It is practically certain that all the States of the South will send commissions to attend the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg next year and will provide transportation for their Confederate veterans. This was announced at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Commission in this city by Col. Louis T. Beitler, the Field Secretary of the commission. Col. Beitler, with Gen. Irvine C. Walker of South Carolina, commander of the United

Confederate Veterans, traveled together through South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland and appeared before the Legislature in each State except Georgia, where the Legislature was not sitting. They explained the nature and purpose of the celebration.

In his report to the commission Col. Beitler said he found the people in the South more than ready to meet him half way and usually the project of which the commission has charge was received enthusiastically.

As it is the desire of the commission to make observance of the anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg Nation wide, this news was pleasing. The result of Col. Beitler's efforts assures the attendance of an army of Southern as well as Northern veterans. While Col. Beitler and Gen. Walker were not able to reach every Southern State during their tour, arrangements have been made to have the question taken up by the Legislatures of States not reached.

Prophesy of General Grant's Father

R. R. Maltby tells the following story of a father's faith in his son's future:

"In September, 1862, when the Confederate forces under General Kirby Smith threatened Cincinnati and the Squirrel Hunters were hurrying to its defence, the writer was going down Madison street in Covington, Ky. Just ahead of me, walking leisurely along the pavement, was a tall, slender old man. As I passed I saluted him. He returned the salute and said:

" 'One moment, please; what regiment is that?'

"I replied: 'The Tenth Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry.'

"He said: 'A fine regiment, and well mounted.' He then asked: 'Do you know my son?'

I replied: 'Since I do not know your name, I cannot say whether or not I know your son.'

"He answered: 'My name is Grant, Jesse R. Grant. U. S. Grant is my son. I recommend you to know him' and he spoke

as an inspired prophet would speak, 'for he will command the United States army at the close of this war.'

"I replied: 'I wish he was in command now,' saluted and rode on. I recite this incident to show the sublime faith the father had in the ability and success of his distinguished son."

First Monument to a Woman

The first monument ever erected to a woman in the United States stands in a little square in New Orleans, and was raised many years ago to the memory of Margaret Haughery, a baker woman, who could neither read nor write, but who devoted her life to charity. She was not a native of the South, but went to the Crescent City as a servant, and saw so many pitiful cases of destitution all around her that she soon set apart a small sum out of her wages every month to buy bread for those poorer than herself. She soon found the pittance she was able to spare was altogether inadequate to the demands made on it, so by rigid economy she saved money enough to open a small bakeshop. There she sold only enough to pay the rent and provide herself with the plainest of clothes and scantiest of fare; all the rest she gave away every day at noon to the poor children of the quarter, who flocked to her door.

When she found she could no longer provide loaves for her constantly increasing army of pensioners she appealed to wealthy men and women, who were greatly impressed by her generosity and gave freely to maintain her unique charity. Her little shop soon expanded to a steam bakery, giving away thousands of loaves daily, but she continued to live in the same frugal fashion to the day of her death. "Margaret's" bread was literally the staff of life for many a destitute family, and many a starving man and woman blessed her name. Before she died she built four asylums and homes for the friendless poor.

The statue represents a motherly woman seated on an ornate pedestal holding a loaf of bread in one hand, while with the other she draws a ragged waif to her breast.

Gala Days in 1737

Here is a programme observed in the celebration of St. Andrew's day in an old Virginia town in 1737:—

That a fiddle be played for by twenty fiddlers, every person to bring his own fiddle. After the prize won they are all to play together, and each one a different tune, and then be treated by the company.

That twelve boys of twelve years of age do run for 112 yards for a hat at the cost of twelve shillings.

That a flag be flying on said day thirty feet high.

That after dinner the Royal Health, His Honor the Governor's are to be drunk.

That a quire of ballads be sung by a number of songsters, and all of them to have liquor sufficient to clear their windpipes.

That a pair of silver buckles be wrestled for by a number of brisk young men.

That a pair of handsome shoes be danced for.

That a pair of handsome silk stockings of one pistole value be given to the handsomest young maid that appears in the field.

It is probable, says the Ohio State Journal, our tastes are too much changed to enjoy such a list of attractions, but one may imagine what fun they must have caused.

President Cleveland's Birthplace

Chauncey L. C. Ditmars, of New York tells the following of President Cleveland's experience when visiting his birthplace.

"I have been told a story by a relative of the Rev. Charles T. Berry, who was the occupant of the house during Mr. Cleveland's presidential campaign of 1884, that the latter spoke at a meeting in Newark, and that during the early evening a party of Democrats took Mr. Cleveland in a carriage to visit his birthplace, which was only a few miles away. It was the first and last time he ever visited it.

As he entered the parlor Mr. Berry greeted him cordially, and upon approaching the little room in which Mr. Cleveland was

born, Mr. Berry, a Republican, dryly remarked that he hesitated at showing the room to him inasmuch as there was hanging on the wall a picture of James G. Blaine, Mr. Cleveland's rival in the race for President. Mr. Cleveland enjoyed the remark keenly and was still eager to enter.

On leaving the house to return to Newark Mr. Cleveland shook hands with all those residing under its roof and expressed his appreciation for seeing the old homestead that he had left when a mere child."

Old Cannon Has Wrong Dates

Like a jaunty little watchdog at the right hand of the God of War there stands at one of the entrances to the War Department a trim little cannon. It is a pigmy among the giant trophies of mighty guns that surround the building, but it has some history of its own.

It was the first cannon captured by the Americans from the British in the Revolutionary War, though it has not been so officially placed upon the records. It was captured by the great patriot-traitor general, Benedict Arnold.

It has, in a dozen years been passed by more army and navy officers and other notables of high mark and distinction than any gun in the United States. Yet in all this time that little gun has borne a marked error of history that it flaunted boldly on a large name plate—an error so plain that it should have been detected immediately by any passing high school cadet.

The gun is a bronze six-pounder, built in Holland in 1747 for King George of England. It is a little under six feet long and is about three and a half inches in calibre.

Deeply cut along the barrel near the muzzle end is the following:—"Surrendered by the Capitulation of St. Johns, 1775." But on a large metal plate sunk in the national shield, on which the gun is mounted, is this conflicting statement:—"Revolutionary Trophy; Surrendered at Yorktown, 1775."

Thus the little gun appears to have been captured twice—and, further, it would appear to have been captured at Yorktown six

years before there was any fighting at that point. The error remained for twelve years undetected.

Captain U. S. Grant, third superintendent of the building, has corrected the error at last.

"Beyond doubt," said Captain Grant, "the gun was captured on some of the adventurous expeditions made by the early revolutionists in 1775.

A few days after Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga, which had no real cannon, he and Benedict Arnold, then the most adventurous of the American patriots, had a quarrel. Arnold took a band of riflemen who adhered to him and, going down Lake Champlain, invaded Canada and captured as his first triumph the town of St. John's.

Statue of Nathaniel Hawthorne

Bela L. Pratt is busy in his Boston studio making a plaster model for a bronze statue of Nathaniel Hawthorne. The commission for the Hawthorne statue came from the Hawthorne Memorial Association, Salem, Mass., which proposes to erect somewhere in that city, either on the Common or on a site overlooking the sea, this memorial to the man who brought literary fame to the old shipping town and to all New England. The bronze will cost, with its site, something like $50,000, and of this sum something like $10,000 is already subscribed. The committee is preparing an appeal to all Americans to contribute.

Mr. Pratt's conception of Hawthorne is taken partly from old photographs of the author. The three foot model shows Hawthorne seated upon a rock in one of his familiar poses. He wears a long great-coat, which has been thrown open, revealing the tightly buttoned and high collared frock coat which was Hawthorne's favorite garment when in or out of doors. He partly supports himself upon his stick, clasped in his left hand, in which is also the comfortable soft felt hat he was accustomed to wear.

The figure is that of a man who would be somewhat more than nine feet tall were he standing, but sitting in repose the memor-

ial in bronze will measure an even nine feet from the bottom of the base. It will be mounted upon a stone foundation.

The idea of a monument of Hawthorne has been entertained in Salem for some years. The matter was discussed in the Civic League, and the question arose whether it would be best for that organization to attempt to carry the idea through or to form a distinct body having no other purpose. This latter plan was eventually decided upon and the Hawthorne Memorial Association was formed. A charter was secured from the Secretary on May 25, 1910.

Old-Time Makers of Medicine

In his new book, "Old-Time Makers of Medicine" (Fordham University Press), Dr. James J. Walsh traces the medical thought and accomplishment of the thousand years and more from the fall of Rome to the discovery of America. And again, as in his book, "The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries," he carries amazement with his revelations of how old are many things we call new. For instance:

"Until comparatively recent years we have been quite confident in our assurance that antisepsis and asepsis were entirely modern developments of surgery. More knowledge, however, of the history of surgery has given a serious setback to this self-complacency, and now we know that the later mediaeval surgeons understood practical antisepsis very well, and applied it successfully.

"They used strong wine as a dressing for their wounds, insisted on keeping them clean and not allowing any extraneous material of any kind, ointments or the like, to be used on them. As a consequence they were able to secure excellent results in the healing of wounds, and they were inclined to boast of the fact that their incisions healed by first intention and that, indeed, the scar left after them was scarcely noticeable."

And again: "We are so accustomed to think that anaesthesia was discovered about the middle of the nineteenth century in America that we forget that literature is full of references in

Tom Middleton's (seventeenth century) phrase to the 'mercies of old surgeons who put their patients to sleep before they cut them.' "

"Anaesthetics were experimented with almost as zealously, during the latter half of the thirteenth century at least, as during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were probably not as successful as we are, but they did succeed in producing insensibility to pain, otherwise they could never have operated to the extent they did. Moreover, the traditions show that the Da Luccas particularly had invented a method that left very little to be desired in this matter of anaesthesia."

Dr. Walsh refers to Christ's healing of the sick and to St. Luke as a physician. Very early, Christianity began to interest itself in the care of the ailing and establishment of hospitals.

"A very interesting chapter in the story of the early Christian physician is to be found in what we know of the existence of women physicians in the fourth and fifth centuries. Theodosia, the mother of St. Procopius the martyr, was, according to Carptzovius, looked upon as an excellent physician in Rome in the early part of the fourth century. She suffered martyrdom under Diocletian.

"There was also a Nicerata who practised at Constantinople under the Emperor Arcadius. It is said that to her St. John Chrysostom owed the cure of a serious illness. From the very beginning Christian women acted as nurses, and deaconesses were put in charge of hospitals.

Church 225 Years Old Destroyed

The St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church at Warwick, Md., near the Delaware State line, a historic landmark of the Maryland-Delaware peninsula, was destroyed by fire sometime ago. It was built 225 years ago in the time of Lord Baltimore.

The blaze started from a defective flue. There being no fire apparatus in the town, the structure was soon consumed. The loss is $15,000, partly insured.

The pastor, the Rev. Father Charles A. Crowley, was cele-

brating mass at Middletown, Del., when notified of the disaster. He dismissed the congregation at once and hurried to the scene, several miles distant.

The church was of brick, two stories in height. A strong wind was blowing, and the whole building soon fell in. Some of the altar vestments and chalices were saved.

Barry Real Founder of U. S. Navy

Within the next few years there will rise in Washington, in one of its most beautiful parks, a statue of Commodore John Barry, who, judging by his services and the eminent creative qualities of his long and patriotic career, was the real father of the American navy. It is more than a century since Commodore Barry, who occupies a prominent place in American history, passed to the great beyond. These pages of history recite the deeds which alone are a monument to that grand naval hero, but the American government has seen fit, after a long delay, to erect in the national capital an imposing bronze monument as a fitting memorial to the commodore who made the early naval history of this country.

Petrified Ham

With the finding of a perfectly petrified ham, embedded in the soil of Big Foot trail near the point where it crosses White River, east of here, the scenes of the Wounded Knee Indian massacre twenty years ago are recalled.

The ham was found by Lisle Bennett, a ranchman, who brought it to town. It is in a state of perfect preservation, the rind, fat, meat and bone all being distinctly visible.

The ham is supposed to have been dropped or jolted out of one of the wagons of Gen. Carr's commissary department of the Seventh Cavalry when he was pursuing Big Foot, the Cheyenne chief who caused the Wounded Knee fight.

Animal matter petrifies easily in the Bad Lands and the ham is thought to have turned to stone soon after it fell.

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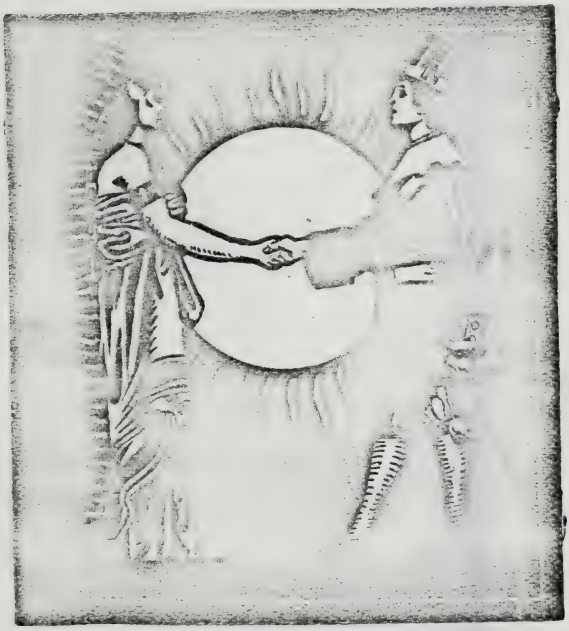
Americana

Illustrated



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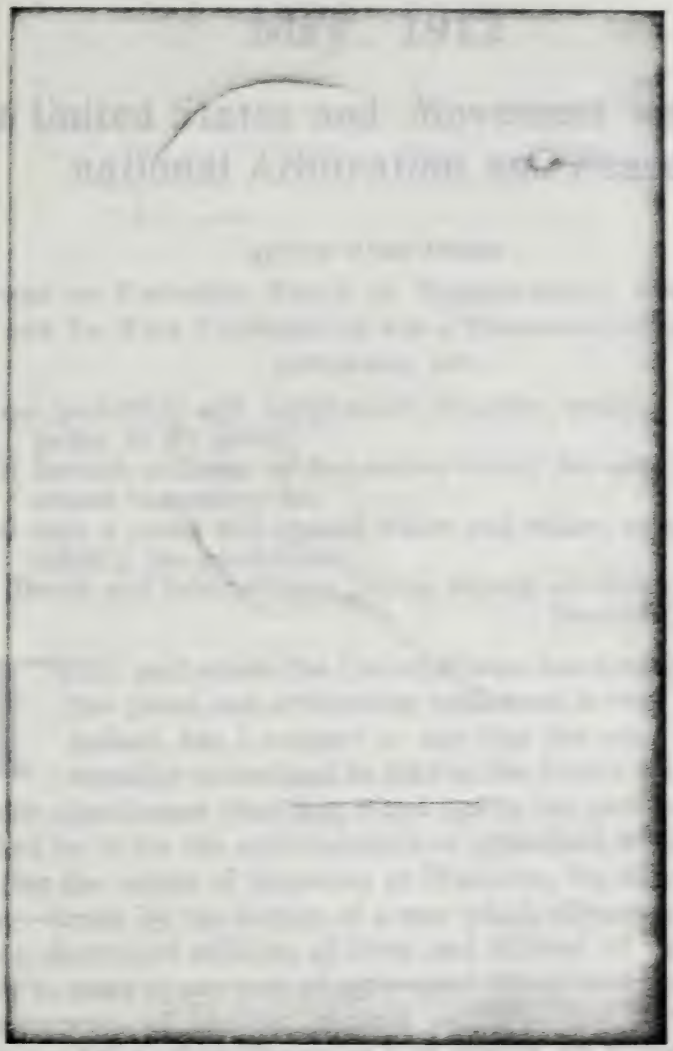


Par Kratina, Paris

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

AMERICANA

May, 1912

The United States and Movement for International Arbitration and Peace*

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

AUTHOR OF UNIVERSAL PEACE BY INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT, AND LA PAIX UNIVERSALLE PAR L'ORGANIZATION INTERNATIONALE, ETC.

"Some powerful and enlightened republic, making perpetual peace as its policy,
Will furnish a center of federative union, for other states to attach themselves to;
And such a union will extend wider and wider, securing coincideltly the conditions,
Of liberty and international justice among all states."

IMMANUEL KANT.

THE part which the United States has already taken in the peace and arbitration movement is very important indeed, but I venture to say that the part which this republic is destined to take in the future will be of far greater significance than that which has in the past been accomplished by it for the establishment of organized world peace.

After the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the nations of Europe,—struck by the horror of a war which devastated the continent, destroyed millions of lives and billions of wealth, were ready to come to any sort of agreement which would prevent the re-occurrence of another general conflict,—and it was under these conditions that Alexander I, of Russia, an Emperor with a big heart and broad mind, suggested that the Nations of Europe form a Christian Alliance against war.

On the fourteenth day of September, 1816, a treaty known as

*This article was written before a vote was taken on the Arbitration treaties.

the Holy Alliance was signed at Paris, between Prussia, Austria and Russia, which asserted, "in the face of the universe their unalterable determination to take as their rule of conduct, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every other government, only the precepts of the Christian religion, precepts of justice, charity and peace." In the first article they bound themselves to, "regard each other as brethren," considering themselves, "delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same family, (Prussia, Austria and Russia,) to form but one Christian nation, which should have its sovereign, Him to whom all power belongs as His possession, because in him are found all treasures of love, knowledge and of infinite wisdom." The real progenitor, however, of the Holy Alliance was Madam de Krudener the wife of Baron de Krudener, a Russian diplomat. Madam de Krudener's drawing rooms in Paris were costly and brilliant, and her guests were of the most distinguished, not the least of whom was her friend Alexander I, Czar of Russia. The principal topic of conversation at her levees was the restoration of *peace* and the terms upon which Protestant France should be permitted to resume her place among the States of Europe. Madam de Krudener advocated a liberal policy toward France at the instance, influence and importunities of Madam Recamier, the Duchess de Duras, and Benjamin Constant.

She surrounded the Czar with the most brilliant and cultured personages of whom France could boast, and placed before the impressible Alexander the exalted ideas of absolute justice, greatness of soul and forgivenes of offenses, the universal brotherhood of man and the fraternal relation of States.

Religion and politics were blended, and the written instrument, the Holy Alliance, was a mere digest of their views, which was written by Alexander and is said to have been submitted to her for revision. Her optimistic views concerning the brotherhood of States as well as of man, did not, however, have a happy outcome in the Holy Alliance, for it resolved itself into an attempt to establish a universal despotic empire and became in substance a conspiracy against the liberties of mankind. (The Monroe Doctrine, Edgington p. 4-5.)

Amidst this reaction one ruler, and one alone, stood out as the earnest friend of liberal ideas. Alexander of Russia restored the Duchy of Warsaw to independence as the Kingdom of Poland, gave it a constitution and representative assembly, and in the spring of 1818 summoned the Diet. The speech which he addressed to it marked him out as one of the most advanced of Liberals. Yet before the Diet ended its sessions a great change came over him. What caused it no one seems to know. (The History of the American People, McMaster p. 35.) The leading principle of the Alliance was the preservation of the existing order of things and the maintenance of the international status quo upon the doctrine of Christianity. One article of the compact provided that no member of the Boneparte family should ever occupy a European throne. Another article bound the parties to maintain and defend the various dynasties, and to combine for the suppression of rebellions and revolutions. (The Monroe Doctrine, Edgington, p. 2). They bound themselves to maintain the government they had just set up in France. They held a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818; Alexander I. virtually presided. In 1820 another congress or convention was held at Troppan, another at Larbach in 1821 and another at Verona in 1822.

The treaty of Verona read in part as follows:

Article I. The high contracting parties being convinced that the system of representative government is equally incompatible with the monarchical principles, as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, and in most solemn manner, *to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments,* in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent it from being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known. (Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America, Latane, p. 69).

It is very evident that the treaty of Verona placed monarchical institutions upon the offensive and representative institutions upon the defensive of an issue which has not as yet been completely settled, for the ultimate success of the former principle would mean the establishment of a universal despotic empire

while the success of the latter will mean the creation or development of an international democratic commonwealth. In July, 1822, a few months before the United States recognized their independence, Chili and Columbia negotiated a treaty in which a convention of a congress of the new republics was contemplated. "The construction of a continental system for America" which should "resemble the one already constructed in Europe" was the apparent project of these two powers. (Reports of Committees and Discussions in relation to International American Conferences at Panama, 1826, Vol. iv., p. 7.)

The authorship of this idea of a solidarity of the interests of all America, resting not only upon the geographical proximity of States, but mainly, indeed, upon the identity of their fundamental political principles, belongs, not exclusively, but chiefly, to the then Secretary of State, Henry Clay. According to his plan this solidarity of interests was to assume concrete form in the Panama Congress. It would there be legally adopted so far as this fundamental political principle had obtained practical recognition. From this firm standpoint he hoped to see the great plan he had announced as early as 1820 realized—that is, the establishment of a "human freedom league in America," in which "all the nations from the Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn should be united, but not simply for the sake of remaining in permanent contrast to Europe, but "he declared that through the power of example, through its moral influence, the American System would ever extend farther and farther, so that a point of union, a haven of freedom and lovers of freedom, would be found upon the soil that was wet with the blood of the revolutionary forefathers." (Reports of the Committees and Discussions in relation to International American Conferences at Panama, 1826, Vol. iv., p. 11). Abbe de Pradt, a French political writer, championed the idea in his book, "Congress de Panama," in which he said: "The Congress of Panama will be one of the greatest events of our times, and its effects will be felt to the remotest posterity." (Bancroft's History of Central America, p. 510.) In a letter to the President, Bolivar, of Columbia, Vice-President Santander said: "The proposed work of the Panama Congress is the most stupendous that has ever been

conceived since the fall of the Roman Empire." (29 Niles Register, p. 184.) There was, however, great opposition in the United States Senate to the sending of delegates, and after much heated debate, which resulted in a duel between Clay and Randolph, two representatives were sent to the Congress, but one of them, the Minister to Columbia, died of yellow fever at Cartagena on his way to Panama. Great hopes indeed were placed in this first American Conference, but like all initial conferences the results fell far short of the expectations, and yet it may be regarded as one of the most important gatherings in the history of the world, as it initiated the development of an intercontinental American system, even though it was a total failure, as practically nothing was accomplished at the few meetings, and it never re-convened at the suburb city of Mexico, to where it adjourned to escape from the yellow plague.

The Monroe Doctrine

On the 20th of August, 1823, Canning, in a confidential letter to Richard Rush, then minister of the United States to Great Britain, proposed concerted action. The most material paragraphs of which are as follows: "Is not the moment come when our governments might understand each other as to the Spanish American colonies? And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves and beneficial for all the world that the principle of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?

"For ourselves we have no disguise.

"1. We conceive the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless. 2. We conceive the question of the recognition of them, as independent states, to be one of time and circumstances. 3. We are, however, by no means disposed to throw any impediment in the way of any arrangement between them and the mother country by amenable mediation.

"4. We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves. 5. *We would not see any portion of them transferred to any power with indifference.* If these opinions and feelings are, as I firmly believe them to be, common to your

Government with ours, why should we hesitate mutually to confide them to each other, and to declare them in the face of the world? If there be any European Power which cherishes other projects, which looks to a formidable enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjugation on the behalf or in the name of Spain, or which meditates the acquisition of any part of them to itself, by cession or by conquest; *such a declaration on the part of your Government and ours would be at once the most effectual mode of intimating our joint disapprobation of such projects.*" (Century Magazine, The Monroe Doctrine, by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., p. 538.)

The constitutional government of Spain was crushed by the French royal army, and flushed with this exploit the Alliance now turned its attention to Spanish America. A new conference was proposed to be held, in order, as it was emphatically said "to aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America" (Annual Register, 1824, p. 501) "which had been in 'revolt' for several years, in consequence, it would seem, not so much of any definite misgovernment as of the incompetence of Spanish authority to perform any function of government at all while occupied at home with the Peninsular war. The predecessor of Canning favored the Holy Alliance, and the American Minister could not quite comprehend such a sudden change of policy on the part of England so that by the reason of much skepticism but little progress was made, and Canning, perceiving that something ought to be done promptly, and that a joint and identic declaration could not be arranged in time, acted in his own way. On the 9th of October he made the following statement in a conference with Prince de Polignac, then French Ambassador at St. James:

"That the British Government was of the opinion that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain must be utterly hopeless; that all negotiations for that purpose would be unsuccessful, and that the prolongation or renewal of war for the same object would be only waste of human life, and an infliction of calamity on both parties to no end." (Annual Register, 1824, p. 496.)

And now, while Rush was temporizing and suspecting in Lon-

don, Jefferson, whom Monroe consulted in the matter, wrote these memorable words, which really constitute the gist of the *Doctrine*. "*Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the turmoils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.* America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and particularly her own. She should, therefore, have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavors should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation, most of all, could not disturb us in this pursuit, she now offers to lead, aid and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scales of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke. * * * Great Britain is the nation which can do us the harm of any one or all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most zealously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause."

The famous message of President James Monroe to the Congress of the United States on December the 2d, 1823, was a natural and logical outcome and consequence to the conditions and circumstances that were heretofore depicted. It reads in part as follows:

"The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied Powers (i. e. the Holy Alliance) is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference pro-

ceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amiable relations existing between the United States and these Powers to declare that we should consider it an attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere (i. e. to force monarchical Government on any American community) as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destinies, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new Governments (the Spanish-American Republics) and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their reorganization, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of the Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

"The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. * * * Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars (i. e. the wars of the French Revolution), which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers; to consider the Governments de facto as the legitimate Government for us, to cultivate friendly relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every Power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. *It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political*

system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference.''

It is very clear that the Monroe message was directed against the plan of the Holy Alliance to aid Spain, by moral or, perhaps, material pressure, to recover sovereignty over her American colonies—a task which was clearly beyond her unaided power. And the character and resources of the Alliance were such as to give fair warrant to the apprehension of many thoughtful Americans that nothing less was afoot than a scheme for the establishment of a universal despotism—that the danger was substantial and that it was necessary ''to secure the united liberties of the New World,'' is today very manifest.

The Monroe Doctrine was not intended to constitute a protectorate, as the term is known in international law, and although its scope and limits are not as yet well defined, it is generally conceded by the best authorities and the most eminent jurisconsults, to be an absolute guarantee on the part of the United States to protect the American Continent from whatever attempt of foreign conquest or territorial aggrandisement.

The Pan-American Conferences

The idea of a union of the South American continent had been considered and contemplated by Simon Bolivar, as early in the struggle of these Spanish colonies as 1821. But no attempt to do so was made, while Mexico was in the grasp of her self-created Emperor Iturbide, and Peru was still struggling for independence. However, when the power of old Spain was completely overthrown and her colonies became free and independent states, having been recognized as such by the United States; the great unrest caused by the apparent motives of the Holy Alliance, caused the great Liberator of Spanish-America to invite Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Chili to send delegates to the City of Panama with power to establish a confederacy. Mexico and Peru promptly accepted, but Argentina

and Chili held back, and in 1824 Bolivar again sent a circular to all the republics, and once more urged that representatives should be immediately sent to Panama. (History of the American People, McMaster, V. p. 433.)

According to the official Gazette of Columbia the conference was called "to form a solemn compact or league by which states whose representatives are present will be bound to wage war against Spain or any other power that attempts to assist her; to consider the expediency of uniting to free Cuba and Porto Rico; to discuss the wisdom of joining in a war at sea and on the coast of Spain; to consider what should be done to give effect to the declaration of Monroe that the American continents are closed to European colonization; and to decide what should be done to resist foreign interference in the domestic affairs of American Governments." (History of the American People, McMaster, p. 441.)

Plenipotentiaries were sent to meet at Panama on June 22, 1826, for the purpose of considering the problems, however, but few delegates gathered, as the enemies of Bolivar asserted that he really aimed at the creation of the whole of South America into one federated republic, with himself as dictator. (The Monroe Doctrine, Edgington, pp. 56.) John Quincy Adams, then president of the United States, became enthusiastically in favor of sending ambassadors to the Panama Congress, and accordingly on December 26, 1825, sent a message to Congress suggesting the sending of representatives, using the following language: "*An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting, that each will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable.* This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be developed to the new Southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence." (Messages of Presidents, Vol. ii, p. 339.)

In 1888 during the Presidency of James A. Garfield, the Secretary of State, James G. Blaine invited the South American Republics to send delegates to a conference which was held in

Washington, D. C., and is now known as the first Pan-American Conference. Many important matters for the good and welfare of the American Continents were discussed and the Pan-American Bureau of the International Union of American Republics was established. The second Pan-American Conference was held in Mexico City, convening on October 22, 1901, and the good and welfare of the American Republics were the general topics of discussion, while the third conference met in Rio de Janeiro, and the fourth in Buenos Ayres in 1910. The last conference changed the title of the International Union of American Republics to the Pan-American Union, so that Canada as a colony might become a member and all other non-republican governments of the continent, and, it is quite apparent that in time the title will be still further simplified to the American Union, bringing into existence the united nations of America. The Secretary of State of the United States is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Union, which board consists of the foreign American diplomatic representatives accredited to Washington, and the Bureau, which is lodged in the beautiful American Peace Temple, is in effect the embryo of an administrative system of the united American republics, which is governed by a Director General, who is selected by the Board of Directors and is hence directly responsible to the Presidents of the American Republics.

The future Pan-American conferences have to perfect that which has yet been left undone, but they can only go so far in the perfection of the international system as the governments may desire, for we are already finding serious objections to the important position the United States is taking to effect a more perfect and complete international American organization, and our sister republics are quite naturally and reasonably afraid that the evolution of the American system will give the United States, their big brother, the hegomony and make him a bore to the entire family. Any danger of this tendency, can, however, be overcome by the equitable segregation of the three functions of government between geographically separated nations, and as the executive system is being developed at Washington, the capital of the United States of North America, the Pan-Ameri-

can Congresses, or the embryo of the Parliamentary system, which at present meet at divers places, can be most logically located permanently at their original seat in Panama, in Central America, or at Havana, Cuba, which points are the most proximate centers for the sessions of the most numerous branch of government; while the judiciary system will most naturally fall to South America, and should be located at Buenos Ayres, Argentina; thus decentralizing these separate functions of government so that one cannot have influence over the other, and in order to prevent the centralization of power in one state. In the study of comparative history we can readily see in this tendency of modern times, towards a world movement for international organization, a striking resemblance between the international relations of our day, and those which existed just before the Grecian democracies, and the Latin republics finally merged into united world empires. The Grecian democracies, with their art, culture and science, are quite comparable to the European nations of today, from which modern civilization sprang, and in many respects these nations are quite as democratic as were the Greek states, while the American nations, with their new territory, undeveloped natural resources and an intuitive desire for power, wealth and influence in international affairs, make these republics comparable to the Latin states; and we can see that as Europe shall, in all probability, evolve into the united nations of Europe as a modern Athenian Empire, so shall the American republics bring forth the united nations as a modern Roman Empire. The problem of international organization is already dissolving itself from the abstract to the concrete, and statesmen and diplomats are beginning to consider and discuss, not only the ways and means of organization, but are seeking for the most just principles as a foundation upon which the structure can be erected so that it will endure, and we can see the division of the pacifists of the world into two parties; those who favor the centralization of the international political organization into an international judiciary to be located at The Hague, and those who advocate the decentralization of governmental powers, by the perfection of a complete international organization with the co-equal, co-ordinate and separate func-

tions of government. There is, however, one fundamental difference in the comparison I have just made between Rome and America, and that is that the governments of the American Republics have been founded upon democratic principles through the example of the United States, which are against conquest aggrandisement, or even the spreading of the sphere of influence over other states, which should in any way interfere with their rights, freedom and independence; that is, while Roman institutions were based upon force, American institutions are based upon justice, and on the other hand while Greek institutions were founded upon law, European institutions are based upon power by reason of the militaristic idea.

The political organization of the American Republics is the most phenomenal and auspicious tendency of the times, for while The Hague conferences are organizing an international judicial system as the first branch of a world government, the Pan-American conferences are organizing the international executive system of an American government, and it evidences that fact, that if the American nations can commence the international system by the organization of the executive functions, the world system can and will be completed by the perfection of a similar executive or administrative system. It is, of course, understood that as law has within itself the functions of legislation, adjudication and execution, any international body which sets down laws, rules or regulations for international relations, has in part within itself, the essential functions of a complete government in embryo, because no regulation is a law if it cannot be enforced, and it is quite reasonable to believe that the other branches of government will grow out of The Hague conferences, to complete the world's political organization, and out of the Pan-American conferences to complete the American political organization.

It is hence a most urgent necessity that a bill be presented to the United States Congress providing for the more complete organization of the American Republics by the convocation of an intercontinental Pan-American congress of a certain percentage of duly elected representatives of the national parliaments of the American Republics, to meet in joint session as a

constitutional convention in the city of Havana, Cuba, for the consideration of ways and means of creating an international constitutional government which will prevent the centralization of power in any one state and assure to each and all equal rights and privileges with absolute local autonomy.

The Hague Conferences

The most practical step in behalf of the international movement for world peace was taken by the convocation of the first conference at The Hague, which convened on the 18th of May, 1899, upon the invitation of Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia.

It was an epoch-making venture, for at no time since the fall of the Roman Empire did states come together before the existence of a war to negotiate for peace—it having always been a post-bellum instead of an ante-bellum diagnosis—and we know that the fatality of a disease can be more easily prevented by an ante-mortem examination than by a post-mortem one.

Thus the nations have begun to scientifically study the causes of war, a social disease, a plague to humanity, or "the foulest blot upon civilization," as Andrew Carnegie has very aptly branded it, and we can rest assured that each day brings forth greater security of peace and each year far less possibility of war.

From the very first conference it was manifest that the United States was destined to take an important part in the organization of the world for peace, as the standard of our representatives stood well in the esteem of the conference on account of their high-minded, square, frank and fair dealings, which not only won them great confidence, but placed them upon the highest plane of statesmanship. At the first conference the United States was represented by the Hon. Andrew D. White, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. Stewart Newell, Captain Alford T. Mahan, U. S. N., Captain William Crozier, U. S. A., and Mr. Frederick W. Holls, Esquire, who was the secretary to the delegation, while the plenipotentiaries representing the United States at the second conference were the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, Hon. Horace Porter, Hon. Uriah M. Rose, Hon. David Jayne Hill, Hon. Wil-

liam I. Bucanan, Colonel George B. Davis, U. S. A., Admiral Charles S. Sperry, U. S. N., and Dr. James Brown Scott, as technical delegate.

For the purpose of facilitating the work of the conference, three commissions were appointed at the first conference.

The first commission had for consideration the subject of the "Limitation of Armaments." Colonel Gilinsky, the technical delegate of Russia, submitted the texts of the Russian proposition as follows: 1. An international agreement for the term of five years, stipulating for the non-augmentation of the present number of troops kept in time of peace.

2. The determination in case of such an agreement, if it is possible, of the number of troops to be kept in time of peace, by all the powers, not including colonial troops.

3. The maintenance, for a term of five years, of the *amount of the military budget* in force at the present time.

Captain Scheine, Russian naval delegate, presented the following proposition: "The acceptance in principle of fixing for a term of three years the *amount of the naval budget,* and an agreement not to increase the total amount for this triennial period, and the obligation to publish during this period in advance.

1. The total tonnage of men-of-war which it is proposed to construct, without giving in detail the types of ships.

2. The number of officers and crews in the navy.

3. The expenses of coast fortifications, including fortresses, docks, arsenals, etc.

(The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, pp. 54-56.)

The Final Act of the first conference adopted unanimously the following resolution.

"The conference is of the opinion that the *restrictions of military charges,* which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material welfare of mankind." (The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, p. 77.)

And yet absolutely nothing was done to reduce, to limit or even to regulate the building of armaments, in order to prevent their abnormal augmentation. The naval budgets have especially increased more rapidly since the first Hague conference

than ever before, because facilities for communication have increased so rapidly that greater defense is necessary to protect national independence. But still, if the national development of the defense of the powers is about proportionately equal they are not insured, one against the other, better than before, although it is costing each and every one several times the premium of the old standard.

Every statesman of modern times knows that the most dangerous tendency of this age is the *abnormal* development of armament by reason of the unorganized international relations which permit the free and unlimited competition in the building of armaments. One nation builds a dreadnaught, and every power must have one, two, three dreadnaughts, until another nation builds a super-dreadnaught, and all the powers strive to have a co-relatively equal number of super-dreadnaughts, so that they would not lose their former position in naval power, and so on it will go ad infinitum, increasing taxation without recompensation, upon the theory that "unless a navy is maintained at the highest possible state of efficiency it is a needless extravagance."

This was the evil that the Russian propositions tried to get at, but absolutely failed because the delegates to the conference were sent by the national executives whom they represented and hence had absolutely no legislative authority to consider the question of reduction, limitation or even the regulation of the building of armaments (for the conference was an organizing body with powers to enter into tentative agreements subject to the approval of the national governments), whereas the law-making power of almost every nation lies in the legislature which has control of the nation's purse strings and hence controls the naval and military budgets.

It is thus very evident that the question of armament can be authoritatively considered *only* by a conference of members of the national legislatures, or by a conference of delegates representing the various national parliaments, and it is therefore very important indeed that an international conference of parliamentarians be called for the purpose of considering ways and means of dealing with this most vital phase of the peace problem.

The League of Peace and international organization drafted and presented the following joint resolution to the House of Representatives on December 15, 1910, through the courtesy of Congressman Robinson:

House Joint Resolution, (250).

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That a cordial invitation be, and the same is, hereby extended to all the members of the national legislative bodies of the various nations of the world to assemble in the United States at such time and place as Congress may hereafter specify."

And at the instance of Congressman Richard Bartholdt, Chairman of the United States group of the Interparliamentary Union (a non-official body of members of the various legislatures which hold an annual conference), three hundred and sixty members of the United States Congress have signed the following:

"The undersigned, a member of the Sixty-second Congress of the United States Senate (House of Representatives), hereby register myself as a member of the Interparliamentary Union, and join with my fellow members in approving an invitation to be presented by our Chairman, Richard Bartholdt, to the Interparliamentary Union, or direct to the different National Parliaments of the world by whatever name they may be called, to meet in North America as the guest of the United States and of Canada in 1912 or 1913, and we would also request that 1915 be reserved until California can be heard from with an invitation for San Francisco."

During the first conference the United States delegates voted to have the question of the limitation of armaments referred to the governments for serious study, and at the second conference they insisted upon the right to introduce the subject for discussion, although it had not been mentioned in the program issued by the Russian government, and it also supported the proposal of the British delegates that the subject be brought again to the attention of the governments for serious study, in order to find some means of checking further increase in, and if possible reduce the present heavy burden of armaments, but the

subject was dropped for the reasons mentioned above, and the only way that the question had been approached at all, was by the development of the idea of the adjudication of international disputes by a court of arbitral justice, upon the theory that a complete system of international justice will grant *sufficient confidence* to the nations, in one another, to prevent any over-development of the national defenses.

The importance of this phase of the question again came to our attention by the presentation of the following House Joint Resolution (223), by Congressman Bennet, which was reported to the Senate by Mr. Lodge, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, June 22, 1910, and was subsequently passed:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That a commission of five be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of *limiting the armaments* of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to *diminish the expenditures* of government for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war."

Washington's Headquarters at Morristown,

IN THE TWO WINTERS OF

1777-78 and 1779-80 and Some of the Famous Historical Figures Who Were Present There in the Days of the American Revolution

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL. B.

Historian Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution

ALL Jerseymen, and especially all Morris County men, have every reason to be proud and grateful that one hundred and thirty-five years ago it was amid the sheltering hills of Morris that Washington found a safe retreat for his sorely tried and half-clad army. In the War of Independence, New Jersey was the pivotal state, the headquarters of American resistance, and it was Morris County, and in fact, Morristown itself, that was the center of this resistance. If, as historians say, the battle of Trenton saved the Revolution, so may it be truly said the two winters of 1777-78, 1779-80 that were passed in and about Morristown, saved our army from destruction at a time when its exigencies were the greatest. Here within the radius of less than a hundred miles was the arena upon which were enacted events which were to change the whole future of a nation. Fortunately for our cause, some of our English friends at this time had a lively sense of the true principles underlying the struggle, and thus at every opportunity they endeavored to get men into Parliament who were favorable to our cause.

Such being the state of affairs the British government was compelled to resort to the base use of mercenary soldiers called Hessians, the subjects of small states in Germany whom their

despotic proprietors sold to service. And it was these men who garrisoned Trenton on that fateful Christmas, 1776, under the command of General Rall.

Well we know how this force was captured by Washington and their general was killed, and how at this time our great leader revealed a power as a strategist and a sagacity as a leader of men which revived hope in the bosom of patriots and so electrified Congress that it vested Washington with supreme power.

He had, indeed, turned the tide and if any doubted they were fully convinced when at Princeton there was another victory by the "Old Fox," as Cornwallis called Washington. It was fitting that Princeton should then and there place its approval upon this mighty war for liberty. New Jersey on December 26th had by her great seal legalized the Revolution, and now Princeton and its college, in its turn, consecrated it by her learning, the patriotic fervor of her president and by the blood of her alumni.

On that battle, where Washington commanded in person, Mercer bled and Frelingsuysen did brave deeds, hinged in great measure the fate of our country's cause and thereafter was to be dated a change in human affairs and an alteration in the balance of human power.

But Washington's army must have a chance to recuperate and to conserve his forces for coming, and still more trying events, and this aid he found in the hills of Morris, where he had his headquarters, first in 1777, at the Arnold Tavern, and in 1779-80 in the old Ford mansion, about which I shall now proceed to give some details as to the house itself, its history, its contents, the famous persons who have been entertained there and its present owners.

The building, which stands on rising ground in the midst of a nine-acre plot, is situated but a few minutes' walk north from the railroad depot, and commands an extended and beautiful view.

This fine specimen of Colonial architecture, though now over 138 years old, is in perfect condition and looks for all the world like a grand dame of the olden time, full of sweet grace and dignified hospitality.

And this word fits well, for entrance to this mecca of patriots is free, and over ten thousand visit it annually.

Jacob Ford, Jr., Colonel of the Eastern Battalion of the Morris County Militia, which so successfully covered Washington's retreat after leaving New York in the "mud rounds" of 1776, built this house in 1774, and dying in 1777, his widow, Theodosia Ford, who was the daughter of Rev. Timothy Johnes, here received Washington as her guest, and here he had his headquarters from December, 1779, to June, 1780. After the death of Colonel Ford's grandson, Henry A. Ford, on July 1st, 1873, the house and its three acres were sold and bought in for $25,000 by certain prominent public spirited and patriotic individuals who then founded a stock company called "The Washington Association of New Jersey," which has ever since preserved the building and its precious contents with unremitting, faithful devotion and care. The main building with its girders and beams of solid oak and its well carved cornices and woodwork is virtually is it was when General and Mrs. Washington and his military staff occupied it. Six acres in garden and lawns have been added, also a building which is used for meetings and luncheons, the main house being kept solely as a historic museum.

In 1780 Washington erected a log addition at each end of the house; the one on the east was used as a kitchen, and the one on the west cortained the offices of Washington and his aides, Hamilton and Tilgham. These additions were removed many years ago, so today we see only the one structure which, like the great Commander himself, has a nobility of presence worthy of its history. It is pure colonial in style, the front entrance itself being considered so admirable in design that it has been taken as a model by artists and architects.

When a resident of Morristown I never entered the door of the mansion but that each footstep seemed to awaken the echo of some heroic memory, and all the surroundings, though themselves inanimate, reminded me in almost living tones of that one grand presence of whom Dryden has said: "Mark his majestic fabric; his a temple sacred by birth and built by hands divine."

On the left of the hall as you enter through the same old-fashioned door, divided in the center, with its massive knocker that has been used since the house was built is the parlor, and opposite is the dining room, while in the rear of the latter is the library and opposite this Washington's business office from which a door used to lead into the log headquarters where each day his officers made their reports.

As to the thousands of priceless relics and mementoes to be seen in this American Mecca of patriotism I have only space to mention some of the most interesting and valuable. In the parlor is a beautiful replica in marble of the Houdon bust of Washington, also a card table and three chairs all used by Washington.

In the room behind the parlor is "Washington's Despatch Table," upon which he wrote those remarkable letters which went with such conviction to the minds of a doubting Congress and the hearts of vascillating governors.

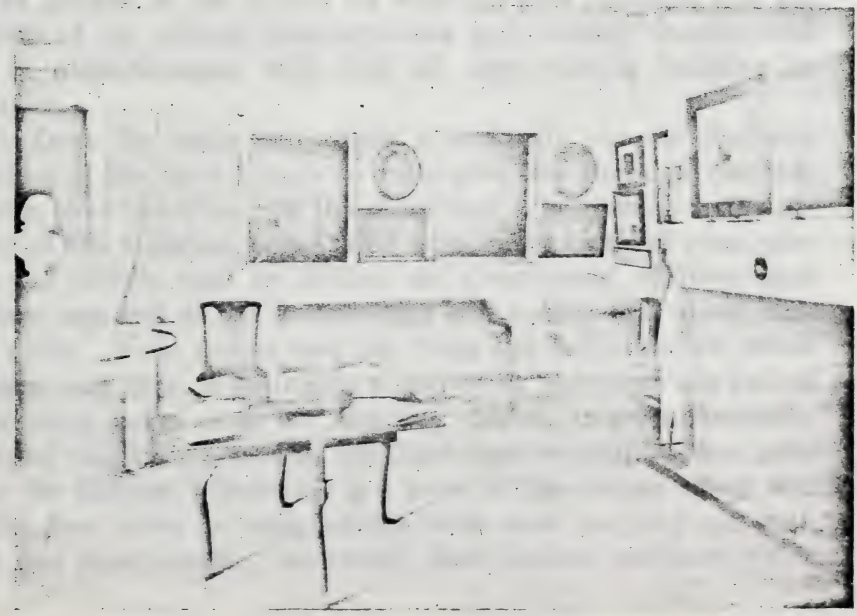
On this famous table or desk, the writer of this article was privileged, being a member of the Association, to complete the writing of his address on Washington, which he read before the Association, and which afterward was in pamphlet form sold in the headquarters with the mementoes made from wood taken in repairs from the mansion.

Also, in this room is a fac-simile of the Commission of the writer's great-grandfather, David Pixley, signed by Dr. Joseph Warren.

The dining room on the right of the hall as you enter contains not only the table and chairs used by General and Mrs. Washington and his military family, but a celebrated punch-bowl presented to an ancestor of Colonel Cadwalader by the General, and a case of knives and forks used by him during his campaigns, and many pictures on the wall, where also hangs the gem of the whole collection, the original commission on parchment of General Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Forces, dated June 19, 1775, and signed by John Hancock, President.

This priceless document, for which it is said $25,000 has been offered and which is the special care of the sentinel who sleeps

Washington's Headquarters, Morristown, N. J.—Front View



Parlor

in the building near it, has had a queer history. In 1822 when workmen were employed to repair the state capitol building at Richmond, Va., they were ordered to remove and destroy a large quantity of old papers found there. Out of this pile Mr. Parks, of Springfield, Va., rescued this valuable relic; he presented it to George W. Childs, who gave it to Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia, whose collection of Americana filled six great safes, and this gentleman presented it to our Washington Association on February 22d, 1888.

The library in the rear of the dining room contains a remarkable collection of autograph letters of Washington and his generals during the war, including one from General Harmer, Washington's trusted friend, and I am proud to say, the ancestor of my present wife. Here are also numberless engravings of men prominent in the Revolution as well as important despatches and Congressional documents.

For much of this remarkable collection of Americana the Association is indebted to many devoted friends, but especially to our beloved president, Jonathan Roberts and his patriotic wife.

The kitchen in the size of its wide old-time fireplace and the variety of its colonial crockery-ware and cooking utensils will vie in attractiveness with that of any historic building in America.

Up from the main hall winds a curiously narrow stairway dividing at the second story so as to give two landings, one into a room over the office and the other into a hall which is the armory of the mansion, being filled with many kinds of guns, pistols and swords used by British and Continental soldiers; also a glass case full of old manuscripts and medals and other curious relics. Four rooms lead out from the hall; the two which General and Mrs. Washington occupied as bedrooms are full of interesting relics such as dressing tables, mirrors, bureaus, many of which were used by the illustrious occupants when here.

In the General's bedroom is a piece of the carpet which was on the floor when he occupied the room, and the gray silk coat, vest and short clothes, the sword, shoe-buckles and cane which

he wore and used at his first inauguration as President in 1789; also, his crimson Masonic scarf.

The affidavit of Martha D. Washington shows that these articles were given by Washington to Lawrence Augustus, son of his oldest full brother, Samuel Washington, of "Harewood," Virginia, and have never been out of the possession of the Washington family until their purchase by the Washington Association.

The sword was presented to the General by Major-General Wm. Darke, his comrade at the Braddock defeat and his personal friend up to the time of his death. Here are many oil portraits, hundreds of pictures of famous characters in the Revolution, a collection of pewter dishes—possibly one of the finest of its kind of any public collection known in America—and rare colonial china, and also a most interesting sketch of Margaret Shippen, made by Andre at a dinner given in 1778 by her father to Washington one year before she became Arnold's wife. All these, as well as scores of other mementoes and trophies from these, as well as scores of other mementoes and trophies from camp, field and fireside, combine to make this old Ford Mansion one of the most attractive and instructive object lessons in patriotism in the country. But to go back to the winter of 1779-80, we note that soon after his arrival Washington had erected 400 feet southeast of the Headquarters fifty log huts for the accommodation of "Washington's Life Guard," which numbered two hundred and fifty men under the command of General William Colfax. This was a distinctive corps of superior men, selected with special reference to their physical, moral and intellectual character, and it was considered a mark of peculiar distinction to belong to the Commander-in-Chief's guard. Their flag was of white satin, on which was the motto: "Conquer or Die." The uniforms of the Guard consisted of a blue coat with white facings, white waistcoat and breeches, black half gaiters and a cocked hat with a blue and white feather. Muskets and occasionally side arms were carried. Care was always taken to have all the states from which the Continental Army was supplied with troops represented in this corps.

At the "Headquarters," whenever an alarm was given, the Life Guard would immediately rush to the house of the General,

barricade the doors and throw up the windows. Five soldiers, with their muskets cocked and brought to a charge, were placed at each window, and there they would remain until the troops arrived and the cause of the alarm was ascertained. Such occasions were very annoying to the ladies of the household, for both Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Ford were obliged to lie in bed sometimes for hours with their room full of soldiers and the keen winter air from the open windows piercing through the drawn curtains of their bed. Caleb Gibbs was commandant of this guard until 1780, and he was succeeded by William Colfax.

A strong attachment was formed between Washington and this young subaltern, who often shared his tent and table and to whom he gave many tokens of his esteem; one of them, still in the possession of the Colfax family, is a silver shoe buckle set with paste brilliants. After Washington's army disbanded in 1783, Colfax settled at Pompton, N. J., where he married Hester Schuyler, a cousin of General Philip Schuyler.

In the year 1780, Usal Knapp, who died in 1856, the last surviving member of the Life Guard, received from Washington himself the commission of Sergeant, and, on being discharged, the badge of Military Merit, an order called the American "Legion of Honor," established by Washington. This distinction was conferred upon non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had served three years with fidelity, or upon any one who should perform a singularly meritorios action. The Badge entitled the recipient to "pass and repass all guards and military posts as fully and amply as any commissioned officer whatever." This veteran was buried at the age of ninety-six with civic and military honors at the foot of the flagstaff on the slope, near the Headquarters at Newburgh.

It may be said truly that within the walls of this old Headquarters building there have been gathered more famous persons connected with our war for independence than have ever assembled under any other roof in America. Generals, statesmen, foreign envoys and members of Congress, all gathered here to meet the great rebel chief of whom Gladstone says: "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life."

There was Washington's private military secretary and cho-

sen counsellor, the brilliant and forceful Alexander Hamilton; the splendid fighting Quaker, General Nathaniel Greene; the great artillery officer Knox; the veteran disciplinarian Steuben, without whose infantry instruction at Valley Forge Monmouth's battle would never have been won; then the polished Kosciosko, the famous cavalry officer; the ever-ready General John Sullivan; Philip Schuyler, soldier and statesman; famous Light Horse Harry Lee; Generals William Maxwell and James Clinton, Israel Putnam, "Mad" Anthony Wayne and Count Casimis Pulaski, whose horsemanship was the admiration of the whole army; and those other famous leaders, William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, and John Stark, the hero of Bennington; brave General Lincoln, who received the surrender of Cornwallis; Major General Lillie, one of the heroes of Trenton and Monmouth; General John Glover, who, with his Marblehead fishermen, conveyed Washington's troops safely from Long Island to New York, and across the rushing, ice-choked Delaware; General Heath, of Concord fame, the first general officer of the American army, was there, and Colonel William Shephard, a hero of twenty-two engagements, and General Benjamin Tupper, and Colonel Timothy Bigelow, both famous on Monmouth's bloody field; also, Paul Dudley, sergeant, of Trenton and Princeton fame; Gamaliel Bradford and Jacob Bailey; Colonel Henry Jackson, who fought so bravely at Springfield, and Christopher Marshall, the patriotic chemist, who furnished our war-worn troops with medicine; also, the much-respected Surgeon General John Cochran, at whose quarters often came to visit Mrs. Cochran's niece, the daughter of Hon. Philip Schuyler, whom Alexander Hamilton soon after married.

Of Washington's staff there was Colonel Robert Hanson Harrison, of Virginia, called "old secretary," or the "little lion," and who succeeded Joseph Read as secretary, of whom Washington writes: "His pay is $100 a month in Continental script, and no perquisites." Another excellent staff officer was Lieut-Colonel Tench Tilghman, who, Washington says: "Has been in every action in which the army was concerned, and has been my faithful assistant for nearly five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay." Of his loved com-

mander Tilghman writes this: "He is the most honest man that I believe ever adorned human nature, in prosperity and adversity I never knew him to utter a wish or drop an expression that did not tend to the good of his country regardless of his own interest. He is blessed wherever he goes, for the Tory is protected in person and property equally with the Whig, and, indeed, I often think more so, for it is a maxim of his to convert by good usage and not by severity."

Besides these, on the staff at different times was Richard K. Mead, Dr. James McHenry, afterwards one of the framers of the Constitution and Secretary of War; then, David Humphreys, of Connecticut, poet, diplomatist and soldier, who, when en route to the Headquarters, wrote to a lady in Boston:

> "I go wherever the battle leads
> Tomorrow—brief be then my story;
> I go to Washington and glory—
> His aide-de-camp."

He was afterwards Secretary of Legation to Jefferson in France and Minister to Spain; also, a successful manufacturer, editor and author. Then there was Washington's able Chief of Engineers, that brave and indefatigable soldier of France, Major General the Chevalier Duportail. He served all through the war, was thanked by Congress, and was afterwards made Minister of War in France.

The army's Adjutant General, Alexander Scammel, was one of the handsomest and bravest officers in the army. So thorough a patriot was he that when obliged to either relinquish the hand of the woman he dearly loved and was about to marry or leave the army he chose the former alternative. Unfortunately this heroic soldier was killed at Yorktown just before the surrender and thus was precluded from reaping the full reward of his heroic services.

Colonels Dayton, Livingston, Kline, Fullerton, Kinney, Craig, Little, Proctor, Hathaway, Ogden; Majors Eustic, Lee; Lieutenant Colonels Humphreys, Jackson, Doughty and Captains Keeler and Lockwood were also all of them in service here under Washington at Headquarters.

What with the trim array of sentinels around the house, the formal arrival and departure of the officers of the day, visits of generals and other high officers, sometimes on business but usually as a matter of respect and for the pleasure of conversation, the coming and going of messengers and express riders and visitors from a distance, the scene was one full of vigorous life and animation. And yet, at this date Washington wrote that "General Howe cannot have less than 10,000 men in the Jerseys. Our number does not exceed 4,000. His are well disciplined and officered and well appointed. Ours are raw militia badly officered and under no government."

There were the usual camp guards, and a chain of outposts was drawn closely around the British lines. On the heights at Short Hills, seven miles away, was the Alarm Gun, called the "Old Sow," and the officer commanding on the lines was directed to fire the same in case of any sudden movement of the enemy, and this was to be answered by the alarm gun in camp.

In relating the condition of the troops at this time, General Wayne writes: "Dec. 14. As Congress don't seem to think hats an essential or necessary part of uniform, they mean to leave us uniformly bareheaded as well as barefoot, and if they find we can bear it tolerably well in the two extremes perhaps they may try it in the center."

Washington gave a part of every day to private prayer and devotion, and to Rev. Dr. Johnes, pastor of the Presbyterian church, he said, when speaking of joining in their communion service: "Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities." (See Lossing's "Field Book" Vol. 1, page 315). S. F. Hotchkiss says in the Church Cyclopaedia that Washington was not then a member of the Church, because Virginia's first bishop, Madison—afterwards the President of William and Mary College]was not consecrated until 1790.

Mrs. Washington was a communicant, and the General was a vestryman in Patrick Church, Truro Parish, and in Christ Church, Alexandria, a few miles from Mt. Vernon. Colonel Temple says that often in the French and Indian war Washington read prayers and the scriptures with the soldiers when the chaplain was absent. (See Weem's "Washington," page 182).

He observed the Sabbath strictly, and was exemplary in his attendance on public worship. He was especially punctilious as to matters of personal honesty, as note how he inventoried all the articles Mrs. Ford loaned for his use, and when he left, finding one silver spoon missing, he saw to it that soon thereafter the article was returned to her.

His character as to mental balance and self control and his "genius for keeping tranquil when most perplexed was only paralleled by his precision in matters of detail."

"His irresistible magnetism disproves the notion that he was the cold, unsympathetic personage some historians have tried to make him appear. An esteemed acquaintance of the writer, John Bach McMaster, in his "History of the American People," says of Washington: "We shall know him as a cold and forbidden character with whom no fellowman ever ventured to live on close and familiar terms." The life led by the great commander with his military family at the Headquarters and his correspondence with Marquis Lafayette, the Chevaliar Chastellux, Count William de Deux-Points, General Adams, Chevalier de la Luzerne, General Israel Putnam and many other famous men, all go to entirely disprove this statement.

As a business man he was the best of his age, as his continuous and successful control of all his agricultural interests throughout all his campaigning clearly shows.

When at Ford mansion, as General Cobb, one of the military family, says: "The daily routine of the commander's life was exact, orderly and punctual, and he appeared at the breakfast table each day exactly on time." With wheat at $50 a bushel, and a captain's pay not sufficient to keep him in foot wear, or that of a Major General enough to compensate an express rider, much careful housekeeping was needed to keep the General and his military family supplied with food.

When the commissary was at the lowest the General said to his housekeeper, a Mrs. Thompson (the wife of a noted restaurant keeper in New York): "Well, you must cook the army rations, for I have not a farthing to give you." Salt was then $8 a bushel. Mrs. Thompson obtained an order for a bushel "to preserve the fresh beef," and then exchanged the same for food,

and so the table was supplied. The General, thinking she was expending her own money for all this, said to her: "I owe you too much already to permit the debt being increased." "Dear sir," said the good lady, "it is always darkest just before day, and I trust your excellency will forgive my bartering the salt for the food you so sorely need."

In an address before the Washington Association by Frank Stockton, in which the author described in his own humorous way a visit he made in company with the Ghost of Washington to the Headquarters, the Ghost speaks of "Good Mrs. Thompson, who presided over my housekeeping department. She was an honorable woman of rare discretion." Before one of the paintings the spirit exclaims with enthusiasm: "What, my old aide and secretary, Colonel Varick! It delights my soul to gaze upon thy face. Who so appropriately could have bid me welcome to this house?" As to the old spinnet or harpsichord, he said: "T'was constructed, I see, by a Mr. Astor, of London; he was a good artisan; some members of his family came to this country, I believe. I hope they have prospered." To which Mr. Stockton replied: "The Astors have done very well, very well, indeed."

When Washington was corresponding with Lord Howe as to the treatment of prisoners, the latter shows a sense of humor he was not supposed to possess when he sent to Washington a copy of Watts' version of the 120th Psalm, the last verse of which runs:

"Oh, might I change my place
How would I choose to dwell
In some wide, lonesome wilderness
And leave these gates of hell!"

To which Washington replied from 101st Psalm:

"The impious crew, that factious band,
Shall hide their heads or quit this land;
And all who break the public rest
Where I have power shall be suppress."

General Cobb, who greatly enjoyed a good laugh, says that when Colonel Scammel dined at Headquarters he told so many ludicrous anecdotes, and in a manner so mirth inspiring, that even the gravity of the Commander-in-Chief relaxed and he laughed heartily. General John Doughty, of Morristown, says that the same thing occurred when a certain fellow who bragged of his horsemanship was at his own request allowed to mount a young and spirited horse Washington had just purchased. No sooner was the man seated than the horse made a stiff leap and cast the braggart over his head in a sort of eliptical curve. When Washington looked at the man, unhurt, but rolling in the dirt he laughed so heartily that the tears rolled down his cheeks.

Smithe's Journal, a Tory paper in New York, thus describes life at the Headquarters:

"Thirteen is a number peculiarly belonging to the rebels. A party of naval prisoners lately returned from Jersey say that the rations among the rebels are thirteen dried clams per day; the titular Lord Stirling takes thirteen glasses of grog every morning, has thirteen enormous rum blossoms on his nose and (when duly impregnated) he always makes thirteen attempts before he can walk; that Mr. Washington has thirteen toes on his feet (the extra ones having grown since the Declaration of Independence) and the same number of teeth in each jaw; that the Sachem Schuyler has a top-knot of thirteen stiff hairs which erect themselves on the crown of his head when he grows mad; that old Putnam had thirteen pounds of his posterior bit off in an encounter with a Connecticut bear and it was then he lost the balance of his mind; that it takes thirteen Congress paper dollars to equal our penny sterling; that Polly Wayne was just thirteen hours in subduing Stony Point and as many seconds in having it; that a well-organized rebel household has thirteen children all of whom expect to be generals and members of the High and Mighty Congress of the "Thirteen United States" when they attain thirteen years; that Mrs. Washington has a mottled tom cat (which she calls in a complimentary way "Hamilton") with thirteen yellow rings around his tail and that his flourishing it suggested to the Congress the adopting of the same number of stripes for the rebel flag." They called it

a rebel flag, but it is this flag of deeds and destiny which has inspired more unselfish patriotism and broader national enthusiasm and more of that sentiment that makes men love freedom than any other flag that ever floated in the breezes of heaven.

Mrs. Washington and her husband were sincerely attached to each other and so far as possible avoided long separations. "They are happy in each other," writes General Green to his wife.

She joined her husband in 1777 when the General had his headquarters at the tavern of Jacob Arnold, who commanded a troop of Morris light horse, the site now being occupied by the Marsh and Hoffman brick building on the west side of the village green.

The old tavern, much modernized, was removed and now stands on Kimball avenue, Morristown, N. J.

Each winter the Commander-in-Chief had one of his aide-de-camp escort Mrs. Washington to headquarters and her arrival in her plain chariot, with neat postilions in scarlet and white liveries, was always joyfully welcomed by the army. "After the war," says the author of "The Story of An Old Farm," "Mrs. Washington used to say that she nearly always had heard the first and last cannon firing of each campaign."

No warrior ever had a more devoted wife than did Washington. She was always with him in camp when it was possible, and on New Year's Day, 1780, she duly arrived at Headquarters. Uzal Knapp, the old Life Guardsman, says: "She was short, stout built, and a good little woman; we all loved her." Others say she was not beautiful, but a very engaging woman, agreeable in conversation, and in her manners simple, easy and dignified. Dr. Thatcher says she is "amiable in her temper and deportment and full of benignity and benevolence."

When passing through Trenton in the midst of a severe snow storm, certain gallant Virginia soldiers, very proud of her, paraded in her honor and escorted her on her way. She tarried a day and a night at Union Farms with the family of Colonel Charles Stewart, her body guard, Major Washington—the General's nephew—and ten dragoons being encamped in an outbuilding.

Colonel Stewart's daughter, Mrs. Martha Wilson, says that Mrs. Washington told her that she kept sixteen spinning wheels in constant operation in her Mt. Vernon home, and she showed her two dresses of cotton striped with silk, the latter made from ravellings of brown silk stockings and old crimson damask chair covers. These dresses were made by her domestics and were worn by herself. Her coachman, footman and waiting maid, who accompanied her, were all attired in domestic cloth, excepting the coachman's cuffs, which were imported before the war.

Immediately after the arrival of Mrs. Washington at Headquarters some of the principal ladies of Morristown together made her a formal visit, to welcome her to their society. Dressed in their most elegant attire, and wearing their jewels and other ornaments, they were ushered into the presence of the distinguished lady, by whom they were cordially received. They were surprised to find her habited in a very plain gown made of home-made stuff, a white kerchief covering her neck and bosom, a neat cap, and no ornament but a plain gold wedding ring. While with her right hand she gave each a kindly greeting, in her left hand she held a half-knit stocking, the ball of yarn lying in an outside pocket hanging at her side. They were still more surprised, when seated, to observe that the dignified little woman, while engaged in animated conversation with them, and making them feel at ease, plied her knitting needles incessantly, while they spent the hour in her presence with idle fingers.

It was the custom of General Washington during these winter encampments, where Mrs. Washington was with him, to cultivate a social spirit, and to accomplish this he invited a certain number of officers every day, excepting Sundays, to dine at his table; also the wives of officers who might be in camp, and sometimes ladies and gentlemen of the neighborhood. The General and Mrs. Washington usually sat at one side of the table, while his secretary, Colonel Hamilton (while he was in the military family of the Commander-in-Chief) performed the civilities on these occasions.

Before the guests sat down to dinner the general, standing, asked a blessing with solemn tones and closed eyes. Old Billy,

Washington's body servant, whose head appeared like a bunch of white sheep's wool, was the chief waiter on that occasion and "moved with great dignity."

According to de Chastellux, Washington was extremely fond of hickory nuts. Describing a dinner at Headquarters at which the Marquis "assisted," he wrote: "After this the cloth was taken off, and apples and a great quantity of nuts were served, which General Washington usually continued eating for two hours, toasting and conversing all the time. These nuts are small and dry, and have so hard a shell that they can only be broken by the hammer. They are served half open, and the company are never done picking and eating them."

The relieve the tedium and constant anxieties of these times when four months' pay of a private soldier would not procure one bushel of wheat, and hungry ruin stared the army in the face, the leaders subscribed $13,600 ($400 in specie) and started a dancing assembly. The subscription list was headed by the Commander-in-Chief and signed by Generals Greene, Knox, Sterling and Wilkinson; Colonels Hamilton, Erskine, Jackson, Hand, Baron de Kalb and others. This ball was held in the Arnold Tavern.

On May 1st, M. Gerard, the French Minister, and a Spanish gentleman, arrived at the camp, and on the 14th there was a picturesque review of the troops at which Mrs. Washington and many other ladies were present. The Commander-in-Chief on his beautiful white horse, followed by Billy, rode in front of the lines and received the salute. He was accompanied by a group of Indians, chiefs from Western Pennsylvania. They were dressed and decorated in the most fanciful manner. Eagle's plumes, bunches of gay feathers, strings of bear's claws and other rude things ornamented their persons. From their noses and ears hung large pendants. Some of them were half naked, others wore ragged shawls over their shoulders which fluttered in the wind. They were mounted on miserable horses, most of them without saddles, and ropes were used for bridles. They carried guns in all sorts of positions. Mrs. Washington wrote to her daughter-in-law the next morning: "Yesterday I saw the

funniest, at the same time, the most ridiculous review of the troops I ever heard of. Nearly all the troops were drawn up in order, and Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Greene and myself saw the whole performance from a carriage. The General and Billy, followed by a lot of mounted savages, rode along the line. Some of the Indians were fairly fine looking, but most of them appeared worse than Falstaff's gang. And such horses and trappings. The General says it was done to keep the Indians friendly towards us. They appeared like cut-throats, all."

Among the frequent callers at the Headquarters no one was more acceptable and helpful to Washington in matters of the sanitary care of Morristown and its people than was Rev. Jacob Green, who was not only a preacher, but a physician, and a miller and a distiller; he was also the legal adviser of his people, drawing their wills and settling their estates. He was a zealous patriot, and with Briarley, Dayton and Livingston, and Randolph, of Virginia, devised a plan for a confederation of the United States. He was a strong protectionist, and prepared his own molasses from the stalks of the Indian corn, the juice of which he obtained by grinding in a machine of his own invention.

Among Mrs. Washington's intimates was Mrs. Colonel Wilson, whose residence in New Brunswick was seized for the headquarters of General Howe, and so highly was she esteemed, her seat at the headquarters' table was always next to that of Mrs. Washington. And Mrs. Captain Robert Wilson, whose father, Charles Stewart, of Lansdown, had a fine mansion on the Raritan river, and to these devoted friends her ladyship would tell of her active home life where sixteen spinning wheels were kept going continually, and she showed them two morning dresses made in her own house from ravellings of an old set of satin chair covers, which were carded, spun and woven with cotton yarns in alternate stripes of white cotton and crimson silk. In this connection it is pleasant and encouraging in these days of haste and extragance even in patriotic societies to read about the lately organized Illinois Colony Club, which is to be composed of thirteen times thirteen members, to be national in scope, and is to revive the old customs and household industries of our great-great-grandmothers' day, the women bringing

their knitting and darning and sewing to their meetings. In this wholesome reform we are reminded not only of Mrs. Washington, but of the days in Jersey in 1738, when there was the gossipy "spinning visit" and the festivity called the "infare," when the newly wedded wife was brought to her new home. Marriage in those days was a carefully regulated affair, the laws for the same being far more strict than they are in these days.

Then the banns had to be published three times or else the parties had to procure a license from the governor of the province, which was only granted when the would-be bridegroom appeared in person accompanied by two prominent citizens, who testified that they knew no lawful obstacle to the marriage and gave a bond making themselves answerable for any damage that might arise on account of any previous promise of marriage having been made or for any complaints against the contracting parties by their relatives, guardians or masters. £1 5s. for fees also had to be paid down before the delivery of the license.

But to return to the life at Headquarters and the winter of 1779-80.

The visit of Miss Betsey Schuyler, second daughter of General Schuyler, who had lately taken a seat in Congress, to her friend, the wife of the cheery and much loved Dr. Cochran, was also an event of importance. "She was a beauty and a belle," says my esteemed friend, Andrew Mellick, the historian, "very small and delicately formed, with an oval face and bewitching black eyes." "A brunette," writes Tench Tilghman, "with the most good-natured lively dark eyes, which threw a beam of good temper and benevolence over her entire countenance."

And no wonder is it that Tilghman's brother staff officer, Colonel Hamilton, Washington's famous secretary, succumbed at once to the attractions of this imperious little beauty and that soon afterwards she became his wife.

The exceptional honors granted to Chevalier de la Luzerns, minister from France and Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish envoy, on their arrival April 19, 1780, was also a marked incident of this fateful winter. A review of the troops, fireworks and a grand ball, made this a great occasion, but sad to relate it was on this important day Don Juan de Miralles was lying seri-

ously ill with pulmonic fever in the second story of the Ford Mansion and died four days thereafter. His funeral was attended with much pomp and ceremony, the cortege being a mile long. General Washington and other general officers and members of Congress walking in the procession as chief mourners. A Spanish priest recited the Roman Catholic service for the dead at the grave in the Presbyterian burying ground, just behind where stands the present church on the park. The deceased when buried was arrayed in full regalia, a scarlet coat, embroidered with heavy gold lace, a three-cornered gold lace hat and well-curled wig were on his head, a costly gold watch set with diamonds in his pocket, diamond rings on his fingers and rich seals depended from his watch guard, while the coffin itself was covered with rich black velvet ornamented in a superb manner.

No wonder the soldiers protested inwardly against so much of value being buried with the dead when so many defenders of their country were then and there in sorest need of the merest necessities, with a military chest empty and the army unpaid for five months.

Oh, what a strange satire was all this show in the drama of that serious camp life in that bleak winter. And this strange show seemed to have had also a strange conclusion for there was another funeral for this Spanish envoy in Philadelphia, which is thus described in the Rivington Gazette of May 20, 1780: "When the procession arrived at the Roman Catholic chapel the priest presented the holy water to Monsieur Luzerne, who after sprinkling himself presented it to Mr. Huntington, President of Congress. The Colonist paused a considerable time, but at last his affection for the great and goodly ally conquered all scruples of conscience and he, too, besprinkled and sanctified himself with all the adroitness of veteran Catholic, which, brethren of the Congress perceiving, they all without hesitation followed the righteous example of their proselyted President."

But stranger still is yet to come. "When the company, which was numerous, left the chapel, curiosity induced some persons to uncover the bier, when they were highly enraged at finding the whole a sham, there being no corpse there under the cloth,

the body itself having been several days before interred at Morristown.

A short distance from Morristown, at the Norris tavern, in December, 1779, the court-martial of Benedict Arnold took place, Major General Robert Howe being president and Generals Maxwell, Knox and Gist members of the court.

Marbois in his account says: "Arnold repaired to camp and employed every artifice of intrigue and persuasion to draw out the members of the court to his interest.

"He avoided, at first, presenting himself before them; but the tribunal was as resolute as it was equitable and enlightened. In spite of numberless subterfuges, he was compelled to appear and answer on each head of accusation.

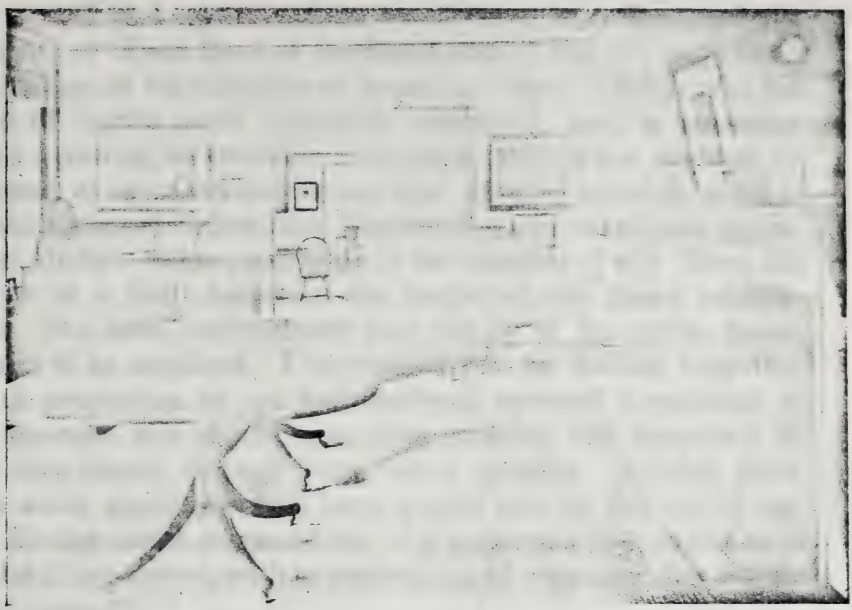
"Relying upon effrontery to bear him out, he steadily denied every fact which was incapable of direct proof, or vouched only by public notoriety. As to the charges proved, he alleged, in extenuation even the disorder of his finances; he compared his case to that of the best citizens, impoverished like him, by the Revolution."

Arnold made an elaborate defense, (see Lossing's "Field Book," page 143) in the course of which he magnified his services, assented his entire innocence of the criminal charges made against him; cast reproach, by imputation, upon some of the purest men in the army, and solemnly proclaimed his patriotic attachment to his country."

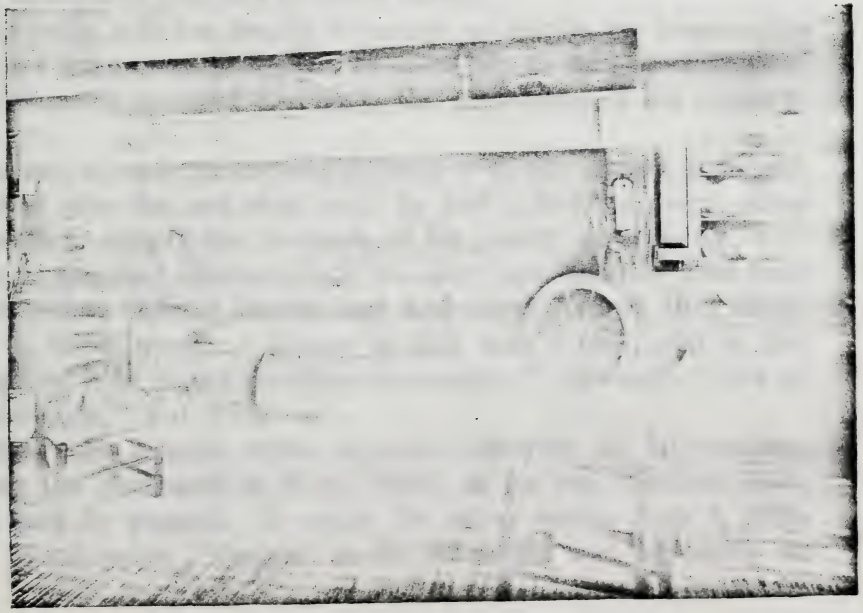
"The boastfulness and malignity of these declarations," says Sparks, "are obvious enough; but their consummate hypocrisy can be understood only by knowing the fact that at the moment they were uttered he had been eight months in secret correspondence with the enemy and was prepared, if not resolved, when the first opportunity should offer, to desert and destroy his country."

Arnold was found guilty upon two of the charges presented, though with mitigating circumstances, and he was sentenced to be reprimanded by Washington.

Colonel Philip Van Courtlandt, a member of the Court Martial, says: "Had all the court known of Arnold's former con-



Dining Room



Kitchen

duct as well as I myself did, he would have been dismissed the service." ("Field Book of the Revolution," Vol. II., page 143.)

R. Tomes, in his "Battles of America," says: "Never was the sword of justice more delicately tempered, and a smoother wound given to an irritable conscience, than when wielded by the hand of the Commander-in-Chief on this occasion. When Arnold appeared before him, Washington addressed him gravely, but kindly: "Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favor, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten that in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to your enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment toward your fellow citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most distinguished commanders. I will furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country."

Arnold was maddened to rage and spared no one, from the Commander-in-Chief to subaltern, all of whom he charged with envy of his own brilliant military fame.

His pride was too deeply wounded, or maybe his treasonable schemes were too far ripened, to allow him to take advantage of the favorable moment to regain the confidence of his countrymen.

He was already in correspondence with the enemy, but hesitated to take the last step, until he had exhausted every other resource to supply the demands of his greedy prodigality.

As to this last characteristic we may here mention that four years before Colonel Brown had denounced Arnold, in a handbill, in these words: "Money is this man's God, and to get enough of it he would sacrifice his country." (Irving's "Life of Washington," Vol. IV.)

After this Arnold wrote General Schuyler, at Morristown, asking the command at West Point, as he was disabled from field duty by wounds. In reply, the latter wrote, June 2, 1780, that Washington "desired to do whatever was agreeable to

Arnold and intimated that West Point would be given him." How he afterwards sold himself for British gold, we all know too well. And his fame was blasted in England as well as here. In London, later on, when the 23rd Lord Crawford, who had fought at Ticonderoga, met Arnold, he remarked: "Ah, the traitor," and put his hand behind his back. Arnold challenged him, thereupon, to a duel, and the encounter took place. Arnold fired and missed. Lord Crawford, who had refrained from firing, thereupon walked away.

"Why don't you fire?" cried out Arnold.

"At you?" exclaimed Lord Crawford over his shoulder. "No, sir, I leave you to the hangman."

At the approach of death he asked as he sat in his chair, to have his old Continental uniform brought—the same in which he had so bravely fought the battles of his native country. The coat was put upon his shoulders, and he looked around and surveyed his appearance with a strange mingling of emotions. While thus enveloped with the insigni of a glorious and successful Revolution, and no doubt smitten with remorse at the thought of the crimes for which he was answerable—alternately toying with the honored uniform and deploring the depth of infamy into which he had plunged himself—life took its departure and the soul of the traitor was in another world.

No sadder picture than this of Arnold, his life and death is portrayed in the whole history of the American Revolution and so much more vivid is it where put in contrast with that of our beloved Commander, Washington. Thackeray says: "To endure is greater than to dare, to tire our hostile fortune, to be taunted by no difficulty, to keep heart when all have lost it, to go through intrigues spotless and to forego even ambition when the end is gained, who can say this is not greatness?" Thus the great novelist described the Father of his Country. But it was Bret Harte in his delightful little love story, "Thankful Blossom," which he wrote when living near Morristown, who gives the most admirable pen picture of the great Commander as the heroine of his story saw him in the Ford Mansion in that dreary December midnight of 1780.

All who approach near Morristown, N. J., by the D. L. & W. R. R., from the East, can easily distinguish the location of the priceless historic building, "Washington's Headquarters," by the American flag that can be seen over at the right floating from the flag pole on the grounds.

The writer is proud in the possession of that one share in the Washington Association which makes him a part owner in this famous historic building, and whenever I enter it, each room pictures in imagination the personality of the great commander who once made this building the center of a strategic plan so wise and forceful that "By an army almost reduced to extremity Philadelphia was saved, Pennsylvania protected and a victorious army laid under the necessity of quitting all thought of acting offensively in order to defend itself." Proud indeed should be every Jerseyman and especially the men of Morris county when they tell to their children the story how here within a radius of hardly one hundred miles, was the arena upon which were enacted events which were to change the whole future of a nation destined to be the greatest in the world's history.

As one stands in the mansion's wide hall one may in imagination see that splendid figure, "the noblest," says Gladstone, "that ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life." At that date Washington was about 47 years of age, over six feet tall, perfectly erect and of marked bearing and nobility of presence, eyes gray, hair hazel brown, complexion light, his countenance severe and thoughtful and his whole deportment possessed an unaffected and indescribable dignity without haughtiness of which all who approached him were immediately sensible.

An English correspondent of the New Jersey Gazette of December, 1779, writes of Washington that he was "a tall well-made man, rather large, with features manly and bold, eyes of a bluish cast and very lively, face long and marked with small-pox, complexion sunburnt and countenance composed and thoughtful.

"About the man there is a remarkable air of dignity with a striking degree of gracefulness, his understanding is excellent, without much quickness, he is strictly just, vigilant and gener-

ous, an affectionate husband, a faithful friend and a father to the deserving soldier.

"He is a total stranger to religious prejudices, but in his morals irreproachable and he was never known to exceed the bounds of temperance. Candor, sincerity, affability and simplicity seem to be the striking features of his character until an occasion offers of displaying the most determined bravery and independence of spirit."

Such was an Englishman's opinion. Jefferson said he was a man of very strong passions and "showed himself on several occasions tremendous in his wrath." He also says he was "the best horseman of his age."

That he was in very truth a "father to the deserving soldier" was peculiarly illustrated when he and Mrs. Washington were the guests of Mrs. Ford, for so intense was his anxiety and sympathy for the suffering of his half-clad troops encamped at Kimble Hill he wrote Congress pleading for aid and supplies to keep his army from disbanding, saying: "We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war," and feelingly added, "the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing with want and they have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation and ought to excite the sympathies of their countrymen."

Such was our great commander and president, and to him and his heroic associates, rather than to Greek patriots, we should refer our children, that they may know how to value the priceless heritage they wrought out for us in our great war for Freedom and Independence.

Let us hold firmly to the representative republic their efforts have assured us. We want no socialistic democracy; development we need, but not a change of government. Those who after the Revolution established our government knew and studied the difference between the forms of government mentioned above, and we must not mistake temporary expediency for principle. If this principle of the recall had prevailed in the days of 1780 George Washington would have been recalled at the time of the Vicious Cabal, and also Abraham Lincoln in the dark days of 1862 and 1863. Let us beware of all would-be reformers

who disregard the lessons of history and patriotism. Whatever betide and in every peril let us remember Washington.

"Let his great example stand,
Colossal sun of every land
And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure,
Till in all lands and through all human story,
The path of Duty be the way to Glory."

New York, March 4, 1912.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXVII

An Apostolic Mission Sent to England—"Mormon" Camp Life on the Missouri—Saints' Occupancy of Indian Lands

THE Camp of Israel at Council Bluffs and vicinity again becomes the initial point of events to be chronicled.

No sooner had the Battalion taken its departure than an apostolic mission was designated and sent to England. Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor constituted the mission, and left Council Bluffs on the 31st of July. A party of Presbyterian missionaries with their families were returning to St. Joseph from the Loupe Fork of the Platte river where they had been laboring among the Pawnee Indians; and with these the three Apostles took a working passage down the Missouri. This method of travel was quite common in those days on the Western rivers. The flat boat was kept in the main channel of the stream by guide oars, and the speed increased beyond the movement of the current by rowing. At night the boat was tied up, an encampment made on the bank, and the journey renewed usually with the dawn of the next day.

At St. Joseph the three Apostles purchased the flat boat and continued their journey to Fort Leavenworth where they arrived about the time the Mormon Battalion was drawing the years' allowance for clothing. The Battalion brethren generously contributed several hundred dollars to aid the Apostles on their journey, and Elder Pratt volunteered to carry to the Camp of Israel at Council Bluffs the money the Battalion desired to send

to their families and to the Church. Accordingly Elder Pratt returned through Missouri and Iowa on that business; while Elders Hyde and Taylor continued their journey eastward. They arrived in England on the 3rd of October, and Elder Pratt about ten days later.

The reason for sending this special mission to England grew out of certain impressions experienced by President Young and the council of Apostles that all was not well with the Church in that land, and that its affairs required the counsel and regulating hand of members of the Apostles's quorum.[1]

When Elder Woodruff left England in the latter part of January, 1846, that he might participate with his fellow Apostles in the exodus from the United States, Elder Reuben Hedlock was again appointed President of the church in the British Isles with Elder Thomas Ward and John Banks as his counselors.[2]

For some years the supervision of the emigration of the saints from the British Isles to the body of the Church in America had been an important duty of the Presidency of the British Mission. In 1844 President Hedlock had been instructed to enlarge this business into a general emigration agency, opening "a general shipping office;" and was urged to "show the world" that he could "do a better and more honorable business than anybody else, and more of it."[3] The British Presidency enlarged

1. The circular letter issued by Elders Hyde and Taylor immediately upon their arrival in England stated that they had been "appointed a mission to visit the church in England by a special manifestation of the Spirit of God, through the council of the Twelve Apostles." (*Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, p. 92). The editorial of the *Star* for October 15th, 1846, announcing this mission and signed by Orson Hyde, opens as follows: "During last winter, the Council of the Church in America under guidance of the Holy Spirit, deemed it necessary to send to you a number of fellow laborers in the gospel. * * * Since the above arrangements were made, and in some measure carried into effect, it hath pleased the Lord to direct the council by his Spirit to send unto you, in addition, a deputation of three of their own number, with instructions to regulate and set in order the various departments of the Church."

2. When Elder Woodruff arrived in England in January, 1845, he took the two brethren who had been presiding in the mission, Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward, as his counselors (*Mill. Star,* Vol. V, p. 142). And when he departed for America, as stated in the text, he reinstated these two in the presidency, and added Elder Banks as a counselor. With the interval of Woodruff's brief Presidency, Hedlock had presided in the British Isles since 1843 (see *Mill. Star.* for Feb. 1st, 1846, Vol. VII. Communication of Wilford Woodruff "To the Saints in the British Isles;" also Elder Hedlock's statement, same number. See also *ante* this History, ch. LVII). The reappointment of Hedlock seems not to have been satisfactory to the Council of Apostles in America (*Mill. Star,* Vol. VII, p. 120).

3. Letter of Brigham Young and Williard Richards to Hedlock, May 3rd, 1844. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. VI, pp. 351-4.

their shipping agency accordingly, to include not only Latter-day Saints but all who were disposed to emigrate from the British Isles to America. At that time much encouragement was being given by the English government to emigration as a relief from trade and labor depression, and also from the famine that prevailed in Ireland. Elder Hedlock in this connection formed a partnership with a Mr. Hiram Shaw who had large interests in Ireland, and who, it was believed, would be able to give an impetus to the emigration business since it was chiefly from Ireland that emigration was encouraged as a means of relief from the famine. Elder Hedlock also formed business connections in the same line with what are called, in the correspondence upon the subject, "the rascally brokers of Liverpool;" and to this his associate Thomas Ward attributes his downfall.[4]

Soon after the departure of Elder Woodruff for America there was organized under the direction of Elders Hedlock and Ward a joint stock society for general trading and even manufacturing purposes,[5] based upon British law, but its enterprises to be prosecuted in both England and America under the title of "The British and American Joint Stock Company." While necessarily a separate and independent concern under English law, the company, nevertheless, was improperly represented as an adjunct to the Church, and primarily organized to aid the Church in the accomplishment of some of her great purposes—the gathering of the Saints to the land of Zion (America), and the betterment of the condition of her membership by affording them opportunity for cooperative participation in the profits of trade. This sympathetic connection between the Church and the "Stock Company" was constantly urged through the columns of the Star, as also in public meetings and conferences of the church.[6] The gathering of the poor and the

4. Letter of Thomas Ward to Brigham Young and the Council of Apostles, Hist. Brigham Young *MS.* Bk. 2, pp. 405-6.

5. "The deed of the company secures to us the privilege of trading as merchants between Great Britain and America, of hiring or purchasing ships, and of raising buildings wherein to manufacture the produce of those countries or either of them." (Editorial, *Mill. Star,* Vol. VII, p. 72).

6. "In partaking of the rsponsibilities of the Presidency of the churches in the British Islands, we are desirous to discharge our duty faithfully, and we are equally so in the connection with the 'Joint Stock Company;' indeed, so far as we are concerned, we do not separate the two, for if we had not been fully persuaded

deliverance of the Saints from "the grip of poverty," were the catch phrases of the concern. Considerable stock was purchased, a provisional registration, and then a final one, as required by the law, was obtained. High class offices were taken in the Stanely Buildings, Liverpool, but little business was ever done other than soliciting the purchase of stock and the paying of salaries and the traveling expenses of the officers of the company, although there was much talk of chartering and even of buying ships for trade and emigration purposes, also about starting a general merchandize store in Liverpool, etc., etc.

Elder Thomas Ward was made President of the Company and Samuel Downes, treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, secretary; but President Hedlock was earnest and active in the promotion of the company, and considerable of the company's capital was "loaned" to him without security, to assist in his emigration schemes.

The first act of the apostolic delegation from America was to declare that the "Joint Stock Company" was "an institution wholly independent of the Church;" and advised that the Saints "patronize the Joint Stock Company no more for the present."[7] An accounting was demanded of the company; and the balance sheet finally worked out by the committee appointed by the Apostles disclosed the fact that—shillings and pence omitted—one thousand six hundred and forty-four pounds ($8,220) had been received from the over sanguine shareholders; that out of this sum, representing the capital of the company, one thousand four hundred and eighteen pounds had been expended in pay-

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that such an association would be of incalculable advantage to the Church of God, we would never have incurred the responsibility of our connection with it." Editorial in *Mill. Star,* Vol. VII, p. 72). Later, in an address over his own signature, Elder Hedlock declared the object in organizing the company to be "to promote the interests of the whole Church, and at the same time repay the shareholders." (Ibid, p. 126).

7. The whole paragraph containing these instructions is admirable: "We would advise the Saints, of whose rights and interests Providence has, to a certain extent, made us the guardians, to patronize Joint Stock Company no more for the present. That is an institution wholly independent of the Church, and we do not wish to see a religious influence enforced upon the Saints to draw money from them, with the ostensible design of conveying them to another country, when indeed that money is applied to purposes other than those for which it was subscribed. There are two ways of transacting business—one is with prudence and economy, and another is with wasteful prodigality. At our conference, proper instructions will be given to the Saints upon all these matters."

ment of traveling expenses, for legal counsel in effecting the organization, and office rent, leaving but two hundred and twenty-six pounds ($1,130) of the capital for investment, and much of this was due to creditors. In their report the committee after presenting a detailed statement of the conditions said:

"The officers are blameable before God and the authorities of this church, because, when they knew that this company was not answering the purposes intended, they did not rise up like honest men and stop the growing evils, but were content to continue till nearly all the funds were devoured; and have thus rendered themselves unworthy of the future confidence of the Saints, and of any responsible trust hereafter in this kingdom."

The amount of loss, of course, is trivial in comparison of defalcations common in the world; but this one was peculiarly distressing because the money was taken from the hard earnings of many poor people, struggling in the midst of depressed industrial conditions, and was obtained by the application of the pressure of religious influence upon them.

Elder Hedlock foreseeing the approaching calamity deserted his post as President of the British mission, as early as August, 1846,[8] and went to London where he lived in seclusion.[9] At the general conference of the British mission that was held in Manchester, on October 17th, under the presidency of the Apostolic delegation from America, President Hedlock was excommunicated. Elder Ward, whatever had been his errors in judgment at least faced the situation manfully, and while he stood disfellowshipped by act of the council of the Twelve in America,[10] and hence under requirement to report himself to that council, the delegation of Apostles in England testified that he had "manifested a good feeling and a good spirit since their arrival," and had followed their counsel "in every particular since that

8. The fact of his leaving his station in the church in August was stated by Thomas Ward at a conference held in Clithero, August 30th. *Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, pp. 52-3.

9. Parley P. Pratt's Autobiography, p. 386. Life of John Taylor, p. 177. Also minutes of a General Conference of the Church in England at Manchester, *Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, p. 120.

10. So satisfied were the Twelve at the Camp of Israel in the wilderness of the irregularities of both Hedlock and Ward that they disfellowshipped both of them "until they shall appear before the Council and make satisfaction for their repeated disregard of Council." The official act bears date of July 16th, 1846. (See *Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, p. 103).

time."[11] He did not long survive the shock his errors brought upon him, however, as he died in England five months later.[12]

The fate of Hedlock is unknown. Other officers of the company, Samuel Downes, the treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, secretary, made all the satisfaction to the committee that acted as receivers for the company within their power; as also all the restitution that was possible under the circumstances. "This is all we can ask," said the Editor of the *Star* (Orson Hyde); "and we say, let the yoke be taken off their necks, and let them go free, with the fellowship of the church, and let them make their calling and election sure, if they will."[13]

The Joint Stock Company at meetings of the stockholders during the conference at Manchester—on the 17th and 19th of October respectively—by *resolution* dissolved, forthwith, that company, "the members present, and votes taken, being superabundant to warrant its dissolution.[13] Ultimately it was found that the company's receivers could pay "one shilling and three pence on the pound of monies actually paid in." Thus ended the Joint Stock Company scheme for the temporal and rapid enrichment of the Saints; which, however good the intentions that prompted its inception, became a means of robbing the worthy poor, to minister to the folly and vanity of men, some unwise, and some wicked.

Aside from this unpleasant episode of the "Joint Stock Company" the visit of the Apostolic Delegation to England was of a most pleasant character. The British Saints were blessed by it; the church strengthened and a new impetus given to the work in that land for the future. Elder Hyde was recognized as the president of the Delegation, and became for the time, President of the mission, and Editor of the *Millennial Star*, leaving Elders Pratt and Taylor free to visit all the conferences and most of the branches of the Church. Finally, the object of their

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11. *Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, p. 111—*Notice.*

12. March 4th, 1847. Dropsy and an affection of the liver is assigned as the cause of death. The notice of his demise is most sympathetic; and his one desire seems to have been to render full satisfaction to the Presidency of the Church in America. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 96.

13. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 22. For complete list of officers, *Ibid*, p. 11.

13. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, pp. 11 and 22.

mission being accomplished, the delegation made arrangements for returning to the body of the Church in the frontier wilderness of America. Elders Taylor and Pratt departed on the 7th of February,[14] and Elder Hyde on the 23rd of the same month, having duly installed Elder Orson Spencer, sent by the Council of Apostles from the Camp of Israel in the wilderness to preside over the British Mission.

Elder Taylor in the course of his many activities while on this mission, obtained an interview with the Earl of Dartmouth, with a view of interesting him, and through him the British government, in some plan of emigration to the British possessions on the Pacific coast of America—Vancouver's Island being especially mentioned—of which the Saints in England might take advantage. To this end also a Memorial was drawn up to the Queen asking "relief by emigration for a portion of her subjects." The memorial was admirable both in form and spirit, and moderate in its suggestions, withal; and had the statesmen of England in that day possessed the practical knowledge of the possibilities in a people for self-support, even in a wilderness, when that wilderness would be either Vancouver's Island or British Oregon, as the men had who were promulgating that memorial—the Apostolic Delegation from the "Mormon Church"—they would have seen in the plan no such insurmountable obstacles as led them to be indifferent to it.[15] But Eng-

14. Elders Pratt and Taylor left for America on the 19th of January with a company of Saints, but met contrary winds in the English channel against which they struggled for nine days without making more than fifty miles headway. The ship returned to port, and made a second start on the 7th of February, the date of the text.

15. After calling attention to the "unexampled amount of abject, helpless, and unmerited misery" prevailing among the laboring classes, the Memorial then states:

"Your memorialists, without attempting to enumerate the many alleged causes of the present national distress and suffering, feel convinced that Emigration to some portion of your Majesty's vacant territories is the only permanent means of relief left to a rapidly increasing population, which, if retained here, must swell the aggregate amount of misery, wretchedness, and want.

"Your memorialists believe that, if a part of the poor and destitute portion of your majesty's loyal subjects were sent to the Island of Vancouver, or to the great territory of Oregon, through your Majesty's *gracious interference and Royal aid*, they might there find a field of labour and industry, in which, after a short period, they could not only benefit themselves, but open an effectual door for the enterchange of commodities with the home country, having brought into cultivation the soil that now lies untenanted, and thus indirectly raise a revenue that would more than balance the expenditure of the present emigration."

This proposition was supplemented by the suggestion that government survey its American Pacific Coast possession to which prospective emigrants might go,

land at the time was sore distraught, almost in a state of revolution. Midsummer had witnessed a complete change in the kingdom's fiscal system; Lord John Russell's government was but newly installed, and the memorable famine in Ireland—1845-6, which reduced the population of that land by starvation and emigration from eight millions to six—in its effects still lingered to perplex the government; trade depression was general, political conditions were much complicated, and hence little heed was paid to the Saint's Memorial though it was sent to every member of parliament, and Lord John Russell politely acknowledged receipt of it.[16]

The "Camp of Israel," rapidly spreading out on both sides of, as well as up and down the Missouri river in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, during the summer of 1846, was doubtless a remarkable sight. The life of the people was full of interest and romance, the like of which was never seen before, and in all probability never will be possible again; and therefore we may be justified in contemplating it somewhat in detail. The community had no laws save such as were self-imposed; no officers save those provided in the Church organization, and their special appointees to exercise functions of a semi-civic nature such as a marshall of a camp and his aids to enforce order and prevent people from trespassing upon each other in regard to stock running at large, destroying gardens, or intruding into camp grounds; also to hold in check the thoughtless buoyancy of youth which had not yet learned the lessons of self-restraint, and ever grows somewhat impatient of discipline; also to guard the camps from the intrusion of strangers who would spy out their liberties and impose upon the unwary, and likewise to check by punishing promptly, the thieving propensities of the Indians

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into townships to be subdivided into sections, on the even numbers of which the emigrants might settle, the government retaining the odd numbers until such time as the improvements of the settlers would give such advanced values to the retained government sections as would more than repay government for present expenditure in giving free passage by government aid to emigrants desirous of going to those lands.

16. See *Mill. Star,* Vol. IX, pp. 74-5. An interesting correspondence appears in the same number of the *Star*—No. 5—between Hon. John Browning, M. P., for burrough of Liverpool, and Elder Thomas D. Brown upon the subject of the memorial. The signed memorial measured 168 feet in length and contained nearly 1,300 names. (Hist. Brigham Young, *MS.,* Bk. 3, p. 50).

by whom they were surrounded. Their laws were edicts or regulations issued from the councils of their wisest men. It was literally the rule of Caryl's "can-ning, or able-men," voluntarily submitted to by the people with right willing loyalty and nothing doubting, because they recognized in the edicts promulgated "precisely the wisest, fittest" thing which in all ways behooved them to do.[17]

The necessity of frequent communication with the remnant of the community left at Nauvoo, and with the trustees there in charge of both such public and private property as could not be disposed of before the departure of the main body of the people; as also the necessity of communication with all the camps and traveling companies between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, led them to establish an independent mail service since, of course, there was none established by government between those two points. Occasional mails also were carried between the Camp of Israel and the Battalion until the latter marched from Sante Fe. By this means the presiding council of the Church kept in touch with practically the whole people whose movements they were directing. It afforded also to separated families and friends the means of keeping informed of each other's movements—of knowing each others good or evil fortunes, of the need of help on the one hand, and of ability to give succor on the other, and thus bound them together in mutual sympathies and ability to be helpful. No other circumstances contributed so much to the unity of the Saints, or ministered so much to their mental peace as this postal service, except always, of course, that spiritual bond of their mutual faith and trust in God, constantly kept alive by frequent religious instructions, admonition and prayer—prompted by the felt need in their peculiar circumstances of the sustaining hand of Divine Providence.

The land they occupied was beautiful, consisting of alternating stretches of prairie and woodlands, the latter following streams which are numerous in that region, for among other natural advantages it was a well watered country. The great Missouri, hemmed in its meandering course by sharp, irregular

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17. Hero Worship—The Hero as King.

bluffs, along its bottom lands afforded stretches of scenery unsurpassed in beauty.

The fact that the old Mormon encampments are now the site of such populous and prosperous commercial and manufacturing cities as Council Bluffs and Omaha,[18] is evidence that the Mormon leaders had halted at a point where natural advantages and resources had so converged as to sustain a large population; all which their industrious energy and enterprise would have developed long before those cities rose to any importance if only they could have felt free to remain and apply labor force under intelligent leadership. But it is this region as it existed under the Mormon encampments with which I am here concerned, the environment and atmosphere that goes with the events I am chronicling that I would preserve; and perhaps the happiest and most detailed description of those encampments is the one given by Col. Thomas L. Kane when he came upon them *en route* from Fort Leavenworth to the east. He was seeking the Mormon camps when suddenly he came in view of them:

"They were collected a little distance above the Pottawattamie Agency. The hills of the 'High Prairie' crowding in upon the river at this point, and overhanging it, appear of an unusual and commanding elevation. They are called the Council Bluffs; a name given them with another meaning, but well illustrated by the picturesque congress of their high and mighty summits. To the south of them, a rich alluvial flat of considerable width follows down the Missouri, some eight miles, to where it is lost from view at a turn, which forms the site of an Indian town of Point aux Poules. Across the river from this spot the hills recur again, but are skirted at their base by as much low ground as suffices for a landing.

"This landing, and the large flat or bottom on the east side of the river, were crowded with covered carts and wagons; and each one of the Council Bluff hills opposite, was crowned with its own great camp gay with bright white canvas, and alive with busy stir of swarming occupants. In the clear blue morning air the smoke steamed up from more than a thousand cooking fires. Countless roads and by-paths checkered all manner of geometric figures on the hillsides. Herd boys were dozing upon the slopes; sheep and horses, cows and oxen, were feeding around them, and other herds in the luxuriant meadow of the then swollen river.

18. Council Bluffs' population, 1910, was 29,292; Omaha's, 124,096.

From a single point I counted four thousand head of cattle in view at one time. As I approached it seemed to me the children there were to prove still more numerous. Along a little creek I had to cross were women in greater force than blanchisseuses upon the Seine, washing and rinsing all manner of white muslins, red flannels, and particolored calicoes, and hanging them to bleach upon a greater area of grass and bushes than we can display in all our Washington Square.

"Hastening by these, I saluted a group of noisy boys, whose purely vernacular cries had for me an invincible home-savoring attraction. It was one of them a bright-faced lad, who, hurrying on his jacket and trousers, fresh from bathing in the creek, first assured me I was at my right destination. He was a mere child; but he told me of his own accord where I had best go and seek my welcome, and took my horses's bridle to help me pass a morass, the bridge over which he alleged to be unsafe.

"There was something joyous for me in my rambles about this vast body of pilgrims. I could range the wild country wherever I listed, under safeguard of their moving host. Not only in the main camps was all stir and life, but in every direction, it seemed to me I could follow 'Mormon roads,' and find them beaten hard, and even dusty, by the tread and wear of the cattle and vehicles of emigrants laboring over them. By day, I would overtake and pass, one after another, what amounted to an army train of them; and at night, if I encamped at the places where the timber and running water were found together, I was almost sure to be within call of some camp or other, or at least within sight of its watchfires. Wherever I was compelled to tarry, I was certain to find shelter and hospitality, scant, indeed, but never stinted, and always honest and kind. After a recent unavoidable association with the broker inhabitants of Western Missouri and Iowa, the vile scum which our own society, to apply the words of an admirable gentleman and eminent divine,[19] 'like the great ocean washes its frontier shores,' I can scarcely describe the gratification I felt in associating again with persons who were almost all of eastern American origin—persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language, and every day seemed to bring with it its own special incident, fruitful in the illustration of habits and character."[20]

It was while Col. Kane was still in the Mormon camps that he was stricken by an illness which held him bound at President

19. Reverend Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia.

20. From Kane's Lecture before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "The Mormons" 26th March, 1850, pp. 78, 79.

Young's headquarters throughout the greater part of the summer. At one time it was feared his illness would prove fatal. The Colonel's solicitude for the welfare of his new-found friends —the apprehension that his death might be charged to their account through design or neglect—led him to send to Fort Leavenworth for medical aid, to which a Dr. H. I. W. Edes responded. He visited the Colonel, and certified over his signature the nature of his illness, "The violent bilious fever of this region, connecting itself seriously with the nervous system;" and, "after the disappearance of this malady, an intermittent fever has supervened." Relative to the Colonel's treatment by the Mormons the doctor certified: "From Col. Kane's unmeasured assurances to me, and from what I myself have observed during my visit to this place, I have no hesitation in testifying to the devoted care and kindness with which he has been treated by his friends, the Mormon people. Throughout this entire camp, where I observe a spirit of harmony and a habit of good order wonderful in so large an assemblage of people, I find that there prevails towards him the warmest and most cordial benevolence and feeling."[21] Such was the precaution thought necessary by Col. Kane in order to preserve the Latter-day Saints from a possible false charge of conniving at his death in the event of death befalling him in the Mormon camps, so viciously were they subjected to misrepresentation at the time.[22] But the Colonel recovered, and in September returned to the east *via.* of Nauvoo, arriving there just after the mob had expelled the remnant of the Latter-day Saint population from Nauvoo; which "victory," and the "battle" which preceded it were detailed in Chapter LX of this History.

The remnant expelled, under circumstances of such great cruelty, was made up of those who were either too poor to purchase an outfit with which to leave the city, or else of those who could not dispose of property to buy teams with which to remove. When driven from their homes by the mob they took

21. The certificate is dated Aug. 19, 1846, Omaha country above Council Bluffs and signed by H. I. W. Edes, M. D., from Weston, Mo. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 172-3).

22. In his Journal History (*Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 173), Brigham Young writes: "The certificate of Dr. Edes was procured from him by Col. Kane in consequence of an apprehension on his part that if his sickness proved fatal, the Mormons would be wrongfully charged by their enemies; and he subsequently stated that that was his only reason for sending to Leavenworth for a physician."

refuge on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, where they bivouaced as best they could on the river bottoms. They numbered about six hundred and forty, all told. An encampment was improvised of such materials as were at hand. There were a few old wagons with covers; tents were constructed by stretching quilts and blankets over frames made of small poles; other shelters still were made by weaving brush between stakes driven into the ground; and here were huddled women and children destitute of both food and adequate clothing. It was the latter part of September, and the cold, fall rains frequently drenched them. It was the sickly season of the year and most of the camp suffered from alternating chills and fever. Such as were able to leave camp went into neighboring towns up and down the river and applied to farmers and settlers about them for work and relief from starvation. Their camp from the general destitution that prevailed is called in our annals "The Poor Camp."[23] In the midst of their greatest distress for want of food, a most remarkable circumstance, yet well attested, happened. This was no other than the falling into their camp, and for several miles up and down the river of immense numbers of quails, birds quite common in that country, but these flocks were so exhausted, evidently from a long flight, that the women and children and even the sick, since they came tumbling into the tents or bowers, could take them up with their hands. Thousands were so caught, and the sick and the destitute were fed upon daintiest food.[24]

23. Col. Kane called at this encampment, after he had visited Nauvoo, while it was still in the hands of the mob forces who had taken possession of it and thus described conditions as he found them: "Here, among the docks and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of sevarl hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground. * * * Dreadful indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospitals, nor poor house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shivers of fever were searching to the marrow. These were Mormons, famishing in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. * * * They were, all told, not more than six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand." Kane's Lecture "The Mormons," p. 69.

24. The quail incident occurred upon the 9th of October and is thus recorded in the manuscript journal History of Brigham Young: "On the 9th of October, while our teams were waiting on the banks of the Miss. for the poor Saints, * * *

No sooner was the news of the results of the "Battle of Nauvoo" carried to the headquarters of Brigham Young, on the Missouri, and the destitute condition of the expelled saints made known, than a relief company was organized consisting of teams with tents and provisions to make the journey back to the Mississippi, to gather up the victims of the mob's hate and violence. This relief company started eastward under the direction of O. M. Allen. In due time the saints of the "Poor Camp" were brought away from the scenes of their afflictions, and found refuge among their friends in the camps on the Missouri.

Some difficulty arose between the local Indian agents and the Saints concerning the occupancy of the Indian lands on both sides of the Missouri, but more especially in regard to the lands of the Omahas on the west side. Before departing from Council Bluffs with the enlisted Battalion, Col. Allen gave to Brigham Young the following permit of passage through and permission to temporarily occupy Indian lands:

"HEADQUARTERS, MORMON BATTALION,
U. S. VOLUNTEERS,
July 16th, 1846.

"The Mormon people, now en route to California, are hereby authorized to pass through the Indian country on that route, and they may make stopping places at such points in the Indian country as may be necessary to facilitate the emigration of their whole people to California, and for such time as may be reasonably required for this purpose.

"At such stopping points they may entrench themselves with such stockade works or other fortification as may be necessary for their protection and defense against the Indians. This during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

"J. ALLEN,
"Lt. Col. U. S. A. Commanding Mormon Battalion of U. S. Volunteers."[25]

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left without any of the necessaries of life, * * * and nothing to start their journey with, the Lord sent flocks of quail, which lit upon their wagons and their empty tables, and upon the ground within their reach, which the Saints, and even the sick, caught with their hands until they were satisfied." (Hist. B. Young, *MS.* Bk. 2, pp. 382-3). This phenomenon extended some 30 or 40 miles along the river, and was generally observed. The quail in immense quantities had attempted to cross the river, but it being beyond their strength, had dropped into the river boats or on the bank. Wells, in Utah Notes *MS.*, 7. History of the Church-Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XVIII, p. 107. Also letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, of Jan. 6th, 1847; *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

25. Hist. Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 2, pp. 98-9.

Colonel Allen obtained a written and duly signed permission from representative chiefs of the Pottawattamie tribe for the Mormon people then upon their lands and as many more as might come, in their western movement, to settle on their lands, to occupy the same, cultivate and improve them so long as the Mormons should not give positive annoyance to these Indians.[26] Subsequently, with much flourish of Indian ceremony and a speech by the chief Pied Riche—surnamed *Le Clerc,* on account, it is said, of his scholarship[27]—the same privileges of occupancy of land was again pledged to the Saints; which, however, loses much of its effectiveness when it is known that the Indian title had been extinquished, and they were merely granting what really they neither had the power to give or withhold, and they themselves were to remove from these lands in the ensuing spring.[28]

Of much more importance was the permit granted by Col. Allen for a portion of the Mormon people to occupy the Pottawattamie lands, during the pleasure of the President of the United States, in view of the "Mormons" having, "on due application, raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the army of the West," in the war with Mexico.

The Colonel also secured from R. B. Mitchell, Indian subagent at Pottawattamie Agency, a statement to the effect that the permission of the Pottawattamie Indians was given of their own free will and consent, and apparently was for the good of both parties, "with no prospect of evil arising therefrom."[29] Copies of these documents Colonel Allen placed in the hands of both Brigham Young and Col. Kane; and it was the understanding that Allen would make this matter of passage through and temporary occupancy of Indian lands an item in his report to Washington. But evidently his sudden illness and death occurred before his report was drafted; and as Colonel Kane about the same time was taken ill and rendered incapable of taking the matter up directly with the Washington authorities, the abso-

26. See not I end of chapter for this document.
27. Kane's Lecture "The Mormons," p. 99.
28. See Kane's letter to Brigham Young (E) note I end of chapter.
29. For the several documents in question see Note I, end of chapter.

lute necessity for the Saints remaining at their present encampment on the Indian lands was not clearly presented for some time to the government, and some unpleasantness, arising from officiousness on the part of local Indian agents, was the result. Willingness on the part of the general government to do the right thing in the premises is manifest from the following communication on the subject issued from the office of Indian Affairs, War Department, to Major Thomas H. Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis:

"War Department,
"Off. Indian Affairs,
"Sept. 2, 1846.

"Sir:—Since my letter to you of the 27th July and the 22nd ult., in relation to the Mormons and the desire expressed by them to remain for a time on the lands recently purchased by the United States from the Pottawattamie Indians, and which lie within the limits of Iowa, the subject has been brought to the immediate notice of the President and Secretary of War.

"The object and intention of the Mormons in desiring to locate upon the lands in question, are not very satisfactorily set forth, either in the application to the President or in the letter transmitted to this office, which contained the assent of the Indian chiefs. If their continuance is really to be temporary and for such length of time only as will enable them to supply their wants and procure the necessary means for proceeding on their journey, the government will interpose no objections.

"The want of provisions and the near approach of winter, which will have set in before they can reach their proposed destination, would necessarily expose them to much suffering, if not to starvation and death; while on the other hand, a location and continuance for any very considerable length of time near Council Bluffs, would interfere with the removal of the Indians, an object of much interest to the people of that region of country, delay the survey and sales of the lands in question, and thus in all probability bring about a difficulty between Iowa, now about to come into the union as a state, and the general government. Both these extremes, in the opinion of the President, should be avoided. The rights and interests of Iowa, now that the Indian title has been extinguished, may not be jeopardized, while the laws of humanity and the rights of hospitality should not be disregarded.

"You will ascertain, if possible, the real intention of these

people in desiring to remain, and if you are satisfied that they will leave and resume their journey in the spring, or at such period as the season for traveling will justify, and that no positive injury is likely to arise to the Indians from their stay among them, you will instruct the sub-agent, and give notice to any other officers of the general government in that quarter, to interpose no objection to the Mormon people remaining on the lands referred to, during the suspension of their journey, or to their making such improvements and raising such crops as their convenience and wants may require; taking care, however, at the same time, to impress upon them the necessity of leaving at the earliest moment their necessities and convenience will justify, and of observing all laws and regulations in force upon the territory for the time being.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. MEDILL.[30]

"MAJOR THOMAS H. HARVEY,
"Supt., etc., St. Louis, Mo."

Colonel Kane not being able on account of his illness to present the matter of the Saints' occupancy of Indian lands to the authorities at Washington requested his father, Judge Kane, to do so, which he did with the result that the President after full consideration of the subject in all its bearings deemed it best to "give the permission in the form and on the condition contained in a letter to Major Harvey, the efficient superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis."[31]

In order to preserve their stock through the winter—and it should be remembered they had some 30,000 head of cattle besides horses, mules and sheep—the Saints needed a wider range than the Pottawattamie lands afforded, and hence had formed encampments on the west side of the Missouri as well as on the east side. These lands were occupied by the Omaha Indians, now but a wretched remnant of a once powerful tribe. The ravages of small-pox had greatly reduced their number, and the

30. (History of Brigham Young, *MS.*, Bk. 2, pp. 231-233). In a letter to Major Harvey somewhat later President Young said of this communication: *"If the principles advanced by the War Department in said communication are carried out, we shall be satisfied;"* and quotes the part of the above letter which virtually amounts to a permission from the government to remain a reasonable length of time upon the Indian lands and which was intended, doubtless, to be so interpreted by the President and the War Department. See letter of Medill of the Indian Office to Judge J. K. Kane, note I, end of chapter.

31. Medill's Letter to Judge J. K. Kane (f) note I, end of chapter.

Sioux, their war-like and powerful neighbors, had made successful war upon them until their spirits were broken.[32] They welcomed the Saints among them and gave them written permission to remain on their lands two years or as long as might suit their convenience, and to use all the wood and timber they might require, all, however, subject to the approval of their "great Father, the President of the United States." The Omahas furthermore agreed not to molest or steal stock or other property.[33] On their part the Saints agreed to help the Indians gather their crop of maiz, which they were afraid to harvest because of the likelihood of being abushed and murdered by the Sioux; also to assist them in building some houses, enclosing fields, teaching their young men husbandry, doing some blacksmithing for them, and trading with them. By making their chief encampment north of the Omaha villages the Mormon camp would also act as "a breakwater between the Omahas and the destroying rush of the Sioux."[34]

Notice of these measures of mutual helpfulness between Mormons and Omahas was sent direct to Washington by Brigham Young, asking the President of the United States to ratify the same.[35] But, as in the case of securing permission to settle on the Pottawattamie lands, the matter moved slowly at Washington, and meantime there were petty acts of officiousness on the part of local Indian agents, and especially concerning the use of fire wood and timber for building purposes. Having secured a

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32. "The whole Omaha nation are a poor, miserable, degraded race of beings, so far as we have any knowledge, and it would seem that they must soon come to an end, if they don't alter their course." Letter of Brigham to Hyde, Pratt and Taylor. *Mill. Star,* Vol. IX, p. 98.

33. See copy of agreement (g), note I, end of chatper. The Saints were much annoyed by the thievery practiced by the Omahas, however, and it was a matter of much complaint and of several formal conferences between the Chiefs and the Church leaders. See Hist. Brigham Young *MS.* for winter of 1846-7, *passim.*

34. Kane's Lecture "The Mormons," p. 101.

35. See History of Brigham Young, *MS.*, Bk. 2, pp. 238-240. The communication also calls attention to the fact that a small division of the Mormon people are camped some two or three hundred miles west of the Omaha villages on the north bottoms among the Puncas, "where similar feelings are manifested towards our people. Should Your Excellency consider the requests of the Indians for instruction reasonable, and signifying the same to us, we will give them all the information in mechanism and farming the nature of the case will admit, which will give us the opportunity of getting the assistance of their men to help us herd and labor, which we have much needed since the organization of the Battalion." The communication bears date of September 7th, 1846.

copy of the instructions issued from the War Department to Major Harvey, by which both he and the sub-agents were to be governed in the matter of the Pottawattamie lands, and having confidence that the attitude of the government would not be different with reference to the Omaha lands, and backed as they were by the powerful influence of the Kanes', and following especially the advice of Col. Kane,[36] President Young and his associate brethren refused to be disturbed in the matter of settling on Omaha lands and using such wood and timber as they needed, and preparing for putting in crops in the spring. On their part the agents and sub-agents continued from time to time to grumble about the use of wood and timber from the Indian lands; and Major Harvey informed the Pottawattamie chiefs that none of the Mormons in their tribe—some of the half breeds in the tribe had accepted the Mormon faith—would receive any of the annuities, a thing which the chiefs resented, but whether successfully or not cannot be ascertained. The Major also discharged a Mr. Case, government Indian farmer for twenty years among the Pawnees, apparently for no other reason than that he had a short time before accepted the Mormon faith. A farmer had for some time been promised to the Ottoe Indians, and when they expressed a preference for Mr. Case, whom they had long known, Harvey refused to appoint him, for no other reason, so far as known, than the one for which he had discharged him from the position of farmer among the Pottawattamie Indians, viz., he was a Mormon.[37] Such were the acts of prejudiced petty officials.

Finally, however, Col. Kane recovering from his illness visited Washington in the interests of his friends, the Mormons, and obtained permission for them to occupy Omaha lands upon the same terms as his father had procured for like permission to occupy Pottawattamie lands and their troubles on that score were practically ended.[38]

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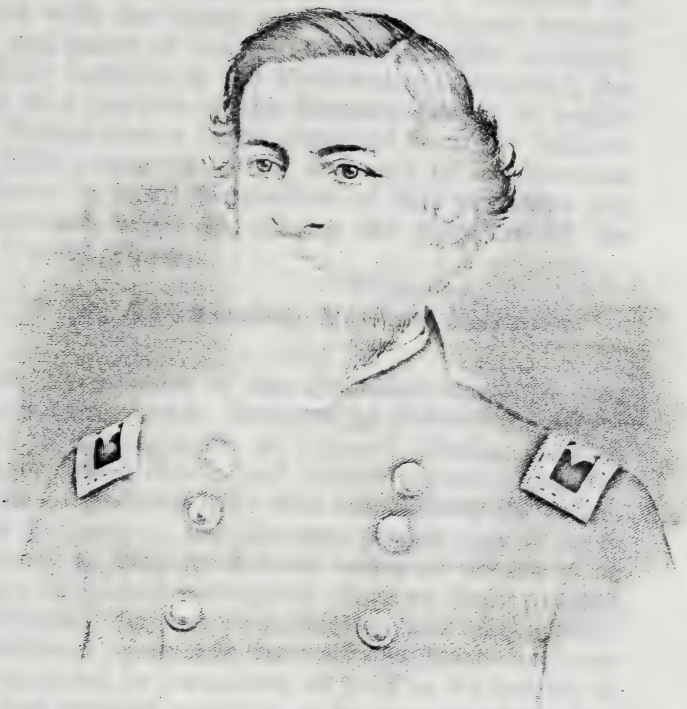
36. For the nature of that advise, see Letter to Col. Kane's, bearing date of Sept. 11 (E), note I, end of chapter.

37. Report of Wm. Clayton to the Council of the Twelve, Nov. 6, 1846, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 446. Also Letter of Willard Richards to Col. Kane. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 470-4.

38. See excerpt of Letters of Orson Spencer to President Brihgam Young, dated at Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1846 (h), note I, end of chapter.



Thomas L. Kane

NOTE 1. LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO MORMON OCCUPANCY OF INDIAN LANDS. (a) *Letter of Colonel James Allen.*

"HEADQUARTERS, MORMON BATTALION,
"COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 16th, 1846.

"The Mormon people having on due application raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the 'army of the West' in our present war with Mexico, and many of the men composing this battalion having to leave their families in the Pottawatomie country, the within permission to a portion of the Mormon people to reside for a time on the Pottawatomie lands, obtained from the Indians on my request is fully approved by me, and such of the Mormon people as may desire to avail themselves of this privilege are hereby fully authorized to do so, during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

"J. ALLEN,
"*Lieut. Col. U. S. A., Commanding Mormon Battalion.*"

(b) *The Written Permission of the Pottawattamies for the Mormons to Occupy their Lands, Secured by Colonel J. Allen*:

"Sub agency of Pottawattamie at Council Bluffs, July 2, 1846. We the undersigned chiefs and braves representing the Pottawattamie tribe of Indians near this sub agency do voluntarily consent that as many of the Mormon people now in or to come into our country as may wish from cause or necessity or convenience to make our lands a stopping place on their present emigration to California may so stop, remain and make cultivation and improvement upon any part of our lands not now cultivated or appropriated by ourselves, so long as we remain in the possession of our present country, or so long as they shall not give positive annoyance to our people.

"Oh-be-te-ke-shick. X His mark.
"Joseph La Trombois. X His mark.
"Wash-e-ash-kak. X His mark.
"Mack-e-etow-shuck. X His mark.
"Lee-ko. X His mark.
"Myn-co. X His mark.
"Ton-a-bois. X His mark.
"Nau-Kee. X His mark.
"Pat-e-go-shuck. X His mark.
"Wau-ve-nu-me. X His mark.

"Signed in the presence of

"J. ALLEN,
"*Capt. First Dragoons.*"

(The foregoing is from the daily Journal of Elder John Taylor, subsequently President of the Church, and stands in the entry for July 2nd, 1846).

(c) *Sub-Indian Agent Mitchell Indorsement of Pottawattamie Permission for Mormons to Settle on their Lands*:

"SUB-AGENCY OF POTTAWATOMIES,
"NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 20, 1846.

"With regard to the foregoing permission of the Pottawatomie Indians near my sub-agency given their own free will and accord to the Mormon people, I willingly certify that it is for the apparent good of both parties, and that there is no prospect of evil arising therefrom.

"R. B. MITCHELL,
"*Indian Sub-Agent.*"

(d) *Colonel Kane's Letter to President Polk Indorsing Above Documents.*

"CAMP OF ISRAEL, NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS,
"MISSOURI RIVER, July 20, 1846.

"DEAR SIR:—Annexed is a copy of a permission of the chief men of the Pottawatomies to the Mormon people to remain in their country as long as suits their convenience, together with a full approbation of the same given by Captain James Allen of the first dragoons detailed to the special service in this region by Col. Kearney, and a paper of similar purport from Mitchell sub-agent for the tribe in question.

"Being requested to approve these documents I have no hestation in at the same time saying that while I can see no reason why the Mormon people should not winter in the valleys of this neighborhood. I consider it exceedingly important to them to be allowed the privilege of so doing. My own advice to them has been opposed to the crossing of too large a body of them over the Missouri during the present year.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"THOMAS L. KANE.

"The President of the United States."

(History of Brigham Young *MS*. Bk. 2, pages 99, 100, 101).

(e) *Letter of Colonel Kane to "General (Brigham) Young." Written from Point a Poules—After He had Left the Camp of Israel to Return to the East*:

"DEAR SIR:—Mr. Sub-Agent Mitchell has requested me to communicate to you orders he has received from Major Harvey,

Supt. of Indian affairs at St. Louis, to enjoin your people to be careful not to commit any waste of timber upon the lands of the Pottawatomies during your passage through their country, as they have no right to give you the permission you have received from them, the treaty being already ratified by which they have conveyed said lands to the United States; and, he says, your passage through the country should occupy no longer time than is altogether necessary.

"I have just informed him that I think it would be more in order for him to write to you in person; and, at the same time offering him the services of Mr. Rockwell, to convey to you his message, have declined the office, which my present weak and low state makes exceedingly difficult to me; yet I must not, in spite of my wavering hand, abstain from saying in comment upon his notification to you, which you may not understand, that it need not give you uneasiness. The Pottawatomies, it is true, have no right to convey to you their timber, etc., title to it being already fully vested in the United States; but there is no reason, in my opinion, wherefore your people should not be justified *ex post facto,* so to speak, by government in using all that is necessary for their perfect comfort and convenience. My papers will be arranged in a day or two, I trust, in such a manner as to represent themselves, in case my present drawback continues to be of moment, and thus, whether I reach Washington in safety or not, I feel justified in saying to you to stop where befits you, and cut all needful wood and to continue in your present course unchanged.

"The letter from Major H. and that from Mr. Medill (head of bureau of Washington) upon which it is founded, which have been shown me, are, it is true, quite in rule, but matters shall all be arranged, believe me, as is proper in a few weeks, and you will hear as little of your using timber as of the 'necessity' that your passage through the country should occupy any shorter time than such as suits you best.

"Farewell. I am constrained to be brief, very much against my will. Dr. Richards will understand why this stands as my only answer to his kind letter. I did not credit myself with force to write so much when I began. Farewell. Say to my friends for me that which I would say, and yourself and your own, remember me as

"Yours sincerely,

"THOMAS L. KANE.

"GENERAL YOUNG.

"*Point a Poules,* Sept. 11, 1846."

(History of Brigham Young, page 249-250).

(f) *Letter of W. Medill Head of Office of Indian Affairs, War Department, Washington, D. C., to Judge J. K. Kane, Announcing Permission to Occupy Pottawattamie Lands.*

"WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Sept. 3, 1846.

"SIR:—The President has handed me your letter of the 29th ult. and its enclosures, on the subject of giving permission to a party of Mormons, who are emigrating to the west of the Rocky Mountains, to remain for a while and winter in the country recently purchased from the Pottawatomie Indians, near Council Bluffs where they now are.

"After a full consideration of the subject in all its bearings, the President has deemed it best to give the permission in the form and upon the conditions contained in a letter to Major Harvey,[39] the efficient superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, who has already given his special attention to the subject and corresponded with the department in relation to it, and who can communicate rapidly with the Mormons through the sub-agent for the Pottawatomies, or through Col. Kane, should he remain in that country.

"By the President's direction, a copy of the letter to Major Harvey is herewith enclosed with the request that you will be good enough to transmit it to Col. Kane.

"Very respectfully,
"Your most obedient servant,
"W. MEDILL,

"JUDGE J. K. KANE,
"Philadelphia, Penn."

(History of Brigham Young, *MS.*, Bk. 2, pages 460-1).

(g) *Written Permission of the Omaha's for the Mormons to Temporarily Occupy their Lands*:

"WEST SIDE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER,
"NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, August 31, 1846.

"We, the undersigned chiefs and braves, representatives of the Omaha nation of Indians, do hereby grant to the Mormon people the privilege of tarrying upon our lands for two years or more, or as long as may suit their convenience, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations to prosecute their journey west of the Rocky Mountains, provided that our great father, the President of the United States, shall not counsel us to the contrary.

39. This letter is given on a previous page of this chapter, which see.

"And we also do grant unto them the privilege of using all the wood and timber that they shall require.

"And furthermore agree that we will not molest or take from them their cattle, horses, sheep or any other property.

"Big Elk, his X mark.
"Standing Elk, his X mark.
"Little Chief, his X mark."

(h) *Excerpt of Letter from Orson Spencer, Announcing Col. Kane's Success in Obtaining Permission for the Mormons to Occupy Omaha Lands.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26, 1846.

"President B. Young,

"I arrived here well on the 23rd inst. in company with Brother Cahoon, twenty-six days from camp; called upon Col. Kane the next day and was most agreeably welcomed and entertained for several hours. He said he had notified you of the permission of government to remain on the Omaha lands. Had also made an unsuccessful effort to create sub-agencies to be filled by yourself and others, among several Indian tribes. Did not certainly know what names to nominate to agencies among the Puncas, Creeks, Choctaws, etc. I mention this, that if you think best you may furnish them in case that he should renew the attempt and succeed. He informed me that Lyman Wight had been with the Creeks, but owing to nominal or real intermeddling (he thought the former) had been driven away by them. He wished that your influence might be felt in setting him in order if possible, as his conduct was the occasion of prejudice to the body of Saints. . . . The cabinet instructed the Indian agents to disabuse the Mormons and allay prejudice."

(Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, pp. 535-539).

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF "WINTER QUARTERS"—PREPARATIONS FOR COMPLETING THE MARCH WESTWARD

The lateness of the arrival of the Camp of Israel upon the Missouri had rendered impossible any attempt to lead more than a small and an especially equipped company of Pioneers into the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. The time employed in raising the battalion for the army, together with the reduction of efficient men in the camp by reason of so large an enlistment,

made it impractical now even to send an efficient company of pioneers across the plains and into the mountains. Accordingly word was sent to Bishop George Miller's advance encampment not to attempt a journey into the mountains the present season, even countermanding previous recommendations that he move his camp to Fort Laramie or its vicinity;[1] and suggesting that an encampment be made at Grand Island, where his stock could be wintered, and communication be maintained with the principal camp.

Meantime a place for winter encampment to which most of the Saints on the Missouri could be gathered was sought. The design of moving the camps on the Missouri to Grand Island was abandoned. Up and down the Missouri river was a rich growth of wild pea vines on which stock could be fed through the winter, and it was finally determined to select winter quarters in the vicinity the camps then occupied. Some twelve miles north of their first ferry on the Missouri was a "pretty plateau overlooking the river," and this was the site selected for a temporary abode, and given the name of "Winter Quarters," the present Florence, Nebraska, some five or six miles above the city of Omaha.

No sooner was this designated as the temporary gathering place of the Saints than the greatest activity prevailed among nearly all the camps to secure a place at what was to be headquarters as well as winter quarters. As the sub-divisions of camps moved to the designated place the labor forces were organized much as they had been in the founding of Pisgah and Garden Grove. They were divided and sub-divided into groups; and soon the "miracle" of a city regularly laid off with streets and byways appeared in the wilderness. It was enclosed by a stockade, chiefly to keep out the thieving Omahas; some rude fortifications were also erected and a block-house, a precaution against a possible incursion of war bands of Sioux. A meeting house for council and public worship was built. Workships of various kinds were erected, and a water power grist mill installed on the river, which relieved the people from the inconvenience, long endured, *en march,* of grinding their grain in cof-

1. Hist. Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 2, pp. 129-30.

fee-mills and between hand stones. The houses were chiefly of logs covered with clap-boards or with willows laid across poles and covered with dirt. In some instances open cuts were made in the hillside and then covered with willows and dirt, that made comfortable dwelling places, called "dugouts."[2] By January the 6th there were, of all classes of houses, but chiefly of logs, more than seven hundred, and these by spring were increased to about one thousand.[3]

While this "city" was building, others of the organized industrial forces were breaking up lands and putting in the next year's crop; others were herding the great droves of cattle on the rush bottoms of the river, constructing stock shelters, or gathering hay to eke out the range when winter in all its severity should close in upon them. "The miles of rich prairies enclosed and sowed with the grain they could spare," says Colonel Kane, "and the houses, stacks and cattle shelters, had the seeming of an entire county, with its people and improvements transplanted there unbroken."[4]

At first the city was divided into thirteen wards with a bishopric appointed to preside over each,[5] with instructions to look after both the spiritual and temporal wellfare of the people, to suggest industrial activities and look to the maintainance of

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2. "The Buildings [at Winter Quarters] were generally of logs from 12 to 18 feet long, a few were split, and made from lynn and cottonwood timber; many roofs were made by splitting oak timber into boards, called shakes, about 3 ft. long and 6 in. wide, and kept in place by weights and poles; others were made of willows, straw and earth, about a foot thick; some of puncheon. Many cabins had no floors; there were a few dugouts on the sidehills—the fireplace was cut out at the upper end. The ridge-pole roof was supported by two uprights in the centre and roofed with straw and earth, with chimneys of prairie sod. The doors were made of shakes, with wooden hinges and string latches; the inside of the log houses was daubed with clay; a few had stoves." (Hist. B. Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, 1846, p. 534).

3. The "city" was laid off into 41 blocks; and there were 820 lots (History of Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 3, p. 61). "Upward of 1,000 houses were built—700 of them in about 3 months, upon a pretty plateau overlooking the river and neatly laid out with highways and byways and fortified with breastwork and stockade." *Liverpool Route,* published by F. D. Richards, 1855, p. 83. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor. *Mill. Star,* Vol. IX, pp. 96-100. Also Kane's "The Mormons," p. 101.

4. Kane's "The Mormons," p. 101.

5. Following is a list of the Bishops of these wards: First ward, Levi E. Riter; second, William Fossett; third and fourth, Benjamin Brown; fifth and sixth, John Vance; seventh; Edward Hunter; eighth, David Fairbanks; ninth, Daniel Spencer; tenth, Joseph Mathews; eleventh, Abraham Hoagland; twelfth, David D. Yearsley; thirteenth, Joseph B. Nobles.

the sanitary conditions so needful to the health of the community. Before the winter set in, the number of wards increased to twenty-two.[6] A High Council was also selected for Winter Quarters which was in this case authorized to exercise the functions both of an ecclesiastical High Council,[7] and also a municipal council. Such a council was given also to the camps at Pisgah, Garden Grove, Kanesville (Council Bluffs), Council Point, and also at Bishop Miller's camp *L' Eau qui Coule,* or Running Water River, about one hundred and fifty miles northwest of Winter Quarters.[8] The nature of the duties of these High Councils may be learned from the instructions to Father Morely, the President of the one when installed at Kanesville: "The council was instructed to oversee and guard the conduct of the Saints, and counsel them that the laws of God and good order are not infringed. . . . *It will be wisdom and necessary to establish schools for the education of children during the coming winter in this region, and we wish you to see that This done.*"[9]

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6. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor: "Our great City sprang up in a night as it were, like Jonah's gourd, is divided into 22 wards over which 22 bishops with their counselors preside, and no one suffers for food or raiment unless it be through their own fault, that is, in not asking for it, or being well and too lazy to work; but the fact of so many houses having been built in so short a time, is a proof of the general industry of the people, which will bear comparison with the history of all the nations of the earth, and in all periods of time."

7. For a description of the organization and functions of a high council see *ante,* Chapter LIV, this History.

8. Of the extent of the Mormon Camps at this time on the United States Missouri Frontier Col. Kane says: "They had no camp or settlement of equal size [to Winter Quarters] in the Pottawatamie country. There was less to apprehend here from Indian invasion and the people scattered themselves, therefore, along the rivers and streams, and in the timber groves, wherever thy found inviting localities for farming operations. In this way many of them acquired what have since proved to be valuable pre-emption rights. (This in 1850 when the Lecture was delivered). Upon the Pottawatamie lands, scattered through the border regions of Missouri and Iowa, in the Sac and Fox country, a few among the Iowas, among the Poncas in a great company upon the banks of the L' Eau qui Coule, or Running Water River, and at Omaha, Winter Quarters, the Mormons sustained themselves through the heavy winter of 1846-1847." (Kane's "The Mormons," p. 101).

9. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.,* Bk. 2, p. 91. The italics are mine. This instruction is emphasized for the reason that the Church has been grievously slandered as to its attitude on education. It will be remembered in this connection that at the last conference of the Church held at Nauvoo, W. W. Phelps "Was appointed to make provision for the writing of books for the education of the Youth in the new location"—i. e., in the Western wilderness into which the church was then about to remove. *Ante,* ch. LIX, this History. "*December 31st*: * * * Several schools for children have been started in camp [i. e., Winter Quarters] within the last ten days." (Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.,* Bk. 2, p. 534).

View of the Missouri River & Council Bluffs from an elevation.

It was the policy of President Young to keep everybody employed. It was in pursuance of this policy that he built the grist mill—more to give employment to the men at Winter Quarters than hope of any good his community would get of it, since to them Winter Quarters was but an abode of a few months, two years at the most. "And then," as Brigham Young remarked, "if the Saints did not reap any material benefits from it, the Indians whose lands they then occupied, probably would."[10] Besides the building of the mill many engaged in the making of willow baskets, wash boards, half bushel measures, to be sold to the Iowa and Missouri settlers in the spring.[11] These chiefly the occupations of the men. On their part the women in addition to their household duties, engaged in spinning, knitting, making leggings from deer hides, and family clothing.

In the midst of these industrial activities there were occasional annoyances, chiefly occasioned by the thieving propensities of the Indians surrounding them, and the intermittent assaults made upon the Omahas by the Iowas and the Sioux. Early in December Big Head, second chief of the Omahas, his family and a few friends were camped near Winter Quarters, when they were attacked in the night by a band of Iowas. The Omaha chief was severely wounded, as were a number of others of his party. They were received into the stockade of Winter Quarters and cared for until another party of their tribe passed through the "city" on their way south, when Big Head and his party went with them to an encampment a little above the old ferry over the Missouri. This second party had been as roughly treated by the Sioux, as Big Head's party had been by the Iowas. Sixty miles north of Winter Quarters they had been attacked, while asleep, and seventy-three of their number killed. Most of the Omaha warriors at the time of these assaults were off on a hunting expedition; "and those who were killed or

10. "History of the Church"-Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

11. History of Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 2, p. 534 (6th of Jan. 1847). "Hundreds of dollars worth have already been completed and there is a prospect of quite an income from this scource in the spring." Letter to Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, 6th Jan, '47. *Mill. Star,* Vol. IX, p. 100.

remained here," says Brigham Young, "have lived mostly on our cattle, *either by gift or theft.*"[12]

During the fall and winter there was considerable sickness and many deaths in the camps. Colonel Kane in his lecture, "The Mormons, from furnished data, reports six hundred burials at Winter Quarters before cold weather brought the camp relief.[13] In one of the camps on the west of the river, as early as the 31st of July, he reports 37 *per cent.* of its members down with fever and a sort of "scorbutic disease, frequently fatal, which they (the Mormons) named the 'Black Canker.' "[14] The camps on the east side of the river fared worse than those on the west, due, it is supposed, to the prevailing southwest winds which carried to them the *mismata* of the river bottoms. The Missouri Bottom—punned into "Misery Bottom" by the Saints, in memory of what they suffered there—with its marshes made by the overflow of the stream in early summer, and fed by sluggish streams that empty into it from both sides—these, in the late summer months, together with the main shrunken stream, become "impure as open sewers," and under the blazing sun give off miasmata that render the air heavy of disease germs. The Indians living in the river bottom, the previous year—which was not more unhealthful than 1846—are said to have lost one-ninth of their number. Sure it is that mortality among the Saints was heavy, due no doubt as Col. Kane suggested, "to the low state to which their systems had been brought by long continued endurance of want and hardship." "It must be remembered also," he continues, "that they were the first turn-

12. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, Jan. 6th, 1847, *Mill. Star,* Vol. IX, p. 98. Notwithstanding these annoyances, Brigham Young doubtless formed his "Indian Policy," practiced both now and later in Utah—*"It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them."*

13. Kane's "The Mormons," in Tyler's Battalion, p. 94, note.

14. It was also called "black leg," according to George Q. Cannon who thus describes it: "Among other difficulties with which the Saints at Winter Quarters had to contend there was sickness of a serious character. The want of vegetables, and the poor diet to which they were confined, had the effect to produce scurvy, or 'black-leg,' as it was called there. The limbs would swell, become black and the flesh be very sore. There was much suffering and many deaths from this disease. Potatoes, brought from Missouri, had an excellent effect in checking and curing the disease. Above Winter Quarters some miles there had been an old fort, which had been abandoned some time. There horse radish was discovered growing. It proved a very great boon to the sick at Winter Quarters, as it was a most excellent antidote for the scurvy." (History of the Church-Cannon-*Juvenile Instructor,* Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

ers-up of the prairie sod, and that this of itself made them liable to the sickness of new countries. It was where their agricultural operations had been most considerable, and in situations on the left bank of the river, where the prevalent southwest winds wafted to them the miasmata of its shores, that disease was most rife.

"In some of these the fever prevailed to such an extent that hardly any escaped it. They left their cows go unmilked, they wanted for voices to raise the psalm of Sundays. The few who were able to keep their feet, went about among the tents and wagons with food and water, like nurses through the wards of an infirmary. Here at one time the digging [of graves] got behind hand: burials were slow; and you might see women sit in the open tents keeping the flies off their dead children, sometimes after decomposition had set in."[15]

In the midst of these physical afflictions of the Saints every effort was made to keep the fires burning upon the alters of their faith. Religious gatherings were frequent, at which spiritual instruction and admonition were given, and accepted as injunctions to duty. Fortunately the Saints passed through the trying experiences of fall and winter of 1846 without being hardened in their spirits; and undoubtedly sorrows that do not harden, tend to sanctification of the heart of man, broaden his sympathies, and make him more quickly responsive to the woes of others—prepare him truly for brotherhood with his fellows. Is that the explanation of these afflictions which visited the Saints in their Missouri river camps? I would not venture dogmatically to say so; but the afflictions came, and that upon the eve of the Church of the Latter-day Saints embarking upon a community effort of colony planting, the greatest of modern times, and in which brotherhood of man, not a pretty sentiment merely, but a working principle, resulting in mutual and unselfish helpfulness, was of first importance—the one thing needful, since it would beget all else.

The Saints were also united during this eventful period of their experience by their joys as well as by their sorrows. Their religion, not of their life a thing a part, but more nearly their

15. Kane's "The Mormons," pp. 93-4.

whole mental and emotional existence, was fortunately, not austere to the point of crowding out of life the joy of living. It did not bar "rose-lipped laughter," sparkling merriment, intellectual playfulness,[16] the lively strains of the violin, social intercourse, or the dancing party. There were also family gatherings, birthday and wedding-day anniversaries were celebrated, music and song nowhere and at no time better served their purpose of cheering the hearts of men than in these wilderness encampments of the Latter-day Saints. Of these things somewhat was said in the chapter describing the march of the Camp of Israel from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs;[17] in the chapter in which was given the account of the departure of the Battalion on its "war march," Colonel Kane has described how the "modern Israel" could dance.[18] These innocent amusements were indulged in the camps upon the Missouri, and lightened somewhat the gloom of the trying winter months of 1846-7.

Meantime the serious business of preparing for the continuation of the march into the wilderness, the completion of the exodus from the United States was not neglected. It was considered in many council meetings of the presiding authorities, it was the chief topic of conversation and of discussion wherever two or three were gathered together. Thought upon it finally so crystallized in the mind of Brigham Young that on the 14th of January, 1847, at Winter Quarters, he was prepared to announce "The Word and Will of the Lord" upon the march of the Camps of Israel to the West. The following is excerpted from the revelation:

"Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

"Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and

16. "The Mormons took the young and hopeful side [i. e., of their hardships]. They could make sport and frolic of their trials, and often turn right sharp suffering into right round laughter against themselves. I certainly heard more jests and 'Joe Millers' while in this Papillion camp than I am likely to hear again in all the remainder of my days." (Kane's "The Mormons," p. 92).

17. Chapter LXII.

18. Chapter LXIII, note 55.

his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles.

"And this shall be our covenant, that we will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

"Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing and other necessaries for the journey that they can.

"When the companies are organized, let them go to with their might, to prepare for those who are to tarry.

"Let each company with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring; then choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

"Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have gone into the army, that the cries of the widow and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

"Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season, and this is the will of the Lord concerning his people.

"Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a Stake of Zion.

"And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your families. . . .

"And let my servants that have been appointed go and teach this my will to the Saints, that they may be ready to go to a land of peace.

"Go thy way and do as I have told you, and fear not thine enemies; for they shall not have power to stop my work.

"Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time.

"And if any man shall seek to build up himself, and seeketh not my counsel, he shall have no power, and his folly shall be made manifest.

"Seek ye and keep all your pledges one with another, and covet not that which is thy brother's.

"Keep yourselves from evil to take the name of the Lord in vain, for I am the Lord your God, even the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.

"I am he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and my arm is stretched out in the last days to save my people Israel.

"Cease to contend one with another, cease to speak evil one of another.

"Cease drunkenness, and let your words tend to edifying one another.

If thou borrowest of thy neighbor, thou shalt return that which thou hast borrowed; and if thou canst not repay, then go straightway and tell they neighbor, lest he condemn thee.

"If thou shalt find that which thy neighbor has lost, thou shalt make diligent search till thou shalt deliver it to him again.

"Thou shalt be diligent in preserving what thou hast, that thou mayest be a wise steward; for it is the free gift of the Lord thy God, and thou art his steward.

"If thou art merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.

"If thou art sorrowful, call on the Lord thy God with supplication, that your souls may be joyful.

"Fear not thine enemies, for they are in mine hands, and I will do my pleasure with them.

"My people must be tried in all things that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them, even the glory of Zion, and he that will not bear chastisement, is not worthy of my kingdom.

"Let him that is ignorant learn wisdom by humbling himself and calling upon the Lord his God, that his eyes may be opened that he may see, and his ears opened that he may hear.

"For my Spirit is sent forth into the world to enlighten the humble and contrite, and to the condemnation of the ungodly.

"Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation that has driven you out;

"And now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great, unless they speedily repent; yea, very speedily;

"For they killed the prophets, and them that were sent unto them, and they have shed innocent blood, which crieth from the ground against them:

"Therefore marvel not at these things, for ye are not pure; ye can not yet bear my glory; but ye shall behold it if ye are faithful in keeping all my words that I have given you from the days of Adam to Abraham; from Abraham to Moses; from Moses to Jesus and his apostles; and from Jesus and his apostles to Joseph Smith, whom I did call upon by mine angels, my ministering servants; and by mine own voice out of the heavens to bring forth my work.

"Which foundation he did lay, and was faithful and I took him to myself.

"Many have marveled because of his death, but it was needful that he should seal his testimony with his blood, that he might be honored, and the wicked might be condemned.

"Have I not delivered you from your enemies, only in that I have left a witness of my name?

"Now, therefore, hearken, O ye people of my church; and ye elders listen together; you have received my kingdom.

"Be diligent in keeping all my commandments, lest judgment come upon you, and your faith fail you, and your enemies triumph over you."[19]

After this revelation was received and anounced to the Saints, preparations were made both for the formation of a pioneer company and companies to follow immediately on its trail. Word was sent to the various encampments naming the men whom President Young desired to go with him in the first pioneer company and those who were to take the lead in organizing the other companies to follow.

Bishop Miller's company on the Running Water occasioned some anxiety to the Council of the Apostles. The Bishop had for sometime manifested a restless, insubordinate spirit.[20]

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19. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 136. This is the only formal and written revelation which Brigham Young issued during his long leadership of the Church, 1844-1877, thirty-three years; it must not be supposed, however, that because no other revelation was written that none was received. It is matter of certainty, with the immediate official associates of Brigham Young, and of the Saints, that a divine spirit attended upon him during his administration as President of the Church, giving divine guidance to him both in his words and in his administrative actions; and the inspiration of God bourn in upon his soul was not less real because he did not see proper to commit it to writing. For President Young's views upon this subject and a further discussion, see *ante*, ch. LVII, this History. This revelation, as is proper in relation to all revelations designed to become a law unto the church, was presented to the several quorums of the Priesthood, and enthusiastically accepted by them in a general assembly of quorums met for that purpose in the "Tabernacle" at Winter Quarters. (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, pp. 19-21).

20. Bishop Miller's camp among the Ponca Indians, at the junction of the Running Water River and the Missouri consisted of 62 wagons. When he left the main encampment at Council Bluffs his camp numbered 52 wagons; but at the Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork Miller's camp was overtaken by ten wagons under the leadership of Anson Call, which from that time became part of Miller's camp. Previous to the coming of Captain James Allen to raise the Battalion, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball had each organized a company of 75 wagons to make a forced march for the Mountains that season and Anson Call was made captain of the first of President Young's division. His ten wagons had crossed the Missouri shortly after Miller's camp had crossed, and went as far as the Elk Horn river, nearly fifty miles west of Winter Quarters. From this point on the 22nd of July, Call, under instructions from President Young, continued his westward march until he overtook Miller at the Pawnee villages, as already stated. When the united Miller and Call camps were resting on the west side of the Loupe, a tributary

Elders Ezra T. Benson, (who had been ordained in July a member of the quorum of Apostles to fill the vacancy occasioned by the apostasy of John E. Page) and Erastus Snow, were sent to present to Miller's camp "The Word and Will of the Lord" to the Camp of Israel—the revelation received by President Young; also to take charge of the camp and organize it preparatory to the westward march with a view to its intercepting either the pioneer company or some of the companies immediately following at some point *en route*.[21] Also carriyng instructions to Bishop Miller to come to Winter Quarters with his family. The camp at Running Water accepted the revelation and proceeded with the organization of the camp by appointing Titus Billings President, with Erastus Bingham and Joseph Holbrook as his counselors. Miller was disposed to resent the action of the Twelve through their representatives, for he claimed the right to lead the camp himself "by virtue of a special appointment from the Prophet Joseph Smith." But Anson Call and ten members of the council opposed Miller's claim, insisting that the Twelve apostles were the properly constituted leaders of the Church, and they persuaded all but the occupants of about ten wagons, the immediate family and special friends of Bishop Miller, to accept that view of the case.[22] Bishop Miller returned with his family to Winter Quarters, and on the 23rd of March the instructions to the camp on the Running Water were changed, and instead of moving westward, to intercept the pioneers *en route* they were directed to "come down as quickly as possible to Winter Quarters, to put in a spring crop,"[23] and under this

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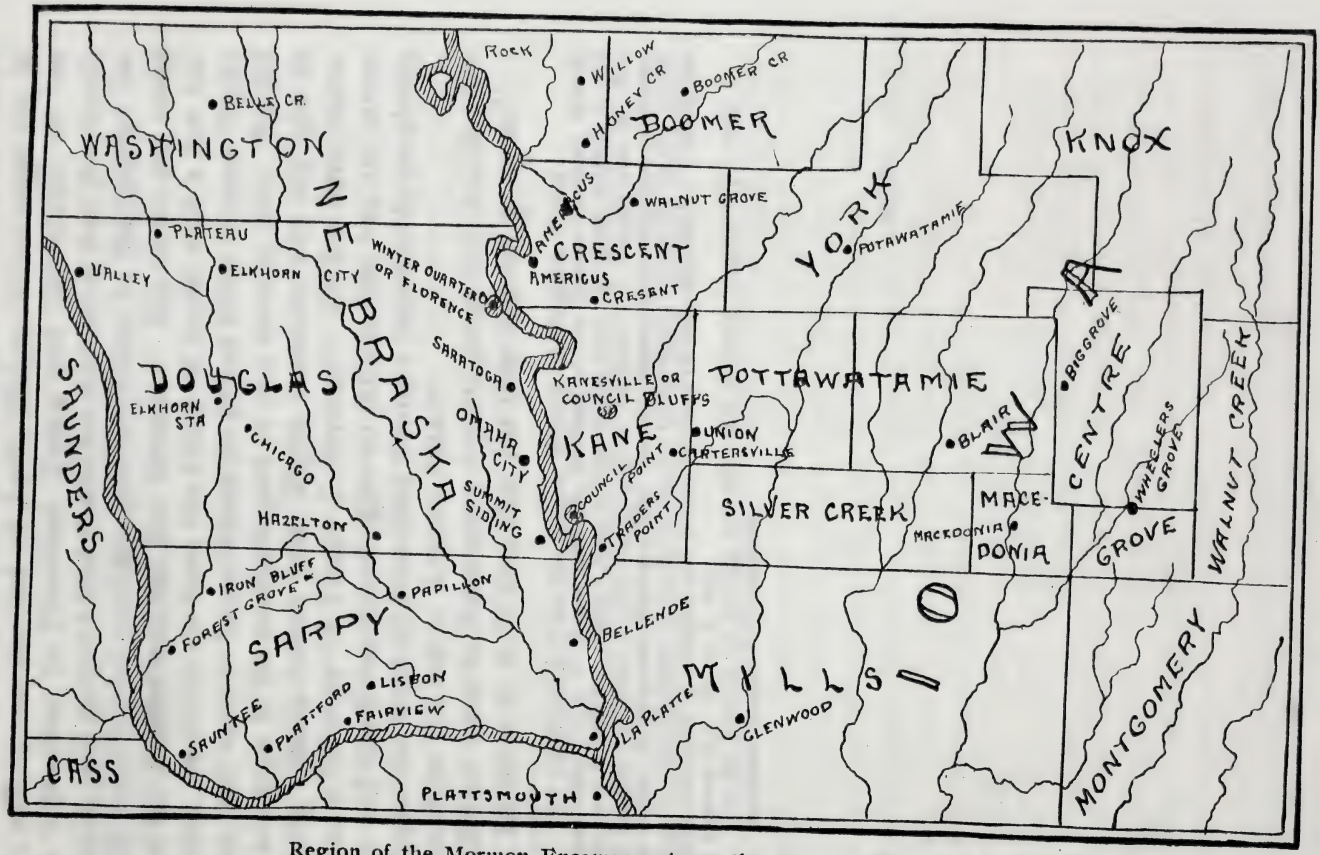
of La Platte, an express arrived from President Young instructing them to move no further westward that season, but to go into winter encampment on Grand Island; also appointing twelve men, with Bishop Miller as President, to direct the affairs of the camp, as in other camps that were being settled for the winter. About the same time eight chiefs of the Ponca tribe arrived at Miller's camp, and proposed that he move to their villages on the Running Water. This invitation Miller accepted instead of following President Young's instructions to winter at Grand Island, and dragged his company eleven days' drive almost due north from the general course of the western march of the Church. (Biography of William C. Staines, in Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. IV, p. 118, and Biography of Anson Call, *Ibid*, p. 144).

21. They also carried with them a long letter from the council of the Twelve (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, pp. 30-39), outlining the general plan of the intended movement westward and giving all the news that had come to them from the Missions and the Battalion.

22. Biography of Anson Call, Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. IV, p. 144.

23. This action of the Council of the Twelve was upon the motion of Elder Geo. A. Smith, History of Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 3, p. 72.



Region of the Mormon Encampments on the Missouri River, 1846–7

instruction the camp moved to Winter Quarters. A few days later, namely, on the 2nd of April, Bishop Miller came out in open opposition to President Young and the council of the Apostles, and declared that it was his conviction that the church should move to the southern part of Texas, to the country between the Neuces and the Rio Grande.[24] His views not being accepted, he withdrew from the Camp of Israel with a few followers, and went to Texas where he joined Elder Lyman Wight who had gone to the southern part of that state in 1845. He did not long remain united with Wight, however, but left him to become a follower of James J. Strang.[25] Of his later movements and death our annals give no information but his career illustrates the truth of President Young's remarkable prophecy, delivered on the 8th of August, 1844.[26]

"All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it, if they can, but they will not prosper."

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24. The following is from the journal History of Brigham Young:
"April 2nd, * * * I met with the brethren of the Twelve Apostles, Bishop Whitney, and Miller and others. Bishop Geo. Miller gave his views relative to the Church moving to Texas to the country lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande rivers. I informed Bishop Miller that his views were wild and visionary, that when we moved hence it would be to the Great Basin where the Saints would soon form a nucleus of strength and power sufficient to cope with mobs." (Brigham Young History *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 79).

25. For an account of Strang, see *ante* this History, chapter LVI, note I.

26. See *ante*, chapter LVI, *passim*.

"The Irish Chapter in American History"*

BY THOMAS S. LONERGAN

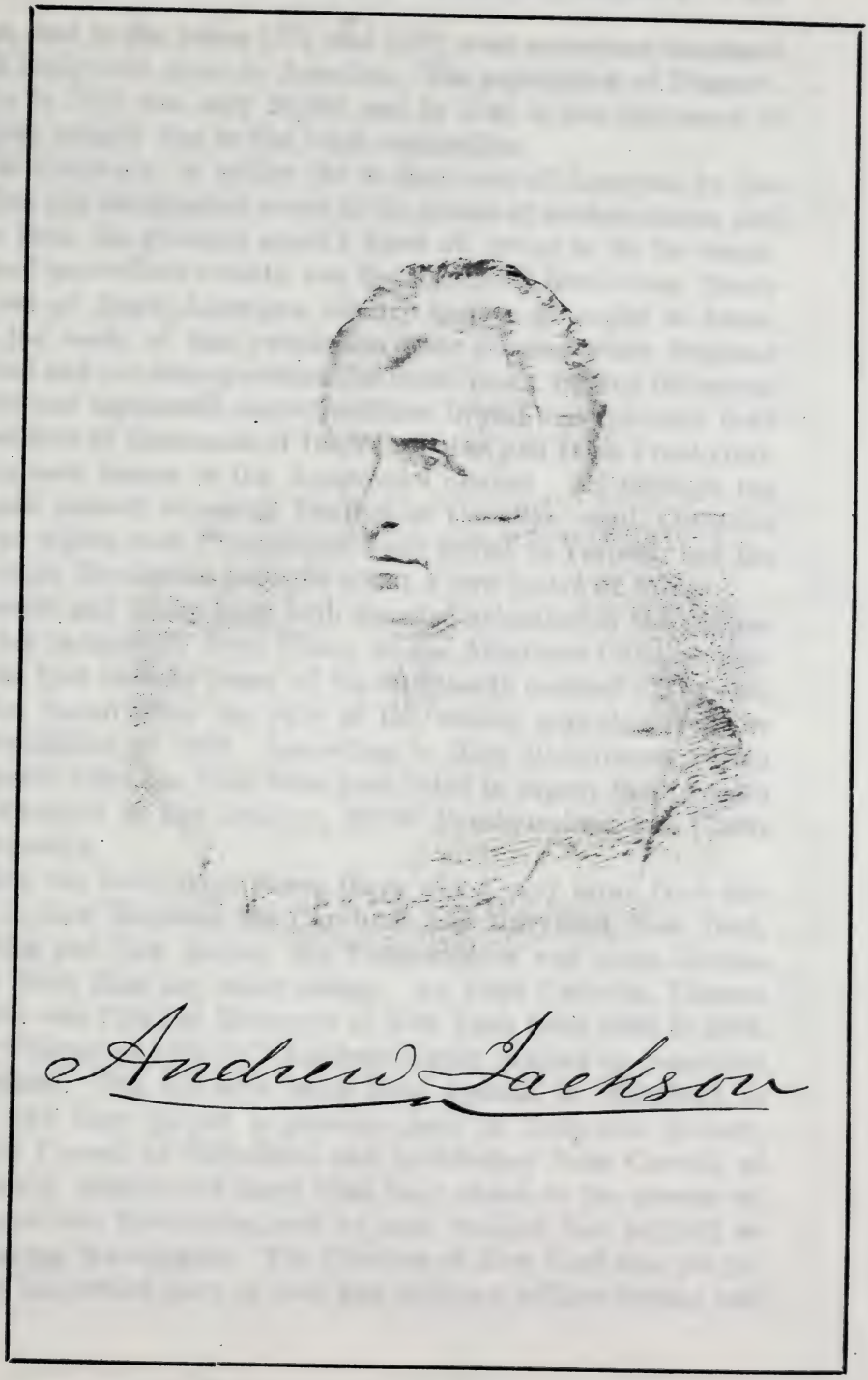
THE Irish have been coming to this country for almost three hundred years. In Hotten's list of emigrants who arrived in Virginia between 1616 and 1620 we find the following Irish names: John Higgins, John Healy, Thomas Casey, James O'Conner, John Duffy, Thomas Dunn, John O'Brien, Thomas Dougherty and Francis Dowling. Those names have a distinctive Hibernian ring. They certainly were not "Anglo-Saxon."

Two Irishmen named William Mullins and Christopher Martin came over in the Mayflower, which landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. During the last half of the seventeenth century, there was a large tide of emigration from Ireland to the American colonies.

We know that the Irish were in Boston at a very early period. Among the first shopkeepers in our "Modern Athens" in 1634, was an Irishman named James Coogan. The eighth volume of the Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, contains a very able paper entitled: "The Irish Pioneers of New York City," by Victor J. Dowling. In that paper Judge Dowling has proved that Irishmen lived on Manhattan Island, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

In 1728 over 5,000 Irish emigrants arrived in Philadelphia, and during the year 1729 the classification of European emigration to the Province of Pennslyvania was as follows: English and Welsh, 267; Germans, 243, and Irish, 5,655. During the first two weeks of August, 1773, according to the official record, 3,500 exiles of Erin arrived at the port of Philadelphia

*Historical paper read at the annual meeting of the American Irish Historical Society, Waldorf Astoria, New York City, January 17, 1912.


Andrew Jackson

alone, and in the years 1771 and 1772, over seventeen thousand Irish emigrants came to America. The population of Pennsylvania in 1701 was only 20,000 and in 1749 it had increased to 250,000, largely due to the Irish emigration.

The discovery, or rather the re-discovery of America, by Columbus was the greatest event in the annals of modern times, and since then, the greatest event I know of, owing to its far-reaching and marvellous results, was the American Revolution. Every student of Anglo-American history knows, or ought to know, that the seeds of that revolution were planted when England enacted and put into operation the Penal Laws. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries those brutal and inhuman laws forced tens of thousands of Irish Catholics and Irish Presbyterians to seek homes in the American Colonies. All through the Colonial period, wherever Puritan or Cavalier ruled, Catholics had no rights that Protestants were bound to respect, but the American Revolution brought about a new order of things.

Froude and Lecky have both directed attention to the volume of Irish emigration from Ulster to the American Colonies during the first seventy years of the eighteenth century. The emigration began after the ruin of the woolen manufacturers by the legislation of 1699. According to Hely Hutchinson, within two years after the Irish were prohibited to export their woolen manufactures to any country, 20,000 Presbyterians left Ulster for America.

When the Revolution began there was a very large Irish element in New England, the Carolinas and Maryland, New York, Virginia and New Jersey, but Pennsylvania was more distinctively Irish than any other colony. An Irish Catholic, Thomas Dongan was Colonial Governor of New York from 1683 to 1688. His "Charter of Liberty" has been highly praised by American historians. The Carrolls came from Ireland to Maryland in 1689, and they played a glorious part in American history. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Archbishop John Carroll, of Baltimore, contributed more than their share to the success of the American Revolution, and no man realized that as fully as did George Washington. The Clintons of New York also played a very important part in civil and military affairs during and

after the Revolution. They were Irish and proud of the race from which they sprang. Charles Carroll, the surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the wealthiest man in this country when the Revolution began.

The third volume of the "American Archives" contains a letter from Ireland dated September 1st, 1775, to a friend in New York in which the writer says:—

"Most of the people here in Ireland wish well to the cause in which you are engaged, and would rejoice to find you continue firm and steadfast. The Government is raising recruits throughout the Kingdom. The men are told they are going to Edinburgh to learn military discipline and are then to return."

So you see before the English Government could get a single Irishman to enlist to fight against American Independence, they had to tell him lie. The facts are well known to every student of the American Revolution. No wonder Lord Mountjoy exclaimed in the British Parliament: "You lost America through the Irish." It is a historical fact that one-half of the rank and file of the Continental army were native born Irishmen and a third of Washington's officers were Irish by birth or descent.

Six months before the skirmish at Lexington, two Irish-Americans, John Sullivan and John Langdon of New Hampshire, captured the arms and ammunition of Fort William and Mary, which were used with good effect on the British at Bunker Hill, where Stark, Reed and Poor first "fleshed their maiden swords." Gen. John Sullivan and his brother James Sullivan, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, were the sons of a Limerick schoolmaster. Gen. Joseph Reed of New Jersey, Washington's private secretary and faithful friend, was the son of an Irishman. The British Government offered Reed $50,000 and some high office if he would desert General Washington. This was his famous reply: "I am not worth purchasing, but the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, was born in Donegal, Ireland, and Gen. Stephen Moylan, the Murat of the Continental army, was born in Cork. The Catholic Bishop of that city was his brother. Gen. Daniel Morgan, the hero of Cow-

pens, was born in Derry, although some writers claim that he was born in America." He is represented in a splendid painting in the rotunda of the Capitol of the nation, dressed in a white hunting shirt.

Gen. Edward Hand was born in County Kerry, Ireland. He was most valuable to Washington in many a hard fought battle. Gen. Henry Knox was born in Boston, of Irish parents. He was one of the most distinguished officers of the Revolution, and the founder of the Order of Cincinnatus.

Gen. Andrew Lewis, of Old Donegal, possessed the military genius of his race, and at one time, was very near superseding Washington.

Anthony Wayne was born in Pennsylvania of Irish parents. His victory at Stony Point on the Hudson, was one of the greatest achievements of the war. He rendered glorious services at Germantown and Brandywine.

Gen. Stark of New Hampshire, was the son of an Irish mother, and his bravery and patriotism were never questioned. Daniel Webster, when a boy, used to delight in imitating Stark's Irish brogue, although the General never saw Ireland.

Gen. Wm. Thomson and his brother Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, were born in Ireland.

Twelve of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Irishmen and the sons of Irishmen. John Hancock, of Boston, the first signer of that immortal document, was of Irish descent. He and Charles Carroll were the two wealthiest men in America at that time.

The first publisher of the Declaration of Independence was an Irishman named Dunlap, and it was first read to the people in the Court House yard of Philadelphia by John Nixon, another Irishman. The first officer killed in the War of Independence was a son of Erin. Irish blood flowed freely on every American battlefield from Bunker Hill to Yorktown.

John Barry, the first Commodore of the American navy, was an Irishman from Wexford. He and not Paul Jones was "the father of the American navy." The late Martin I. J. Griffin has made Barry's fame secure. Admiral Stewart of the War of 1812, the grandfather of the late Charles Stewart Parnell, was a protegè

of "Saucy Jack Barry." The O'Briens of Machias, Maine, the stalwart and daring sons of a Corkman, were the organizers of the "Sons of Liberty," and they were instrumental in winning the first naval battle of the Revolution.

In the House of Lords in the year 1775, the Duke of Richmond made the statement, "Attempts have been made to enlist Irish Roman Catholics, but the Ministry knows well these attempts have proved unsuccessful."

Ramsay, in his history of the United States says: "The Irish in America were almost to a man on the side of Independence."

Joseph Galloway, an American Loyalist, was examined before a special committee of the English House of Commons. Edmund Burke, whose speech on American taxation is known to every American school boy, was a member of that committee. Mr. Galloway, when questioned as to the nationality of the Continental army, replied: "The names and places of their nativity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision. There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America; about one-half were Irish and the other fourth were principally Scotch and English." Gen. Lee of the Continental army has left on record a similar statement.

According to the muster rolls of "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," an official compilation, in seventeen volumes, published in 1902, a very large number of Irish from that old commonwealth served in the Continental army. They were among the minute men at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill.

It is an established fact, that America could not achieve her independence without the aid of France. In DeGrasse's fleet there was a large percentage of seamen of Irish blood, and the majority of the officers and men of Count Arthur Dillon's Brigade were of Irish descent. Their ancestors rendered immortal services to France, especially at the battle of Fontenoy, where they recalled the palmiest days of Irish valor.

In 1829 Parke Custis, the adopted son of the immortal Washington said that up to the coming of the French, Ireland furnished to the Continental army, "in the ratio of one hundred to one of any other nation whatever." The disastrous and bloody

days of Long Island, the glories of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, had all passed away and the grass had grown over the grave of many a poor Irishman who had died for America before the flag of France had floated beside the Stars and Stripes. "Then honored" said he, "be the good old services of the sons of Erin in the War of Independence. Let the Shamrock be entwined with the laurels of the Revolution and truth and justice guiding the pen of history, inscribe on the tablet of America's remembrance eternal gratitude to Irishmen."

According to Sabine's "Loyalists," there were 50,000 Loyalists in the colonies when the Revolution began. We have some of their descendants in this country to-day and they are thoroughgoing Anglomaniacs. They are the most blatant advocates of the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty. Owing to their wealth they possess considerable influence, which is a menace to our system of government.

It is well to remember that ten of the Presidents of these United States have had more or less of Irish blood in their veins. Jackson, Buchanan and Arthur were sons of Irish parents. Madison, Monroe, Polk, Johnson, Cleveland and McKinley were part Irish, and so is Roosevelt.

The parents of Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, came to this country from County Antrim, Ireland, in 1765, and he was born in North Carolina in 1767. He was elected President of the United States in 1828 and re-elected in 1832. He visited Boston in 1833 as the guest of the Charitable Irish Society, which was organized in 1737 and is still in existence. He died in 1845. Andrew Jackson was one of the most remarkable men that this country has ever produced.

His name and fame are part and parcel of American history. He was proud of the Irish race from which he sprang. He frequently paid tribute to the genius and character of the old Celtic race. He was an American in every fibre of his being, and a sterling Democrat.

Here is a quotation from former President Roosevelt's speech to the New York Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, on the evening of March 17, 1905.

"On land the Irish furnished generals like Montgomery, who

fell so gloriously at Quebec, and Sullivan, the conqueror of the Iroquois, who came of a New Hampshire family which furnished governors to three New England states. It was Mrs. Sullivan who said that she used to work in the fields with a future governor of Massachusetts in her arms and future governors of New Hampshire and Vermont tagging behind her.

"While the Continental troops were largely from the stock that 'Light Horse' Harry Lee always referred to as 'The Line of Ireland.' Nor must we forget that of this same stock there was a boy during the days of the Revolution who afterwards became the chief American general of his time, and as President one of the public men, who left his impress most deeply upon our nation, old Andrew Jackson, the victor of New Orleans."

Three monuments stand in St. Paul's Churchyard on lower Broadway, New York City, erected to the memory of these three famous Irishmen—Richard Montgomery, who died for American liberty, Thomas Addis Emmet, who for twenty years was head of the New York bar, and Dr. William J. McNevin, the foremost scientific chemist of his day.

Let us also bear in mind that eight of the framers of the Constitution of the United States were Irish, and three of those were Catholics, and that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia contributed $500,000 for the maintenance and support of Washington's starving and ragged army at Valley Forge.

Irish schoolmasters were very numerous in this country before the Revolution. They had no love for England and we have every reason to believe that they instilled into the minds of their students revolutionary principles and a spirit of independence.

We have also every reason to believe that had the American Revolution failed, this country would most probably be a Province of the British Empire to-day, and we would be British subjects—eulogizing the divine rights of kings, and instead of having over 90,000,000 of people we would have 7,000,000 like Canada.

The Civil War proved conclusively the devotion and loyalty of the Irish to the Stars and Stripes. Every regiment in the Union army had its quota of Irish soldiers. Every good American, regardless of race or creed, is or ought to be proud of the mili-

tary genius and Spartan patrotism of Sheridan and Meade, Logan and Kearney, Shields and Meagher. The Sixty-ninth regiment of New York, which was exclusively Irish lost more men in killed and wounded than any other regiment from the Empire State and the Irish Brigade from Fair Oaks to Chancellorsville, added new laurels of immortal glory to the fame of the "Fighting Race." Fully 150,000 native born Irishmen enlisted in the Union Army during the Civil War.

The Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg under the command of Thomas Francis Meagher consisted of the 69th, 88th and 63d Regiments of New York, the 28th Mass., and the 116th Penna., in all 1,323 officers and men. Only 200 answered the roll call the following morning. The losses of the Irish Brigade in that battle were much greater than the Light Brigade at Balaklava. Such a record is worthy of notice in all American school histories, which is only giving credit to whom credit is due.

Tennyson's poem on the charge of the Light Brigade has been the text for writers of our school histories for a third of a century.

Hayden's "Dictionary of Dates" an established book of reference says in its article on Balaklava:

"About 12,000 Russians, under Gen. Liprandi next assaulted the English, by whom they were compelled to retire, mainly through the charge of the heavy cavalry. After this, from an unfortunate misconception of Lord Raglan's order, Lord Lucan ordered Lord Cardigan, with the light cavalry, to charge the Russian army. The order was most gallantly obeyed, and great havoc was made on the enemy; but, of 670 British horsemen, only 198 returned."

Now, the figures given in East Lake and to be found in Col. Fox's "Regimental Losses of the Civil War," show that the Light Brigade took 673 men into the charge and lost 113 killed, 134 wounded and 15 missing, a percentage of 38.93. (Fox gives the percentage as 36.7, but for some reason omits the prisoners). Of the 673 horses in the charge, 475 were killed, and 42 wounded. If we subtract 475, the number of horses killed, from the 673, the original number, we have a remainder of 198, the number given by Hayden as that of the surviving soldiers! The glorifiers of

the Light Brigade have simply used the figures of the horses killed for those of the men! So much for the immortal achievement of the Light Brigade.

Archbishop John Hughes of New York, the devoted friend and admirer of President Lincoln, was instrumental in preventing the French Government from recognizing the Southern Confederacy at a time when the liberties of this Republic were trembling in the balance.

General James Shields, the only man who ever defeated "Stonewall" Jackson was Irish of the Irish. He had the unique distinction of being United States Senator from three states at three different periods. Shields possessed much of the military genius of his race. He was the hero of two wars.

General Philip H. Sheridan, the Moylan of the Union Army, was the son of Irish parents. He was one of the three greatest generals of the Union Army. The names of Grant, Sherman and Sheridan will live forever in American annals as glorious types of American soldiers and patriots.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous English author once said that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoudrel." That may be a good epigram, but on general principles it is not true and it never was. I believe that true patriotism is a sublime virtue implanted by the Almighty in the heart of man. It was patriotism that enabled William Tell to defeat 20,000 Austrians and made Switzerland free, it was patriotism that compelled the Colonists to rally round the standard of George Washington and won American Independence, it was patriotism that animated the heroism of Tone and Emmet to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of their country, and it was patriotism that fired the immortal genius of Abraham Lincoln and sustained the bravery of the Union soldiers from Bull Run to Appomattox.

General Patrick Ronayne Cleburne, the idol of the Confederate Army, was Irish by birth and education. "Stonewall" Jackson, one of Robert E. Lee's most famous generals, was of Irish descent, and Rev. Abraham J. Ryan, the poet-priest of the South was born of Irish parents.

Since 1820, almost 5,000,000 Irish emigrants have landed on these shores. Men of Irish birth and parentage to-day are to be

found in every walk of life and in every field of intellectual activity, contributing by their brain and brawn their full share to the progress and greatness of the Republic.

As has been well said by a distinguished American writer, the Irish have been "structural in the making of this nation. In clearing the forests, building the railroads and extending the commerce, they have contributed incalculable services to the land of their adoption."

In these opening years of the twentieth century, when the teachings and pernicious doctrines of Materialism, Socialism and Atheism are eating like a cancer into the vitals of the American people, the Irish are a most important element in our composite citizenship. Why? Because they stand for law and order, for virtue and patriotism, for home and family, for God and country.

I for one, am proud of the valor and genius of Irish-American manhood, but I am infinitely prouder of the devotion and virtue of Irish-American womanhood.

Matthew Lyon, the man who by his vote in Congress, elected Jefferson President was a son of the Emerald Isle. William H. Seward, Secretary of State in Lincoln's Cabinet, James G. Blaine and Edgar Allen Poe were of Irish descent. Horace Greely, the founder of the New York Tribune, and James Gordon Bennett, the founder of the New York Herald, were sons of Irish mothers. Joseph Medill founder of the Chicago Tribune, was Irish. Gilbert Tennant from Armagh was one of the founders of Education in the American Colonies.

Dr. Allison, an Irishman, was provost of Pennsylvania College more than a century ago. Matthew Carey, the first great American writer on political economy was also an Irishman. Robert Fulton, the famous inventor was Irish. A. T. Stewart the first and greatest of our merchant princes was an Irishman by birth and education. Samuel Sloan, one of our railroad presidents, was born in Ireland.

Andrew G. Curtin, the "war governor" of Pennsylvania, was the son of an Irishman.

The greatest sculptor that America ever knew, was Augustus St. Gaudens, a Dublin man, and Victor Herbert, our famous musician is another Dublin man—a grandson of Samuel Lover.

Among the greatest actors on the American stage in our own day and generation, were John McCullough, Lawrence Barret and the elder John Drew who were Irish.

Joseph Jefferson, whose marvellous impersonation of "Rip Van Winkle," amused and delighted two generations of playgoers, was of Irish blood.

Augustin Daly, the celebrated dramatist and foremost theatrical manager of his day, was of Irish ancestry.

Joseph I. C. Clarke, journalist, poet, and dramatist, was born in Ireland. He is vice-president of the American Irish Historical Society.

William Jennings Bryan, the famous statesman and orator, is of Irish lineage.

Chief Justice Edward D. White of the Supreme Court of the United States is of Irish descent. He is acknowledged one of the greatest and most learned jurists in the history of our Supreme Court. He is an honorary member of the American-Irish Historical Society.

John Boyle O'Reilly, poet, patriot and novelist, was editor of the Boston Pilot for 20 years. He was one of the most brilliant Irishmen that ever crossed the Atlantic. His lines on "Wendell Phillips" and his poems on "The Pilgrim Fathers," are classics. No one has ever questioned his Americanism. His motto was "God and Country." He knew no creed, no race, no color, no class, but common humanity.

Patrick Ford, "the noblest Roman of them all," who has edited and published "The Irish World" for more than forty years is still with us. He was only eight years of age when he arrived on these shores. He received his education in the public schools in Boston. When he was about 14 he tramped the streets of Boston for weeks trying to get work, but he could get nothing to do, simply because he was an Irish Catholic. Notices stared him in the face everywhere, "Boy wanted—no Irish need apply."

He eventually secured work in the office of William Lloyd, Garrison's "Liberator," where he remained until the Civil War broke out, when he and his two brothers and his father joined the Union Army. At the close of the war he returned to Boston, and a few years later he came to New York and founded the

Irish World, which has been for more than two score years fighting the battles of the Irish race at home and abroad.

It has been estimated by good authorities that at least 25,000,000 of our present population have more or less of Irish blood coursing in their veins. Fully one-half of the population of the United States to-day, are of Irish and German blood, yet we are frequently told that we are "Anglo-Saxon" and that England is our "Mother Country." Now, as a matter of fact, we are no more Anglo-Saxon than we are Hindoos. Europe, not England is the mother country of America.

This compound word "Anglo-Saxon," is entirely misleading. It was never used by British writers before the middle of the eighteenth century. The phrase "Anglo-Saxon" like the phrase "Scotch-Irish," is a misnomer. The true American type is not a hybred Anglo-Saxon, but a thoroughbred Celtic-Teutonic race, as our language, our physique and our versatile genius prove.

The biographical dictionary of famous Americans, a standard authority, contains the names of 174 men and women, born in Ireland. So that in point of talent and genius the native-born Irish are more numerous in that work than the native-born of any foreign country, except England and Germany. From that fact alone we can see that the Irish who have come to this country have not all been "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Among the histories, not already mentioned, that I have consulted in the preparation for this paper are: Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," Peterson's "American Navy," Marmion's "Maritime Ports of Ireland," Spark's "Lives of Washington and Franklin," Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," Bancroft's "History of the United States," Condon's "Irish Race in America," and Lawler's "Essentials of American History."

Time and space will not permit to refer to the many living prelates and divines, both Catholic and non-Catholic of Irish birth and descent, who are noted for their learning, sanctity and patriotism. During the past century, the Irish have been well represented in every branch of American journalism and in all professions. It is not necessary to give a list of the Irish who are at present prominent on the bench, at the bar and in the halls

of legislation. As a matter of fact the Irish to-day, are conspicuous in every department of intellectual, industrial and commercial activity, from Maine to Oregon and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

If Columbia should ask the exiles of Erin: "What have ye brought to the upbuilding of the Republic: they can answer to-day as of old, in the language of a famous Irish-American poet:

"O, willing hands to toil;
Strong natures tuned to the harvest-song, and bound to the kindly soil,
Bold pioneers for the wilderness, defenders in the field,
The sons of a race of soldiers, who never learned to yield.
Young hearts with duty brimming, as faith makes sweet the due;
Their truth to me their witness, they cannot be false to you."

As a matter of fact, no American writer of distinction has yet done justice to the Irish element in these United States. American historians and biographers so far, have given very little credit to the Irish. They have exaggerated their faults and minimized their virtues. My indictment against them is so much for sins of commission as for the sins of omission. Our American school histories will bear testimony to that fact. The Irish do not desire to take a jot or tittle from the achievements of any other race in our cosmopolitan population, but they do demand and deserve to get credit where credit is due.

The Irish in America have contributed more than their share to the independence, the upbuilding and preservation of this republic. They demand only a fair field and no favor. They glory in the panoply of American citizenship, and fully appreciate the civil and religious liberty which they enjoy. They have never been found wanting in their loyalty and devotion to American institutions, because they recognize to the full, that this country has been for more than a century and a quarter an asylum for the poor exiles of Erin and that America still spells opportunity.

Indians in the United States

Thirteenth Census Statistics Show that the Full Bloods are Disappearing Fast

A PRELIMINARY statement regarding the Indians in the United States from the returns of the Census of 1910 was issued May 1 by Director Durand of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce and Labor. It is based upon tabulations prepared under the supervision of W. C. Hunt, chief statistician, and Roland B. Dixon, expert special agent, for population. The figures are preliminary and subject to revision.

According to the census of 1910 the total number of Indians in continental United States is 265,683 and in Alaska 25,331. In 1890 the number of Indians in continental United States was 248,253, and in 1900, 237,196; earlier figures based on the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are: 1870, 278,000; 1880, 244,000. It appears, therefore, that the number of Indians on the continent of the United States declined from 1870 to 1900, but increased considerably during the decade between 1900 and 1910. In Alaska the number of Indians was 29,536 in 1900, 25,354 in 1890, and 32,996 in 1880.

Indian Population of States

The largest number of Indians in 1910, 74,825, is found in Oklahoma, the other states having an Indian population of over 10,000 being: Arizona, 29,201; New Mexico, 20,573; South Dakota, 19,137; California, 16,371; Washington, 10,997; Montana, 10,745, and Wisconsin, 10,142. Indians are found in every state and territory, but their number in some states (Delaware, Ver-

mont, New Hampshire and West Virginia) is less than fifty. The number of Indians exceeds one thousand in twenty-two of the states.

In continental United States the number of Indians per 100 square miles is 8.9. The number varies from 107.8 in Oklahoma (ignoring the 113.3 in the District of Columbia, i. e., in the city of Washington) to 0.1 in West Virginia. The number of Indians per 100,000 total population declined constantly from 721.0 in 1870 to 288.9 in 1910.

The number of Indian tribes in continental United States is large, but the number of members in some is very small; thus there are six tribes represented by a single member, and thirty with a membership under 10. The chief tribes numerically are the Cherokees, of whom there are 31,489; the Navaho, with 32,455 members; the Chippewa, with 20,214; the Choctaw, with 15,917; and the Teton Sioux, with 14,284. Of the remaining tribes none has as many as 7,000 members, but there are 74 tribes represented by not less than 500 individuals. In Alaska the most numerous tribes are the Kuswogmiut with 1,480 and the Aleut with 1,451 members. None of the other tribes in Alaska has as many as a thousand members.

Enumeration by Blood

The Thirteenth Census was the first to undertake an enumeration of Indians by blood. The total number of Indians in continental United States is distributed by blood as follows:

All classes	265,683	100	per cent.
Full blood	150,053	56.5	" "
Mixed blood	93,423	35.2	" "
White and Indian	88,030	33.1	" "
Negro and Indian	2,255	0.8	" "
White, Negro and Indian	1,793	0.7	" "
Other mixture and mixture unknown	1,345	0.5	" "
Not reported	22,207	8.4	" "

Of the Indians in Alaska 84.7 per cent. are full blooded and 15.3 per cent. are of mixed blood.

The full glood Indians are further subdivided into those whose blood all belongs to one Indian tribe, of whom there are 139,289, or 92.8 per cent. of the total number of full blood Indians; and those who are of mixed tribal descent, whose number is 10,251, or 6.8 per cent.; the data are missing for 513, or 0.3 per cent.

The 88,030 mixed blood Indians are divided into classes, according to the proportion of white blood, as follows:

More than half Indian.....	18,169	or 20.6 per cent.
Half Indian, half white.....	24,353	or 27.7 " "
More than half white.....	43,937	or 49.9 " "
Not reported	1,571	or 1.8 " "

Sexes Nearly Equal in Numbers

Of the total of 265,683 Indians in continental United States, 135,113, or 50.9 per cent. are males, and 130,570, or 49.1 per cent. are females, the number of males to 100 females thus being 103.5. The excess of males among the Indians is not as great as for the total population of continental United States, the number of males per 100 females in the whole country being 104.4. Among the native white the number is 102.7, among the foreign white 117.4, and among the Negroes, 98.6. The preponderance of males among the Indians is thus greater than among the native white, while among the Negroes the number of females exceeds that of males. It is rather interesting to note in this connection that while the number of males per 100 females is 103.5 for the entire Indian population, it is 101.7 for the full blood Indians and 106.4 for the mixed bloods. This greater predominance of males among the mixed bloods might be accounted for by the fact that mixed blood women in marrying white men are apt to deny their Indian blood, thus reducing the apparent number of women among mixed bloods. This explanation gains in plausibility from the fact that among Indian children under 5, where this cause does not operate, the conditions are reversed, the number of males to 100 females being 103.7 for the full bloods and 102.4 for the mixed bloods. Conditions in Alaska in this respect are the reverse of those in con-

tinental United States; in Alaska the number of males to 100 females is 106.3 among the full blooded Indians, and 100.3 among the mixed bloods. On the other hand conditions among other races, such as the Hindoos and the Filipinos, suggest that the tendency toward a greater proportion of females among full bloods is not confined to the Indians of continental United States.

The Age Groups

The Indian population has been grouped into three classes according to age. The classes are: Under 20, 20 to 50, and 51 and over. The proportion of Indians in these groups is as follows: under 20, 51.7 per cent.; 20 to 50, 36.3 per cent.; 51 and over, 12.1 per cent. For Alaska the proportions are: under 20, 47.8 per cent.; 20 to 50, 43.4 per cent.; 51 and over, 8.8 per cent. A comparison of age groups by blood shows that among the full blood Indians the proportion under 20 was 44.9 per cent., while among the mixed blood Indians it was 62.8 per cent. This greater preponderance of young persons among mixed blood Indians is probably due to the fact that mixed marriages have been more frequent in recent years and that the offspring of such marriages are consequently younger on the average than those of marriages among full blood Indians. The same circumstance probably accounts for the fact that the proportion of persons 51 years of age and over is much less among mixed blood than among full blood Indians, being 16.1 per cent. among the former and 6.1 per cent. among the latter.

Fecundity of Indian Women

A study of the fecundity of Indian women has been made for the Thirteenth Census. The basis for this study is the number of children born and the number living for every married woman 16 to 44 years of age who has been married for at least one year. Widowed and divorced women as well as those married more than once were excluded. The total number of women tabulated for this study was 21,532. For the total number tabulated the

proportion having borne no children is 8.6 per cent.; for the full blood Indians it is 10.5 per cent.; for the mixed bloods, 6.2 per cent. Thus sterility is more common among full blood than among mixed blood Indian women. Furthermore the proportion of sterility among full blood Indian women is 10.4 per cent. when the husband is a full blood of the same tribe, 16.6 per cent. when he belongs to a different tribe, 8.4 per cent. when he is half white, and 7.7 per cent. when he is white. Among mixed blood women having full blood Indian husbands the proportion of sterility is 9.4 per cent., among those having half white husbands it is 6.9 per cent., and among those having white husbands it is 4.3 per cent. Thus the proportion of sterile women is not only smaller among mixed blooded than among full blooded women, but it is smaller in each case when the husband is a half breed, and the smallest when the husband is white.

A further study is made of the fecundity of Indian women 15 to 45 years of age who have been married between 10 and 20 years. Of these, 16.9 per cent have borne no more than 2 children (including those who have borne no children), 44.9 per cent. have borne between 3 and 5 children, and 38.2 per cent. have borne more than 5 children. The proportion having borne not more than 2 children is 18.8 per cent. among full blood Indians, and 14.0 per cent. among mixed bloods; while the proportion having borne more than 5 is 34.2 among the former, and 44.4 among the latter. The proportions vary also in connection with the race of the husband; thus among full blood women the proportions having borne no more than 2 children are as follows: when the husband is a full blood of the same tribe as the wife, 19.5 per cent.; when he is a full blood of another tribe, 20.2 per cent.; when he is a half breed, 13.0 per cent.; when he is white, 7.8 per cent. Similarly for mixed blood women the proportions having no more than 2 children are: when the husband is a full blood Indian, 16 per cent, when he is a half breed, 14.2 per cent.; when he is white, 12.9 per cent.

Thus the evidence on sterility and on fecundity agrees in showing a tendency for greater fecundity among Indians of mixed blood, and greater in proportion to the amount of white

blood. Miscegenation in the case of Indians seems to result in increased fecundity.

The Question of Vitality

Closely connected with fecundity is the question of vitality. A measure of that is obtained by the study of the proportion of children surviving. Of the total number of children born to Indian women, 15 to 45 years of age and married from 10 to 20 years, 74.7 per cent. were alive at the time of the enumeration. Among full blooded women the proportion was 70.2 per cent., among mixed bloods, 78.8 per cent. Among full blood women having mixed blood husbands, the proportion was 71.2 per cent., and among those having white husbands, 82.9 per cent. Among mixed blood women, having full blood husbands, the proportion of children surviving was 67.9 per cent.; among those with mixed blood husbands, 77.8 per cent., and among those with white husbands, 83 per cent.

The proportion of surviving children is thus higher among mixed blood women, and higher in case of marriage with whites than in case of marriage with mixed blood or with full blood Indians. To what extent this greater vitality of the offspring of mixed blood Indian women is due to the greater sturdiness of the stock, and to what extent to economic and social conditions, is hard to determine, but it is plain that the greater fecundity of mixed blood women together with the greater vitality of their children will tend to increase the proportion of mixed bloods among the Indians of the United States; it is plain, in fact, that as a result of these tendencies, the full blood Indian is doomed to disappearance at a date that is not far removed.

Historic Views and Reviews

Soldiers' Memorial at Yale

THAT President Taft favors "The War Between the States" instead of "The Civil War" as part of an inscription of a soldiers' memorial at Yale is a fact brought out to-day by the details of the plans of the Yale Soldiers' Memorial Committee. The title, "The Civil War," will, however, probably be chosen by the committee.

The committee, which has Judge Henry E. Howland of New York as President, has rejected a plan representing "Alma Mater," a life size female figure with a dead Union and Confederate soldier at her feet, to be placed in the Yale Memorial Hall. The Plan favored is a series of tablets with artistic adornments at the inner entrance of Memorial Hall.

All military titles of the fallen Yale soldiers will be rejected, and only the full names and classes of the men who fell on both sides used. Deaths before the end of the year 1865 will limit the names on the tablets. The committee will report to the Yale corporation next June. In the war 115 Yale men died in the Union army and 49 in the Confederate army.

Jefferson Obelisk

A letter sent by Mrs. Martin W. Littleton to Congressmen and their wives suggesting that the Nation should buy the house and grounds at Monticello, now owned by Congressman Jefferson M. Levy, and also the graveyard and declaring that the edges of the granite obelisk over Jefferson's grave have been chipped away until it now stands a misshapen column, has moved Mr. Levy to write this letter:

To the Editor of The New York Times:

It is needless for me to say that the statement made that the granite obelisk over Jefferson's grave has been desecrated is absolutely untrue; and, furthermore, that the reference made in the booklet by the distinguished lady, Mrs. Martin W. Littleton, refers to the monument (this particular monument now stands on the campus of the University of Missouri, in Missouri,) that was damaged during the confiscation of Monticello by the Confederate States, when my late uncle, Commodore Uriah P. Levy, was the owner. After the war an act of Congress appropriated $10,000 for the erection of a granite shaft and iron railing around the same, and this is continually guarded by my servants at Monticello.

Monticello has now been in my family for over eighty years, and is not for sale.

JEFFERSON M. LEVY.

Washington, March 5, 1912.

THE HOUSE OF HARPER

All writing people and all reading people have reason to be grateful that it has been put into the heart of Mr. J. Henry Harper to write the history of "The House of Harper." (Harpers). If a reading American were asked to name the most illustrious and important of American publishing houses he might reasonably hesitate. His answer might depend upon his age and his habitat. If he were "a man of Boston raisin' " and over fifty he would be very apt to name Ticknor and Fields, in grateful recollection of the little brown twelvemos in which he had first made the acquaintance of Tennyson, of Emerson, of Hawthorne, of Holmes, of Longfellow, of Lowell, of ever so many more. Perhaps even yet no other American house can show such a "list," at least in poetry and belles lettres. There are other Boston houses, some of them still extant, which might occur to him. The convinced New Yorker might plausibly urge the claims of the original publishers of Irving and Cooper. A reader whose interests were mainly scientific might name an-

other New York house. But the common American reader would without much doubt give his vote for Harper & Brothers. Even the belletristic oldster just cited would recall his tenderness for the octavos in brown paper which constituted "Harper's Library of Select Novels." And no American reader could possibly fail to recall with gratitude the buff cover and the columns crowned with cherubs scattering flowers and soap bubbles which denoted what Trollope in his tour of the United States fifty years ago called "the ubiquitous *Harper*," of which magazine the present Charles Francis Adams said that a set of it was as wholesome and inviting a pabulum as he knew of for the general literary diet of the young.

History of Spanish War

Col. Roosevelt has written to Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick his opinion of the latter's two volume history of the Spanish-American war, which has just been published by the Scribners. He says.

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to you to congratulate you upon and thank you for writing your admirable book upon the Spanish war. It seems to me to be exactly the book that was needed, written, as it is, with serene impartiality and after exhaustive study of the subject by a man who was a participant in the war, and who in addition to the naval—that is, in the broad sense of the word, military—training of the practical kind necessary to enable him to do his part well in the actual work of the campaign, also possesses the kind of learning in military matters which is indispensable if a valuable military work is to be written, but which does not at all times accompany military ability.

"Your book is written along novel lines, but it is the kind of novelty that is of permanent use. I have read it with the utmost interest, and I am now rereading it and studying it. Really it seems to me that very little more remains to be written from the purely narrative side of the campaign, although of course there

will always be an opportunity for a man like Mahan to draw deduction from the narrative."

Indian Curator

Dr. Gordon, director of the University of Pennsylvania museum, has for a long time been perplexed as to the best way to get translations of the legends found on the thousands of specimens from the northwest that have recently been added to the George G. Heye collection.

It was impossible to find a curator who was able to decipher the hieroglyphics. Dr. Gordon remembered that Mr. Heye in his Alaska travels had spoken of a wonderful chieftain among the Indians who possessed more than average intelligence. He therefore assigned Assistant Curator Harrington to go to Alaska to find this remarkable aborigine is possible and to bring him to Philadelphia. The chieftain, Stuwuka by name, would not come without his wife, so the university authorities said, "Bring her too." Accompanied by his spouse, Katwachsnea, Stuwuka has come from the Chilkat tribe of southern Alaska and he is to prepare a detailed account of every Alaskan specimen of the museum, showing its significance, purposes, origin and uses.

Together they are now helping the curators to reduce to printed words the richness of lore, the tales of feuds long burned out, the intimate legends of tribal life, pride and ambitions that live in the designs, forms and embellishments of the collection of the university.

Flag History

According to so reliable an authority on flag history as Preble the official origin of the Grand Union striped flag raised at Cambridge on Jan. 2, 1776, and the striped flag carried by the fleet

of Commander Hopkins, is involved in obscurity. Holden, in his book, "Our Country's Flag," says that the Continental Congress appointed a committee in October, 1775, with Benjamin Franklin at its head, to go to Cambridge and confer with Gen. Washington and recommend a design for "The Grand Union Flag." Other historians hold that it is a question whether the flag was designed by Gen. Washington or by Franklin.

With reference to Betsy Ross and her connection with the flag, it may be said that Preble gives pretty conclusive evidence that she was not a myth and that she actually did have much to do with the making of the flag.

Concerning the Adams incident Preble says in his "Flag of the United States and Other National Flags:"

"When John Qunicy Adams was Secretary of State, in 1820, he gave color to the idea by removing the United States arms from the United States passports and substituting in place of it a circle of thirteen stars surrounding an eagle holding in his beak a constellation Lyra and the motto 'Nunc sidera ducit,' which would show that the passports with the stars were not used before the arms of the United States were adopted, but some years afterwards."

The flag of the City of New York is white with a blue coat of arms. The flag of the State is blue.

Pottowatomie Duel

In 1833 a grand council was held in Chicago to settle land disputes with the Indian tribes. Among the Indians gathered at Chicago were two young fellows who were of unusually fine physical build and appearance, and, moreover, the best of friends. One was the son of Sanguanauneebee, a Pottawatomie village chief from the St. Joseph River, and the other the son of another chief, Seebwasen, or Cornstalk. Both, unfortunately, had fallen in love with the same young squaw, the daughter of Wampun, a Chippewa chief from Sheboygan. Taken all in all, it was distinctly an affair of high society. The lovers had proposed to fight a duel to decide which should possess the object of his affections, while the maiden on her part had agreed to

marry one of them, but was seemingly indifferent as to which it should be.

Arrived at the battleground, crude flags on poles were stuck up in the sand round about, this being an Indian sign that a fight to the death was in progress. Guards were placed to clear a ring of two or three hundred yards, and heading these and acting as seconds were Seebwasen, father of one of the duellists, and Chepoi, a Pottawatomie chief from St. Joseph's.

Close outside the ring alone stood the girl who was being fought over, her arms akimbo and her attitude one of indifference. The time was an hour before sundown, and there were present as onlookers several hundred Indians and white men.

All being in readiness, one of the duellists wheeled to the right, the other to the left. Then they brought their horses sideways close together, head to tail and tail to head, and one of the seconds cried out in the Pottawatomie tongue the signal for beginning the combat.

Instantly each fighter drew a knife with blade fully twenty inches long. As they rushed together a great hubbub arose among the spectators. Some of the white men fainted, while the squaws rent the air with their outcries. Meanwhile the fighters stuck grimly to their fray, the blood spurting forth as each blow was given.

Finally the son of Sanguanauneebee fell over backward, his arm raised for a blow, but the other's knife in his spine. A moment late Seebwasen's son cried out in his death agony and likewise toppled over. Both died almost at the same instant. The girl, with no lover left, at last manifested some concern, wringing her hands in frenzy. The assemblage dispersed and the primitive tragedy was ended.—Prof. Milo Milton Quaife in Chicago Record-Herald.

Emerson and Thoreau Letters.

A number of interesting letters, written by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry D. Thoreau, the naturalist, are in the autograph collection of Miss Mary B. Hathaway, which will be sold by auction in Boston on Jan. 10. These letters form part of the

correspondence carried on between Emerson and Thoreau during the period 1840-50. They contain references to Nathaniel Hawthorne, William H. Channing, Margaret Fuller, Horace Greeley, Thomas Carlyle, William Ellery Channing, Henry James and others. Of Henry James Thoreau writes on June 8, 1843: "I have been to see Henry James, and like him very much. It was a great pleasure to meet him. It makes humanity seem more erect and respectable." Then he adds: "I met W. H. Channing and Brisbane. The former is a concave man, and you see by his attitude and the lines of his face that he is retreating from himself and from yourself with sad doubts. Brisbane looks like a man who has lived in a cellar."

In answer to this letter Emerson writes, two days later: "Hawthorne walked with me yesterday, and not until after our return did I read his 'Celestial Railroad,' which has a serene strength which one cannot afford not to praise." On July 8 Thoreau writes to Emerson, who was in concord: "My thoughts revert to those dear hills and that river, which so fills the world to its brim. How can it run so heedlessly to the sea as if I were there to countenance it?"

On Aug. 7, 1843, Thoreau writes: "I have had a pleasant talk with Channing; and Greeley, too, it was refreshing to meet. They were both much pleased with your criticism on Carlyle. I study the aspects of commerce at its Narrows here, (Staten Island,) where it passes in review before me, and this seems to be beginning at the right end to understand this Babylon."

Still at Staten Island, Thoreau writes on Sept. 14, 1843: "Literature comes to a poor market here, and even the little I write is more than will sell. I have tried The Democratic Review, The New York Mirror, and Brother Jonathan. The last two, as well as The New York World, are overwhelmed with contributions which cost nothing."

Colonial Homestead Becomes Woman's Club

The old homestead which George Sands, a famous Colonial preacher, built in Cornwall, N. Y., in 1734, and which was used during the Revolutionary War as a patrol station and head-

quarters of several American generals, is to be converted into a woman's exchange and tea house.

Acting for the Cornwall Village Improvement Society, Mrs. Lawrence Abbott, daughter-in-law of Lyman Abbott, today purchased the property at a partition sale for $2,000. The society, which is composed of women, expects to rebuild the house so as to make it a place wherein all the women's clubs of the village may hold meetings and luncheons. Articles relating to the history of the village will be preserved in the house.

The building is between Cornwall and Cornwall on Hudson, at the junction of the three most important roads in Orange county.

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JUNE, 1912

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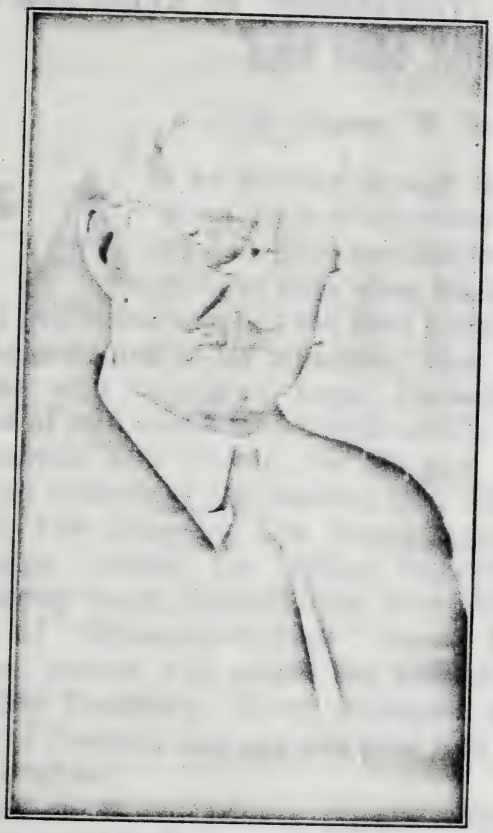

A. W. DAVIS

AMERICANA

June, 1912

Past Days of Minstrelsy, Variety, Circus and Side Show

By Albert W. Davis

"AS we journey through life, we stop by the way. We of years of experience love to look backward; it recalls fond recollections of the past." Oh! the good old days when the fun-makers of the burnt-cork profession supplied the most popular form of amusement!

As presented to-day minstrelsy does not at all compare favorably with its original form. Present-day minstrelsy cannot boast of such vocalists and banjo artists as Billy Emerson, Billy Arlington, Billy Carter, Joe Murphy, Billy Morris, the celebrated imitator of the mocking bird, Eph Horn, Harry Bloodgood, Lew Benedict, Lew Simmons, J. K. Buckley and Cal Wagner. Among the leading balladists were Tom Dixon, Chauncey Olcott, Richard Jose, Frank Howard and Dave Wambold of "Dreaming-of-Home" fame. Then follow the stump speech orators with carpet bag and umbrella; Charlie Banks, Hughey Dougherty, Harry Bloodgood and Gov. Add Rymar. Let me illustrate how end men vied with one another in provoking laughter.

Says one of the end men: "I am a representative of the best safe concern in the country. I can conclusively prove that the safe we manufacture is the best in the world. Shortly before the big Chicago fire one of our safes was installed in a millinery store in that city. This safe was all of the millinery store that remained after the fire. The safe had been in the center of the conflagration, which raged for 14 months. It so happened that a rooster had accidentally found his way in the safe before the

fire. When the safe was opened, this rooster flapped his wing and crowed lustily."

Thereupon the other end man replies as follows: "Well, I neglected to close a safe one day in my office in Boston. A cat was accidentally locked up in it. That night the great Boston fire broke out and raged for two years. What do you think happened when this safe was opened? Do you think the cat walked out? No, it was found in one of the corners frozen stiff." These stories, narrated in negro dialect, invariably caused the audience to burst into shrieks of merriment.

The continued popularity of burnt-cork minstrelsy was largely due to the inimitable way in which sentimental ballads were rendered. At the close of the Civil War this form of amusement had become so popular that minstrel halls were established in most of the larger cities. In New York, the San Francisco Minstrels with Birch, Backus and Wambold, and Bryant's Opera House with Dan Neil and Billy Bryant's Minstrel Troupe, were the leading play houses. Brooklyn supported Hooley's Opera House, the home of Dick Hooley's Minstrels. In Philadelphia there were Carncross' and Dixey's; in Boston Ordway's Aeolians, Morris Brothers, Pell and Trowbridge. Other old-timers connected with established minstrel halls were Cotton and Murphy, with a troupe of twenty-five—a large number for the time.

Another whose praises I must sound is the late "Billy" (J. William) Rice. He was a burnt-cork comedian of the real type. He and old Hoss Hoey, of Evans and Hoey of "A-Parlor-Match" fame, were the only two that I remember, who could evoke shrieks of merriment without uttering one word. Rice was a negro sketch artist. His great success was "Beasley's Dog." Rice is met by a young man who is to elope with Mr. Beasley's daughter and who orders Rice to deliver a note to her personally and to wait for an answer. The young man warns Rice against the old man Beasley, and the latter's dog, telling him that the dog is very small, is sickly, has no teeth and is tied by a very short chain. The fun comes when the messenger returns with his clothing torn, the crown of his hat hanging to one side and the marks of a dog's teeth on his cheek. Limping, he

appears before the young man, with the fragments of the note. When the audience stopped laughing Rice used to exclaim, "Did I understand you to say that the dog was a little one, that he was sick, that he didn't have any teeth and was hitched to a short chain. Well it ain't so. Say that dog has grown some since you saw him. He ain't sick. He ain't got no consumption for he's the healthiest dog I ever saw. He's got teeth. Say, he's got a new set of false ones, and that short chain he's hitched to is made out of elastic,—stretched all over de yard. I want's you to give me my two dollars and don't, as long as you live, send me to tackle any more dogs."

As my mind reverts in fancy to the past days of minstrelsy, there comes to me a few verses, which I received some time ago from an old-time performer. The verses are as follows:

Gone, But Not Forgotten

I sat reading in my arm chair one cold and wintry night.
I paused to listen to the wind as it blew with all its might.
I must have had a reverie, for I saw in bright array
The well-known forms of actors great,—the kings of a by-gone day.
I saw the public laugh and cry, as alternately they gave
Their merry pun, their mirthful joke, or the ballad sweet and grave.
They formed a quaint procession as they passed before my sight,
Those by-gone kings of stageland, thus conjured from the night.
I saw Dan Daly's well-known face as he went by and smiled,
A friend to everyone in need, the public's favorite child.
How oft' we've heard his merry laugh as he made the night pass o'er,
Or gave out the joke which always set the audience in a roar!
He scarcely passed me by, when came the king of the minstrel band,
The pride of our profession, well-known throughout the land—
Billy Emerson strolled along and bowed,

Another good old-timer then strolled along the line.
He was of the old school, away back in sixty-nine.
He, Emerson and Schoolcraft—there was a trio hard to beat—
I mean Billy Rice who started into his accustomed seat.
William West and J. H. Haverly, two great minstrels known to all,
Walked and chatted pleasantly and did old times recall.
They looked mighty happy, walking side by side;
They were favorites everywhere, and their names have never died.
Along came Billy Barry with that same old friendly grin,
Closely followed by John Burke and his old pal, Jimmie Queen.
John T. Raymond strolled along and paused for just a minute;
He was the boy who used to say, "My friends, there's millions in it."
Another good old-timer then extended his glad hand;
It was your old friend J. W. Kelly, "the rolling mill man."
T'was Tony Pastor who booked the show; he was your friend for years.
Now, every actor bow your head, we'll all forgive your tears.
That closed the olio that evening; 'twas the best I'd ever seen,
For they are stars and they are dead—'twas a pleasant evening dream.

Picture to yourselves an evening's entertainment back in the eighties with the Barlow, Wilson, Primrose and West's Mammoth Minstrels.

Part I, "Social Session"

Grand introductory overture, a medley of operatic gems arranged by Eddie Fox; Ballad—"Say one little Prayer for Mother," Geo. Gale; negro melodies, George H. Primrose; "Good-bye I'm Gone," Milt G. Barlow; waltz song, "Still thou art far from me," Frank Howard; medley of songs, Geo. Wilson; "Sweet Evalina," Luke Schoolcraft; ballad, "Tiny Hands," G. G. Kelly; finale, gems from the Mascot, introducing a uniformed platoon of Uncle Sam's Letter Carriers.

Part II, "Olio Par Excellence"

Milt G. Barlow in his celebrated life like characteristics of an aged colored man; nine irresistible comiques introducing acrobatic stunts, plantation songs and dances by Messrs. Primrose, West, Doyle, Beach, Fagan, Gould, Howe, Bell and Dailey; "Hannah Beasley," a delicate lady of 450 pounds, Geo. H. Primrose; the inimitable George Wilson, in stories interspersed with comic songs, concluding with oratory reformed; Schoolcraft and Coes, in their own and original Ethiopian specialty, entitled "Mrs. Diddemus' Party;" Mr. Schoolcraft in a very laughable sketch displays the finest piece of character acting ever seen in the minstrel profession.

The great American jockey clog, artistically arranged by those popular comedians, Messrs. Primrose and West—every feature new and elegant. Incidental to the clog Barney Fagan, the justly conceded king of dancers introduced a new style of clog dancing. Mr. Fagan was the composer of Lorillard's Jockey Song, used in the above act. Messrs. Howe and Bell, the acknowledged champion pedestal acrobatic dancers of the world performed the intrepid feat of turning somersaults in perfect time on pedestals sixteen inches square and six feet high.

The whole concluded with the original musical burlesque of the latest popular opera (Olivette) introducing the famous burlesque lyric artist, Wm. Henry Rice, as All-I've-Eat, a young lady with a very bad appetite; Velveteen, a soft velvety young man; Frank Howard; Duke Dizzy, a conundrum whom the countess gives up, Milt G. Barlow; Calico, the Duke's man Friday, Geo. Wilson; Capt. Mary Mack, a veteran of the sea, called oily-vet, Geo. Primrose; Marvel Jowel, the major, an easy going fellow, Geo. H. Coes; Dead-Eye, a sailor, Luke Schoolcraft; The Countess, a very undecided lady, Geo. Gale; Marian's (All-I've Eat's) maid, a sly reynard, F. Bell.

Geo. Thatcher, once a well known minstrel, used to recite the following poem:—

Dar's a grave on de oder side ob de creek
Dat knows no Decoration Day;
For him as lef' dar all alone to sleep,
Is only a nigger, dey say.

He died an old vagunt, entirely unknown
An' left not a soul to be sad.
Dey gave him his freedom but took away his home,
And an ole yaller dog was all dat he had.

Dey dug a rude hole and dey laid him away,
Dis poor old citizen slave.
Not a prayer for his res', did anyone say,
And de ole yaller dog laid down on his grave.

And still you may see him dar, day after day
At eve, at morn, or at noon;
For dar's no inducements can call him away
From his place side de grave of a coon.

Dar's a mighty fine monument standin' right nigh,
But to me dis poor mound looks bigger,
For dar's a monument money can't buy—
A yaller dog's love for a nigger.

Variety and Vaudeville

Vaudeville artists were called variety performers previously to the days of modern vaudeville, which was established thirty years ago by Tony Pastor in East 14th street, where a cosy little play house in Tammany Hall was erected, long known as Tony Pastor's Theatre and now the Olympic. There were two other "variety" managers of note, John Steston, of the Howard Atheneum, Boston, and John D. Hopkins, Theatre Comique, Providence. Last June, at the Colonial Theatre, there was an "Olde Timer's Festival," and there appeared the never-fading stars of variety, McIntyre and Heath, the merry monarchs of minstrelsy, Mrs. Annie Yeamans, who was once a saucy soubrette, James and Bonnie Thornton, in an exposition of animated jocularity, Gus Williams, the prostrator of melancholy, Lottie Gilson, "the little magnet." She was a Pastor favorite and also played with Gus Hill both in vaudeville and musical comedies.

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Company of English and American Artists:

MISS

ALICE DUNNING

MR EDWARD RIGHTON,
The celebrated English Comedian, his first appearance in this city

Miss EDITH CHALLIS,
English Actress, her first appearance in this city

Miss LILLIE HALL,
her first appearance in this city.

Miss BELLA HOWETT,

AND

Miss AGGIE WOOD,
Her first appearance in this city,

Miss D. LINGARD

(Sister to William Horace)—her first appearance in this city

Mr HARRY CRISP, **Mr HENRY SINCLAIR,**
Mr J. K. KRUGER, **Mr B. DUNNING.**

PROGRAMME.

OVERTURE.....AT 8 O'CLOCK PRECISELY

The entirely new Comedietta,

WHO'S TO WIN HIM

Cyril Dashwood, a young officer in search of a wife.....Mr Harry Crisp
Mr Prattleton Primrose.....Mr E. Righton
Squire Brushleigh.....Mr. J. K. Kruger
Rose.....Miss D. Lingard
Sylvia.....Miss E. Challis
Minuetta.....Miss B. Howett
Musidora.....Miss L. Hall
Arabella.....Miss A. Wood

AFTER WHICH.

WILLIAM HORACE LINGARD

In his great impersonations, written and composed by himself.

1—Fifth Avenue (new)
2—Dutch Onion Vender (new)
3—Tho' the Park (lady's sketch)
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5—On the Beach at Long Branch (new costume from Paris)
6—Fuddlebrain (with Speech)
7—Guinea Pig Boy
8—Millionaire
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10—Jolly Man
11—Lady Killer
12—Indignant Mother-in-Law
13—Walking Down Broadway

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IN HER CELEBRATED BOUQUET OF MELODIES.

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Mr. Benson.....Mr. Harry Crisp
Mr. Trotter Southdown.....Mr. E. Righton
Mr. John Meredith.....Mr. J. K. Kruger
Mrs. Benson.....Miss L. Hall
Mrs. Trotter Southdown.....Miss E. Challis

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Doors open at 7.30.....**Overture at 8 o'clock precisely.**

☞ **Entire Change of Programme Wednesday, and Positively Last Night**

F. A. Searle, Printer, Journal Building (up one flight), 118 Washington St., Boston

When Lingard and his Company Played in Providence, R. I.

Every evening down to her home we go,
All the boys and all the girls, they love her so—
Always happy, heart that is true, I know
She is the sunshine of Paradise Alley.

Did you ever hear Lottie Gilson sing "East Side"?

"East side, west side, all around the town,
The tots play ring-a-rosie, London Bridge is falling down,
Boys and girls together, me and Mamie Rourke,
Tripped the light fantastic on the sidewalks of New York."

It was Abraham Lincoln who said—

"We cannot all be heroes who in the battle bled
But we can carry off the wounded and cover up the dead,"

and so it is with singers—

"They cannot all be singers and climb to fame so high;
You may forget the singer, but the song will never die."

Will H. Fox, a natural born piano player, who started in a very modest way, is now recognized a professor of the ivories, a high salaried artist, prudent with his money, and making good investments. Fox and Ward were once celebrated in their specialty of the "Silver Statue Clog."

Fields and Hanson, an old time musical team, began in 1875. It would do you good to hear them now.

Some of the old timers have left vaudeville to be successful managers. Some have left vaudeville for the legitimate, some have left vaudeville to join other professions, and many have left vaudeville to join those who have long since passed beyond.

One of whom I will say a word, has been for many years controller of many theatres and a successful business manager, William Harris. He was at one time connected with Isaac Rich

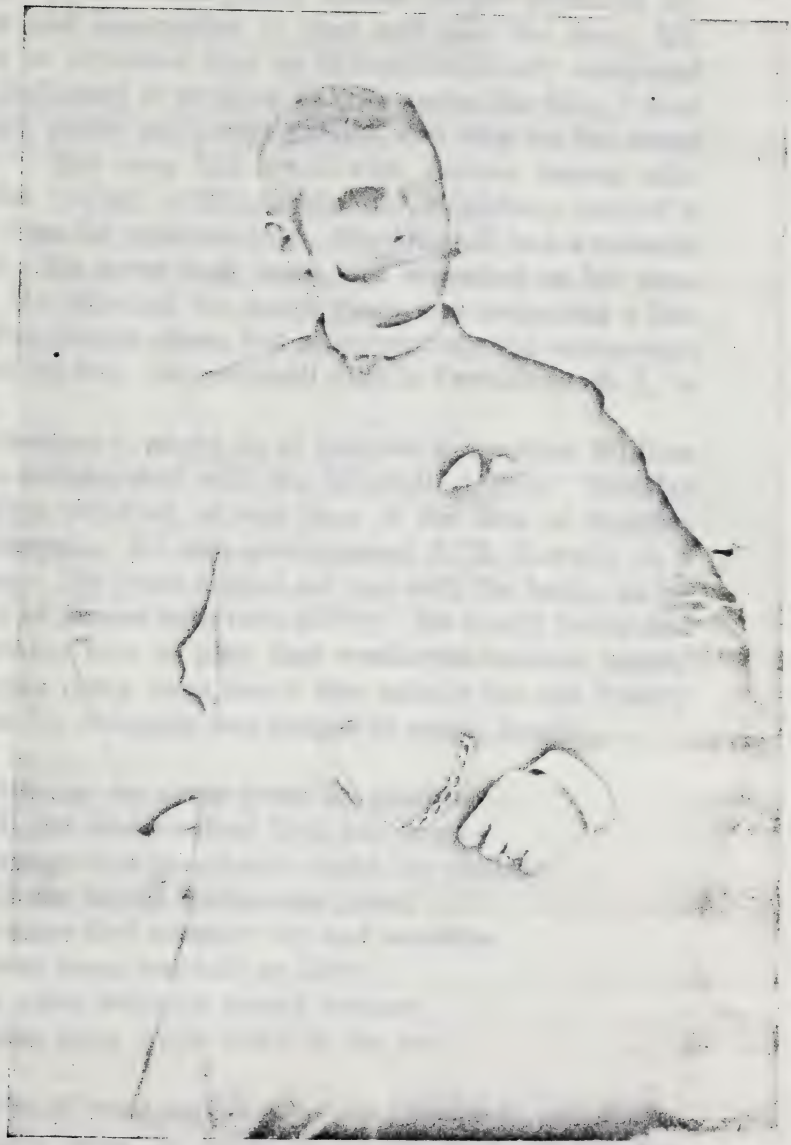
roll. They made a great impression upon the patrons of the variety or concert halls. Their act "The Old Slave's Return," was similar to Harrigan and Hart's "Slavery Days." In this act they are introduced as the aged, or befo'-de-war, darkey and his wife. In this song the once popular Southern melody "Old Black Joe," was sung with great effect.

Many of the old theatre-goers will recall J. W. McAndrews, known as the "Watermelon Man". This was his love song:

"I love my love in the morning;
I love my love at night;
I love my love all day long;
For she am my beauty bright."

One of the best known men in the profession forty years ago was Samuel N. Mitchell, a bard of no small note, the writer of hundreds of songs, and associated with the newspapers for many years and the only one who could be found to furnish the newsboys with a News Boys' Carrier's Address which contained important events of the world's happenings of the year past in poetic form. He enlisted in the Civil War, and even around the camp fire he would compose battle songs which would stir the hearts of the soldiers, bringing back fond memories of home and mother. On his return from the front, he continued in newspaper work, using his spare time to compose hundreds of songs. It was said that he could set the words to music in thirty minutes. I still remember "Put My Little Shoes Away," and "Sadie Ray." Both of these sentimental ballads were favorites of the once famous tenor of the San Francisco minstrels, Dave Wambold. Still another of Mitchell's compositions, which was heard in the best minstrel troupes of the day, was "When the Whippoorwill is Calling."

To illustrate how Mitchell obtained his inspiration, I will narrate an incident that took place in the early seventies. A musical family, known as the Berger Family, appeared at the Academy of Music, Providence, R. I. Sol. Smith Russell was a monologue artist and a member of this troupe. His wife was one of the Berger's. Mr. Mitchell was present at a performance as corres-



SAMUEL N. MITCHELL
The Bard of Providence, R. I.

pondent for the New York Sunday Mercury, a popular dramatic weekly of that time. When pretty Louise Berger appeared upon the stage and commenced to sing and play the harp, Mr. Mitchell was so attracted that he extemporaneously composed a song and dedicated it to Miss Berger under the title, "Just touch the harp gently my pretty Louise, and sing me the songs that I love." The song had world-wide success among minstrels and the variety artists, while the publishers reaped a rich harvest from its immense sale. Mr. Mitchell had a remarkable memory. He never took notes, but depended on his wonderful gift. Mr. Mitchell for many years was preparing a history of the Providence stage, but unfortunately the manuscript was destroyed by fire. Mr. Mitchell died in Providence R. I., in 1905.

In this connection it might be of interest to mention William Huntley, who collaborated with Mr. Mitchell. "Billy" Huntley was an old-time minstrel, at one time of the firm of Huntley Brothers' minstrels. He also accompanied J. H. Haverly on a European tour. His great special act was with the banjo, an instrument that he played with rare ability. He is still living and is teaching others how to play that wonderful musical instrument. I presume many have heard him imitate the old Trinity Church chimes by swinging two banjos at arms' length.

"Strange we never prize the music
Till the sweet-voiced bird has flown—
Strange that we should slight the violets
Till the lovely flowers are gone;
Strange that summer sky and sunshine
Never seem one-half so fair,
As when winter's snowy pinions
Shake their white down in the air."

The monarchs of song and dance were Delehanty and Hengler. Mr. Hengler being the father of the two beautiful Hengler sisters, now before the public. From coast to coast, Delehanty and Hengler were popular. Beautifully costumed, the one as the Darkie Lover and the other the bewitching "yaller gal,"

they would sing and dance, their master composition being "Love among the Roses," as follows:

"It was on one Summer's evening,
In the merry month of June,
I beheld a damsel sitting
Mid flowers' sweet perfume.
She had a novel, reading
Just as I was passing by;
And as she turned another page,
I saw the brightest eye.
A bewitching smile was on her face,
As charming as the posies.
I felt the smart of cupids dart—
T'was love among the roses.

CHORUS:

"Now I hate to tell, but then I must,
Within her heart I place my trust.
She was sitting in the garden
Where the little butterfly reposes;
And how we met I'll ne'er forget—
'Twas love among the roses."

They were also authors of many other songs, among which were: "Dancing in the Moonlight," "I couldn't stay away," "The Lily and the Rose," "Little Bunch of Roses," "Walking in the Starlight," "Martha Jane Berue," "Little Rosey May," "When Flowers Blush and Bloom," "Come and Kiss Me," "Darling of My Heart," "Little Annie Lowry," "Happy Hottentots," "Apple of My Eye," "Bell and Swell," "Fascinating Dark Blue Eye," "I'm Dancing Glad," "I really Can't Keep Still," "One Dearly Love," and "Sambo's Invitation."

When James Fisk controlled the Fall River Line of steam

passengers for the low price of one dollar in order to meet competition. His line was called the "Dollar Line." His two magnificent boats the "Bristol" and the "Providence," were known as floating palaces. Sheridan and Mack, well-known vaudeville performers, conceived the idea of writing a satire on this popular line, their production being known as "Fun on the Bristol." Though only a fairly good variety show, their performance was a great advertisement for the "Bristol" and induced thousands to go to New York on this steamer. This old song and dance team was also the means of promoting many combinations for the road in 1874. "Sheridan, Mack and Days Grand Combination," toured the New England Cities. This troupe consisted of the Stewart Sisters, Miss Alecia Jourdan, Boshnell Sisters, Lester and Allen and Dan Devere, a troupe of pantominists, and as an afterpiece the once popular Robert Macaire.

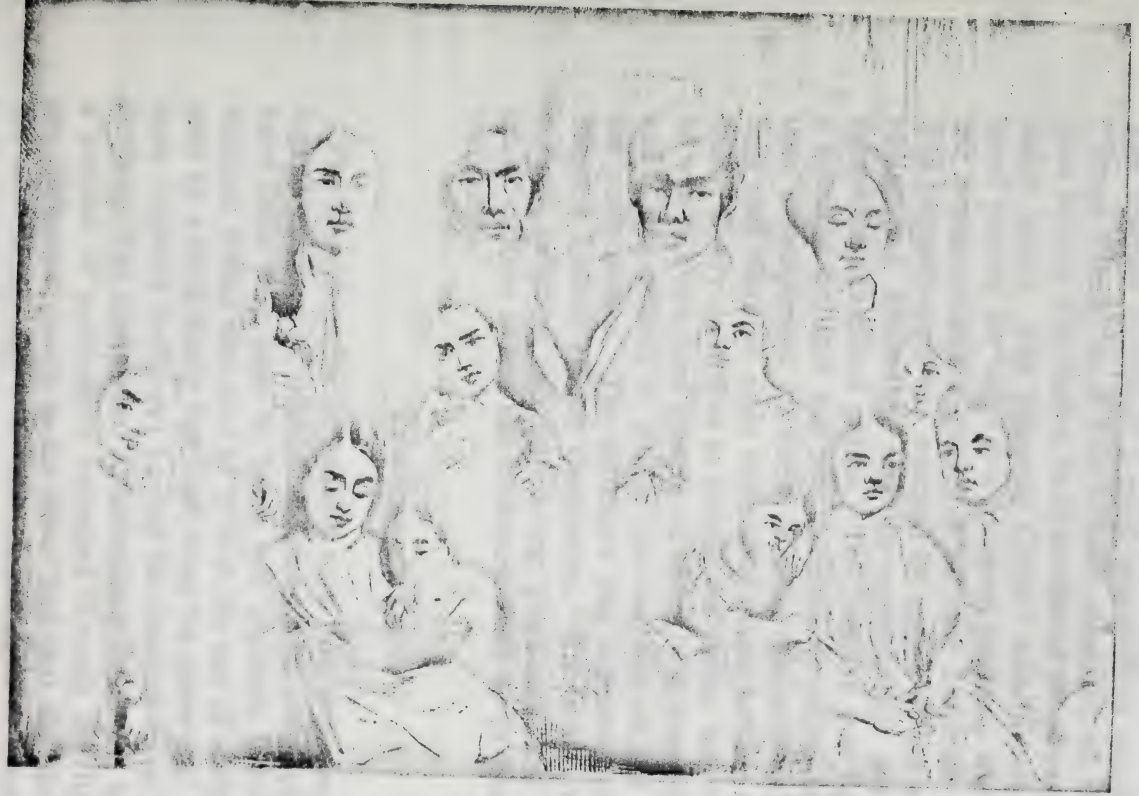
An old-timer, who recently died, was Pat Reilley, a rival of Pat Rooney. While Rooney was a good dancer, Reilly was a cartoonist. He also was a good Irish comedian. His make-up being very much overdrawn, impersonating a most hideous Irish character with green Galway whiskers. One of his first sayings as he appeared before an audience was: "I can stand a good joke, but when I stand on the edge of a cross walk, smoking a cigar, and a man comes up and hitches his horse to me, it's going too far." There is now considerable agitation anent the caricaturing of Irish, Hebrew and German characters, but it should be borne in mind that these impersonations are in a spirit of fun.

Since the days of "Yankee Locke," a once celebrated Yankee impersonator, the stage "Rube" has been most frightfully ridiculed. In fact the farmer is represented on the historic boards as more of a fool than a wise one, but as I said before it is done simply to create laughter and no one should ever give the matter any serious thought. For a considerable period the country "Hay seed" was missing from the stage, until Uncle Josh Whitcomb revived this popular character.

Circus.

Barnum's Hippodrome with its Roman chariot races, a sensation of a generation ago, was discontinued after a few seasons because of the immense expenses involved. It was in 1853 that a hippodrome building was erected on Madison Square, New York, covering an area of two acres, with a front on Broadway of two hundred feet, and extending backwards so as to occupy nearly the entire block. The "tout ensemble" was striking and peculiar. Turretted abutments, decorated with classic carvings and capped with grotesque ornaments, and the extended pyramid striped with green and white, presented a unique contour. The Hippodrome was a decidedly French conception. In fact, it was a French conception, a Paris importation, perfected by American enterprise. M. Fanconi, a Parisian, "to the manage born," was the manager and projector, but Monsieur Yankee supplied the material for the successful operation of the concern. If the exterior at once surprised attracted and elicited admiration, what must the impression created by the interior arrangements have been? Classic lore, ancient history, Walter Scott's picture of the tournament, the songs of chivalry,—these and other features give an idea of what was to be seen at Franconi's Hippodrome. Some of the older readers might be able to recall "The Tournament," in which a grand procession of more than one hundred and fifty persons and one hundred horses formed a prominent attraction. Amid the blast of the clarion, two knights engaged in conflict, one falling by the hand of the other. His horse was lame, fell over dead and was borne motionless upon a hurdle from the course. This one attraction alone surpassed anything America has ever witnessed. The steeplechase, the stag hunt, the Olympian games, lofty aerial flights and other wonders were all executed in grand style. Strangers from far and near in large numbers were ever present.

It was more than fifty years ago that a floating palace appeared at Mobile, Ala. It was built for the purpose of equestrian exhibitions and was an old time feature on the Mississippi and at the levee in New Orleans. It was rather a novel idea to



The Siamese Twins and their Families

construct such a curious ship—a regular movable theatre. This project succeeded far beyond the expectations of its promoters. The interior contained a most commodious amphitheatre. The "Dress Circle," as it was termed, consisted of eleven hundred cane bottom arm-chairs, each numbered to correspond with the ticket issued. The "Family Circle" was furnished with cushioned settees for some five hundred persons, while the rest of the accommodations consisted of nine hundred gallery seats. The amphitheatre was warmed by means of hot water pipes or steam, and altogether was an exceedingly comfortable and agreeable exhibition palace. The interior was lighted by over a hundred brilliant gas jets, forming an exquisite ornament in their arrangement. A chime of bells was attached to the structure and vibrated most melodious music before each performance. Every deception to delude the visitor into the belief that he was in a spacious theatre on shore, was pressed into service, and it was difficult to realize that one was on the water during the performance. The structure was improved by Spalding & Roger's United Circus Companies. All in all it was a most curious, original and interesting playhouse, and attracted as many visitors to see the structure itself as to witness the performances.

The Siamese Twins

The Encyclopædia Britannica says that twins are the physiological analogy of double monsters, and some of these twins have come very near to being two separate individuals. The Siamese Twins who died in 1874 at the age of sixty were joined only by a thick fleshy ligament from the lower end of the breast bone (*xiphoid cartilage*) having the common naval on its lower border. The anatomical examinations disclosed, however, that a process of *peritoneum* extended through the ligament from one abdominal cavity to the other, and that the blood vessels of the two beings were in free communication across the same bridge. There are one or two cases on record in which such a ligament was cut at birth, one at least of the twins surviving. The Hungarian Sisters, Helena and Judith (1701-1723) were

joined at the *sacrum,* but had the pelvic cavity and pelvic organs separate. The same condition obtained in the South Caroline Negresses, Millie and Christina, known as the two-headed Nightingale, and in the Bohemian Sisters, Rosalie and Josepha.

Marvelous, indeed, were the famous Siamese Twins "Chang and Eng." They were born in the city of Meklong in Siam, May, 1811, and were brought to this country by the Captain of the ship, Sachem, arriving in August, 1829. They were a at once brought before the public for exhibition, and during the many years that they were on exhibition, were visited by millions of people. Their travels included the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland and Belgium. They were united to each other by a ligature or band about three and a half inches in length and eight in circumference. This band was attached at the extremity of the breast bone of each and extended downwards to the abdomen. The upper part of the band was a strong cartilaginous substance. The lower part was soft and fleshy and contained a tube or cavity approximately an inch and a half in circumference. The flexibility of this cartilage was so great that they could readily turn their shoulders outward when standing in a natural position. It was away back in the early fifties after having become independent, that they settled in Wilkes County, North Carolina. There they became smitten with two charming sisters named Yates, and each selecting his partner, the four were made two with all due ceremony. This double union apparently proved highly satisfactory to all concerned. The ladies were amiable and interesting and the twins were devotedly attached to their wives. Mr. Eng had six children and his brother Chang five, all of whom were apt scholars and of prepossessing appearance. Eng and Chang continued their travels in America as star exhibits until their death in 1874. It is hardly possible that this generation will ever witness such a remarkable spectacle as were the Siamese Twins. However, let me revert to the one-ring circus.

One-Ring Circus

Gone are the good old days when the one ring circus gave as good a performance as two-ring circuses do to-day. It was four

decades ago that the great European Circus made its appearance with one of the greatest street parades ever witnessed at that period. Gorgeous chariots and wagons, mammoth tableaux, cars containing beautiful women, the live lion, and his keeper mounted on a magnificent platform, and the calvacade of knights in steel armor, brought out people en masse along the route of the procession. Crowds attending the old time circus were so great that in some instances people were not able to obtain admittance and were obliged to return home with admission tickets as souvenirs. The clowns in this circus were Sam Long and Mr. Whitaker and their favorite songs were: "Where's Rosana Gone;" "The Fellow That Looks Like Me;" "Never Take the Horse Shoe From the Door." Then there were such features as "Flying Trapez," "Up in a Balloon," and "Down in a Coal Mine," and many others. Lucille Watson was a daring female rider. Denzer Brothers and Philo Nathans were also well known. Mr. Pierce entered a cage of lions at each performance and fed them raw meat with his hands and thrust his head into a lion's mouth. C. Sherwood, a member of the show, was famous in doing what was known as the "Pete Jenkings Act." A beautiful horse appeared in the ring with the clown and ring master, when suddenly a drunken man came down from the seats and reeled forward toward the ring with umbrella and carpet bag in hand and informed the ring master that he wanted to join the circus. He thereupon mounted the horse and away he went reeling and it would appear that every minute he would fall under the horse's hooves. Oftentimes a constable would innocently rush forward to the ring to arrest the drunken fellow, fearing he would be hurt or killed. Finally the man's clothes fell from his body and, behold, he was the star rider of the troupe with his tights and spangles.

In 1880, the Great London Circus and the P. T. Barnum's Big Show were strong competitors, even covering the same territory, until a circus alliance was formed. One of the attractions of the London Show was John Patterson, the Irish clown, whose favorite song was "I'll meet her in the Garden where the Apple Praties Grow." In former years clowning meant to appear in the ring and make grimaces at the audience, being at the same

time attired in a droll costume. Seldom, if ever, was a clown called upon to speak, except in answering a child's conundrum or else in attempting to spell some such word as 'stovepipe' or 'Constantinople.' Later, however, a clown had to have command of the English language and had to have a knowledge of men and affairs. Furthermore, he had to be a jester and a vocalist.

For many years many of the star performers were connected with L. B. Lent's New York Circus permanently located in the winter months on Fourteenth street, and taking to the road in the Summer season. Mlle. Caroline Rolland the phenomenal equestrienne, performed many daring feats on a bare-backed steed, as did Robert Stickney, one of the most celebrated riders of the world. The Runnell's Family, Conrad Brothers, Wm. Dutton, Elmino Eddie, H. B. Williams, and other members, were also stars of the sawdust ring. Another company was Hitchcock's United Circus and Menagerie. The tents of this company were porous, and rain passed through as through a sieve. Usually it rained in torrents when the tent was packed to overflowing. I have seen hundreds of umbrellas opened, and occasionally one would be seen flying through the air propelled tither by some individual in the rear whose sight was obstructed Among the performers were Williams and Menkin, John H. Glenroy, and Mlle. Marie. The clowns were George M. Clarke and Clint Williams. The trained horse Gen. Grant, was a feature of the show. After the performance Whitmore and Clark's Minstrels gave an entertainment.

I have records of several big tent shows, among which was Van Amburg's Golden Menagerie, a grand show for the seventies. The procession was led by the Golden Car of Egypt with Professor Hall and a tame lion, followed by the three elephants, "Tippoo," "Sahih," "Jenny Lind," and "Hannibal Jr." two double-humped camels, a number of ponies and mules and a long line of cages and wagons, most beautifully decorated with paintings, representing scenes from the bible and presenting a most imposing spectacle.

The Side-Shows

The side-shows were very numerous, among them being the Australian children, Madam Sherwood the Fat Lady, a troupe of minstrels, an educated pig and two living skeletons. Other shows prominent at this period of which I write were Herr Driesbach's Menagerie and Howe's Trans-Atlantic Circus. The street procession was nearly a mile long. One feature was a tableau car which was occupied by Gertrude and her poodles, other principals being Jean, Victor and Arthur, who used to be with the Hanlon's. The clowns were John Wilcox and George H. Clark. On the closing night of the performance Clark created considerable amusement by leaving the ring and sitting down beside a dark woman among the spectators, hugging and kissing her for some time. Ed. Watson was the principal "pad rider" and Juan Henriques was the principal bare-back rider, Frank J. Howes being the Master of the arena.

Another circus of the olden times was Dan Rice's show. As a clown Dan Rice never was equalled.

Another important feature of the old-time circus was the side-show or dime museum, with such features as "Jo Jo the dog-faced boy," "The Trick Pig," Barnum's "What is it?" "The Tattooed Greek," "The Skeleton," "Fat Woman," "The Wild Man of Borneo," "The Ossified Man," "Millie Christie the two-headed Nightingale," Australian sheep with heads upside down, Hop O' My Thumb, the smallest human being in the world, weight 8 pounds. There were also "Fake Exhibits" that went along with poor shows. The "barker" figures prominently in these companies. The barker had a shiny silk hat, a large diamond in his shirt front, a mustache with wax ends. In glowing terms he described the variety of the monstrosities that perched under canvas immediately behind him. He was surrounded by flaming pictures illustrating the show. "This is a museum of living wonders," he would say "the boss side show of the world. Here we have a living skeleton, Isaac W. Sprague, 29 years of age, five feet and five and one-half inches high, and weighs but forty pounds. We have also the giant lady, Madame Clarke, twenty-six years of age, who measures nearly six feet around

the waist and twenty-seven inches around the arm. She stands six feet high and weighs 574 pounds. Still another, the smallest man of his age ever on exhibition in this country, thirty-four years of age, who stands thirty-nine inches high and weighs only thirty-one pounds. Here we have the beautiful Circassian Girl from the Province of Bericknovio. She has been educated in many branches of English literature and everywhere excites admiration and respect both for her marvellous beauty and captivating manners—a cultivated and Christian lady, it is worth miles of travel to behold her."

Nothing but a liberal use of capitals can emphasize the barker's language. The "Beautiful Circassian" was a fake. Any woman at short notice, with the stage art of make-up, by making the hair stand high upon the ends and out on the sides over her shoulder could be converted into a beautiful Circassian lady. The hair effect was brought about by allowing sour beer to dry.

"Here," continued the lecturer, "we have also the Mermaid from the Fiji Islands, one of the largest ever captured, and the only one of the kind ever on exhibition in this country. When landed in New York she cost the enormous sum of $15,000. To see her alone is worth the price of admission ten cents, a dime." This fake would put Barnum to blush. It was nothing but a stuffed figure with a bent tail, made up very much like a child's rag doll, being in a glass show case. "Now, ladies and gentlemen," the barker resumed, "we have a two-headed snake, one of the greatest freaks of nature on exhibition—two perfect heads four eyes and only one body, a most remarkable curiosity." This was also another fake: Two snakes were prepared carefully by a taxidermist and sewed together as a freak. It was really funny, but crowds would visit this "wonderful show" while the big show in the large tent was in progress. The "candy butchers" went from seat to seat and sold the pink lemonade, barber pole candy and peanuts. Cyrus and his sweet-heart ordered a feast and tender a five dollar bill. The change is returned and Cy puts it in his pocket without counting it, as he is to much interested in what is going on in the ring. Later he discovers that he is two whole dollars short.

There were many freaks of national fame such as the "Elas-

tic Skin Man," the Giant Col. Goshen, an Arab seven feet eight inches high, weight six hundred and two pounds, a well-built man. His measurement around the waist was the equal to the altitude of an ordinary man multiplied by three. Chang, the Chinese Giant, was also well known. There were many hall exhibits such as the Cardiff Giant, hewn from granite and as great a joke as the old stone mill at Newport and the wonderful Strassburg Clock with its mechanical figures. There was once on exhibition on the Boston Common under canvas. The hull of the Mayflower was shown but many were skeptical.

In closing I will mention the tiniest human being that ever lived, Lucia Zarate, who attracted the attention of scientists as well as of the general public. She was a perfectly formed woman and symmetrical. She weighed less than eleven pounds and her height was not quite twelve inches. She could walk under General Tom Thumb's extended arm without brushing his sleeve. An ordinary finger ring could be slipped over her wrist and a tea cup would cover her head. The nail on her little finger was not much larger than a pin head. Her earnings were upwards of $200,000 during the fifteen years that she was on exhibition, which was around the seventies and eighties.

Those good old days are gone. We ne'er shall see them any more. Happy were the hours we spent peeking underneath the tent of the one-ring circus now no more.

Campaign Songs of a Century

IT was only from the Ozark Mountains or some other delightfully simple and primitive region of the republic that such an archaic thing as a campaign song could be expected in these days of long-word issues and tuneless, meaningless cheers. But the "houn' dawg" ballad from the Missouri hills, age and authorship unknown, cannot be considered as marking a revival of political verse. It is only a reminder that there was such a thing a generation ago when mass meetings were more spontaneous and when applause was not a detail, arranged beforehand and guaranteed to last so many minutes by the stop watches of the under bosses.

For the sake of speculation the decline of the campaign song may be attributed to any one of a dozen causes. Perhaps it is because the crowd no longer knows how to sing, a needless accomplishment, since every family in the land, by saving enough laundry soap coupons, can get a phonograph machine to do its singing for it. It may be that the nomenclature of modern issues does not lend itself to combination with modern ragtime. How could any score write of Tin Pan Alley produce anything, for instance, to fit a merry jingle about "the recall of judicial decisions" or "the initiative, referendum, and recall." There are possibilities, it is true, in third-term, but no song writer seems to care for them, and it is a sign of these unmusical days in politics that none of the managers of a million other booms has ordered a ditty to offset the "houn' dawg" that Champ Clark seems to have in leash for his own trailing of the delegates.

Nevertheless, American politics have a long anthology of song, running way back in Washington's time, when Robert Treat Paine wrote the following about the first President:

Should the tempest of war overshadow our land,
Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's temple asunder;
For unmoved at portals would Washington stand,
And repulse with his breast the assaults of the thunder.
His sword from the sleep
Of its scabbard would leap,
And conduct with its point every flash to the deep!
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls a wave.

As the country grew older, its songs became much less staid than the Paine verses on Washington, and with the beginning, early in the last century, of rival party campaigns, as they are known now, the jingle came into existence for campaign purposes.

Here is what the supporters of Thomas Jefferson sang when he was the candidate for the Presidency in 1800:

The Federalists are down at last,
The Monarchists completely cast,
The Aristocrats are stripped of power
Storms o'er the British faction lower.
  Soon we Republicans shall see
Columbia's sons from bondage free!
Lord! How the Federalists will stare
At Jefferson in Adams's chair!

As in Grant's campaign, forty years later, the song-writers for Andrew Jackson, in 1828, made the most out of their candidate's record as a soldier, and one of the best songs of that period was based on Jackson's defeat of the British under Lord Pakenham at New Orleans in 1815. Two stanzas of it were:

You've heard, I s'pose of New Orleans,
Its famed for youth and beauty;
There are girls of every hue it seems,
From snowy white to sooty.
Now Pakenham has made his brags,

If he that day was lucky,
He'd have the girls and cotton bags
In spite of Old Kentucky!

. . . . . .

But Jackson, he was wide awake,
And was not scared at trifles,
For well he know Kentucky's boys,
With their death-dealing rifles.
He led them down to cypress swamp,
The ground was low and mucky;
There stood John Bull in martial pomp,
And here stood old Kentucky.

Twelves years later the campaign song-writers were a trifle more frivolous, and the poets working for William Henry Harrison and John Tyler in their log cabin and hard cider campaign in 1840, produced this against Martin Van Buren, the Democratic President, a candidate for a second term:

Farewell, dear Van,
You're a used-up man.
Van! Van! Van!
You're not our man!

That Matty loves the working man,
No workingman can doubt, sirs;
For well he doth pursue the place
That turns the worker out, sirs!

He turns them out of Whig employ,
He turns them out of bread, sirs,
And middle men doth he annoy,
By striking business dead, sirs!

For Matty is a Democrat,
Sing, Yankee Doodle Dandy!
With spoons of gold, and English coach,
And servants always handy!

It was that same campaign song which produced the one song with a line in it that the American people still remember: "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too." But the phrase has not lived sixty-two years without help. A revival of it jogged the public memory in 1888, when Tippecanoe's grandson, Benjamin Harrison, was elected to the Presidency. The song, which was based on Gen. Harrison's victory over the Indians under the "Prophet" by Tippecanoe River, ran as follows:

What has caused the commotion, 'motion, 'motion,
  Our country through?
It is the ball a rolling on, for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!
  And with them we will beat Van!
  Van is a used-up man!

Let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider,
  And log cabins, too—
It will only help speed the ball for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!

The latch-string hangs outside the door, door, door!
  And it is never pulled through,
For it was never the custom of old Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!

Another verse of the same campaign which was sung with great gusto by the crowds that seemed to think that Van Buren was too elegant was:

Tippecanoe has no chariot to ride in,
No palace of marble has he to reside in,
No bags of gold eagles, no lots of fine clothes,
But he has a wealth far better than those—
  The love of a Nation, free, happy and true,
  Are the riches and portion of Tippecanoe!

Down in Maine, in a Governorship fight, they blended State and national affairs in these lines:

She went hell-bent
For Governor Kent,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too;
For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too.

The familiar "Up Salt River" phrase, a left-over from the Clay-Jackson fight of 1836 was also revived for Harrison. That had its origin in a trick played upon Clay. He was going somewhere on the Ohio River in a rowboat to make an important campaign speech. But his oarsman, who was a Jackson man, rowed him up a small branch stream called Salt River, and made him miss the meeting. As revised for 1840, the song went:

Our vessel is ready, we cannot delay,
For Harrison's coming and we must away—
Up Salt River! Up Salt River!
Up Salt River! Oh, heigh-ho!

The dinner pail, full or empty, as a campaign argument, is nothing new. It got into song in the Polk-Clay campaign of 1844 as a bait for the "labor vote":

Here's a health to the workingman's friend,
Here's good luck to the plough and the loom!
Him who will not join in support of our cause,
May light dinners and ill-luck illume!

And this one:

The gallant Whigs have drawn the sword,
And thrown the idle sheath away;
And onward is the battle-word,
For Home Protection and for Clay!

Here's something intended to be serious:

The great, the wise, the virtuous, all—they say,
In Time's dread progress, die and turn to clay;
A dying Nation shall the comment give—
She turns to Clay—*but turns to Clay to live!*

But, as everybody knows, Polk won. This story has nothing to do with campaign songs, but when Polk was President a New England minister, who did not like the President, was making a speech at the district school and giving much sound advice to the pupils. "There may be," he said, impressively, "another Washington or Jefferson among you boys." Then, as an afterthought, "Lord knows, any one of you might be a Polk."

Clay's adherents in the Whig party declared that their organization was the same "old coon" which had won four years before and so said in song:

The moon was shining silver bright,
The stars with glory crowned the night,
High on a limb that same old coon
Was singing to himself this tune—
Get out of my way—you're all unlucky,
Clear the track for old Kentucky.

There was a response to that from the Polk singers after the election:

Not a cheer was heard, not a single shout
As away to the ditch they hurried;
No bank-paid orator rose to spout
O'er the hole where that coon was buried.

So rapidly tumbling him all alone
With his tail's wounded stump quite gory.
They raised a faint shout, twixt a cheer and a groan,
And left him alone in this glory.

Here's a better one from the days of 1848 when Zachary Taylor was elected on the Whig ticket:

Clear the track if you're toes are tender,
For honest Zach can never surrender.

James C. Fremont, the Path Finder, and the candidate of the

new Republican party in 1856, was called by his adherents the mustang colt. So it was necessary, of course, for them to describe the opposing candidate, Buchanan, as an "old gray nag." Then both were driven tandem with Pegasus, this fashion:

The mustang colt is strong and young,
His wind is strong, his knees not sprung.
The old gray horse is a well-known hack,
He's long been fed at the public rack.
The mustang is a full-blooded colt,
He cannot shy! He will not bolt!
The old gray nag, when he tries to trot,
Goes round and round in the same old spot!
The mustang goes at a killing pace,
He's bound to win the four-mile race!
Then do your best with the old gray hack,
The mustang colt will clear the track!

The song writers were particularly hard on Buchanan, and gave a suggestion of his easy-going ways in these lines:

The dough, the dough, the facial dough!
The nose that yields when you tweak it so!
It sighs for the spoil—its sells its soul
For a spoonful of pap from the Treasury bowl.

But Fremont did not escape entirely:

When Fremont raised a flag so high
  On Rocky Mountain's peak,
One little busy bee did fly
  And light upon his cheek.

But when November's ides arrive
  To greet the Colonel's sight,
Straight from the Democratic hive
  Two B's will on him light—
    Buck and Breck.

Millard Fillmore had to listen to this all through his campaign:

There lives a man in Buffalo,
His name is Millard Fillmore,
Who thinks the Union's sunk so low
It ought to take one pill more.

To purge away the "prejudice"
Which true men have for freedom,
A canting, pompous wretch he is
Who'll cheat you if you heed him.

Old Mill Fillmore, not another pill more
In our mouth,
The quaking South
Ne'er shall put a bill more.

The reference was to Fillmore's signing of the Clay compromise bill.

In the Lincoln campaign of 1860, the burden of most of the songs was of the impending struggle between North and South. Here is one:

We are coming! We are coming!
What a mighty host!—Ha! Ha!
Laughing, shouting, singing, drumming,
We are coming to the war!
Here are old men, here are young men
Even women by the score;
All are coming, all are coming
To this Presidential war.

Another, to the favorite tune of Yankee Doodle, ran:

Lincoln came to Washington
To view the situation,
And found the world all upside down,
A rumpus in the nation.

He heard Secessia laugh in scorn,
  And call him but a noodle;
"Laugh on!" he cried, "as sure's you're born
  I still am Yankee Doodle!"

A song of the Douglass party, based on Lincoln's personal appearance, was:

Tell us he's a second Webster,
  Or, if better, Henry Clay;
That he's full of gentle humor,
  Placid as a summer's day.

Tell again about the cord-wood;
  Seven cords or more per day;
How each night he seeks his closet,
  There alone to kneel and pray!

Any lie you tell, we'll swallow—
  Swallow any kind of mixture;
But, O don't we beg and pray you—
  Don't for land's sake, show his picture!

Andrew Johnson, while serving out the second Lincoln term, went about the country making speeches, with a view of an election on his own account. This song, to the tune of "Just Before the Battle, Mother," did not help him any:

Just before the election, Andy,
  We are thinking most of you;
While we get our ballots ready—
  But, be sure, they're not for you!
No, dear Andy, you'll not get them,
  But you'll get what you deserve—
Oh, yes, you'll get your leave of absence
  As "you swing around the curve!"

CHORUS:

You have swung around the circle
  That you ought to swing, 'tis true;
Oh, you tried to veto Congress,
  But, I guess, we'll veto you!

Of course, the Civil War was rich in songs, and the same was true of the campaign of 1868, when Grant was candidating for his first term. This one was a favorite at all the Grant mass meetings:

Should brave Ulysses be forgot,
  Who worked so long and well
On fields where fires of Death were hot
  And brave men fought and fell?

He bore our Country's banner on,
  Through scenes of direful strife,
And helped to strike the blow that saved
  Our Nation's precious life.

Here's another written by Miles O'Reilly:

So boys a final bumper
  While we in chorus chant
For next President we nominate
  Our own Ulysses Grant.
And if asked what State he hails from
  This our sole reply shall be;
From near Appomattox Court House
  With its famous apple tree.
For 'twas there to our Ulysses
  That Lee gave up the fight.
Now boys! To Grant for President,
  And God defend the right.

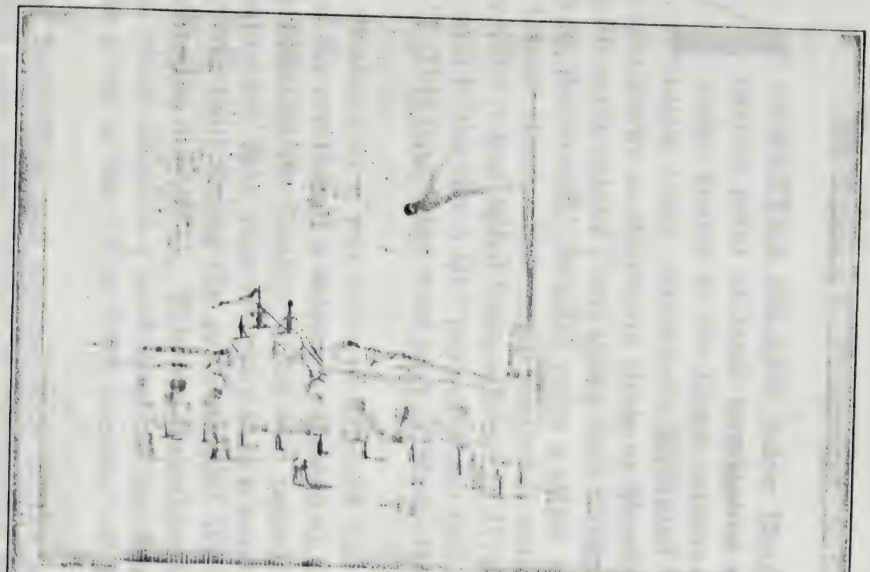
When Grant tried for a third term in 1880 there were songs about him that ran very differently. This one, for instance:

"It will be a damned shame," cried Fred,
If father is not nominated;
And so when the shame
Came out through Jime Blaine
  Our Fred
  Bowed his head

Wept like a water cart, it is said,
And howled like a bull dog under a shed,
He said, with eyes red,
"The Empire is dead;
They ain't got any use for our anointed head."

Of course, the fact that James A. Garfield had been on the towpath of a canal in his youth was made much of when he was a candidate for the White House, and it found expression thus:

He early learned to paddle well his own forlorn canoe
Upon Ohio's grand canal he held the hellum true.
And now the people shout to him: "Lo, 'tis for you we wait."
We want to see Jim Garfield guide our glorious ship of state.



A View of the BATTERY and HARBOUR of NEW YORK, and the AMBUSCADE FRIGATE.
1782

The Battery Park, New York City

By William S. Pelletreau, A. M.

MANHATTAN ISLAND below Pearl street was a narrow point of land, terminating in a ledge of rocks, known to the Dutch settlers as Capskie, or Little Cape, afterwards corrupted into "Copsie." It was also known as Schreyers Hoek, or Shouter's Point. The lots on the south side of Pearl street were mentioned as bounded "south by the strand." In after years a street was laid out and called Copsie street. This name continued until after the Revolution when it was called State street. In 1774 Governor Wm. Tryon sold to the city a lot "part of which had been laid into a street." This is now the west part of State street, below Pearl street.

The existence of a war between England and Spain was the cause of the erection of a battery at the end of the Point, and it gave a name to the locality which still remains, although the fortification has been gone for more than a hundred year. This battery was built during the governship of William Cosby and was finished in July, 1735. This was the subject of a grand celebration, which ended in a most mournful accident. The full account is given in the "New York Gazette" of July 21, of that year.

"The foundation and ground work of the new battery on Whitehall rocks being finished on Wednesday the 16th instant, that day was appointed for the laying of the first stone of the platform and the giving it a name. Accordingly his excellency, the Governor attended by the gentlemen of his majesty's Council with the principal gentlemen and merchants of the city, performed the ceremony under the general discharge of the cannon

planted for the occasion, and was pleased to call it George Augustus Royal Battery. Afterward his excellency repaired to the booth erected on the battery where an elegant entertainment was prepared for him and the company. After dinner, his majesty's and the several Royal healths were drank amid several discharges of the cannon, together with success to George's Battery. His excellency gave an ox roasted whole upon it, to the workmen, soldiers and people, with several barrels of punch and beer."

"It is remarkable that there was the greatest concourse of people on this occasion, that was ever known here, and the joy and satisfaction that was universally expressed might have deserved to be enlarged upon, had it not been succeeded by as universal a sadness occasioned by a most melancholy and unfortunate accident upon the conclusion of the whole solemnity. When his excellency was returning in the manner in which he went and the last round was firing, the very last piece of the cannon (being very much honeycombed as it afterward appeared by the pieces) burst and threw fragments of it flying different ways, and killed three persons, viz., John Symes, Esq., high sheriff for the city and county of New York; Miss Van Cortlandt, only daughter of the Hon. Col. Van Cortlandt, a member of his majesty's council in this Province, and a son-in law of Alderman Rawer. As they were carried home thousands crowded to see them, and a mixture of grief, compassion and terror appeared in the faces of all, at so dismal a sight. The next day the coroner's inquest sat on the bodies, and brought in their verdict, accidental death, and in the evening they were decently interred. Men, women and children assisting at the funeral solemnities, every one being officious to pay the last duties to the corpse of persons so unfortunately killed before their eyes."

By this occurrence the Battery was stained with the blood of the people it was erected to defend. The tract of land known as the Battery, was bounded on the east by Whitehall slip which originally extended north to Pearl street; south by the river shore where Capskie Rocks had been. On the west the river shore was a little east of Greenwich street, but as it ran south was very near the end of Pearl street. The Battery ground ex-

tended north to the south side of Marketfield street, now Battery Place. The whole space was bounded north by Copsie street, now State street, but as said before extended along the river shore to Battery Place.

Some years later, the prospect of a war with France called attention to the conditions of the Battery. On June 30, 1744, Governor Clinton made the following report to the General Assembly:

"In my speech delivered to you on the 18th, I spoke how much it imported to us to use the utmost diligence and dispatch for putting the Province in the best posture for defence. First, as to my directions already given concerning the fortification in the city."

"I have ordered the brass cannon on the flag mount in Fort George to be repaired and rendered fit for service. Leaden aprons to be made for the cannon on Copsey Battery, and a fence from the east to the west side thereof. Eight cannons to be removed to Mr. Rutger's wharf, on the North river, and eight to Burnet's Key on the East river. A Banquette or Fort Bank should be raised along the inside of the parapet on Copsey, and the Flat Rock batteries to a proper height for the musketeers to fire over. The Berm on Copsey battery to be fitted up with sod work to prevent the enemy's landing there. It is also advised to take up every other gun on Copsey, and fill up each other embrasure with sod work." It would likewise be proper to raise another battery in front of the Great Dock of the city in order to flank the east side of Copsey battery as the Flat Rock does the westward."

The "Great Dock" was near the present Moore street, and "Flat Rock," was near the westward end of Pearl street.

On August 24, 1744, the General Assembly voted funds for all the improvements, and among other things it was voted.

"For altering Copsey Battery and reducing the same to a 32-gun battery, which we conceive to be more serviceable, £450." From which it would appear that the original number of guns must have been 64.

There was also "to be made a sufficient fence for Copsey battery, from Whitehall slip to the east corner of the Red House, and from the west corner of said house to the wharf on the

North river, with gates at each end of the Red House for carts to pass and repass."

This fence was on the south side of State street, but the battery was extended north along the river shore to Battery Place, many years before the Revolution.

In 1793 an English traveler named John Drayton came to New York. A few years later his travels were printed in a small pamphlet entitled "Letters written during a tour through the Northern and Eastern States of America."

Of his arrival he writes, "We came opposite the Battery, which is at the extreme part of the town. It has no mortars or embrasures, but the guns (which are 13 in number) are placed upon carriages, on a stone platform some four feet above the level of the water. Between the guns and the water is a public walk, made by a gentle decline from the platform and going round the ground upon which the battery is placed. Some little distance behind the guns two rows of elm trees are planted, which in a short time will afford an agreeable shade. The flag staff rises from the midst of a stone tower, and is decorated on the top with a golden ball, and the back part of the ground is laid out in smaller walks, terraces and a bowling green. Immediately behind this and overlooking it is the government House, built at the expense of the State."

Years before, a bulk head had been made a little way into the river and the interval filled in thus increasing the area of land. In 1790 when Fort George had been given to the city it was ordered that this bulkhead should be leveled and a new bulkhead made and extended "from the end of the bulkhead lately made by them and continuing to the south-west bastion of the Battery." This extended the "made ground" to the west opposite Greenwich street. Trees were set out and a neat fence made on the south side of the Old Marketfield street, west of Broadway, and it took the name of Battery Place. This was the condition of things when Mr. Drayton made his sketch of the Battery. The view is taken from a point on the south side of Battery Place and does not show the whole extent of the ground. The flag staff and tower (popularly called "the churn," from its resemblance) stood by

the bulkhead a little north of Pearl street. An enlarged view of the Battery is here given, taken from "A new and accurate plan of the city of New York" published in 1797.

The "Ambuscade" was a French frigate which came over in 1793. At that time everything French was extremely popular, and as she came sailing past the Battery bearing the liberty cap at her foretop gallant mast head, it made a great sensation, and her officers and crew received a grand ovation.

Dr. Francis in his "Old New Yorker, or Reminiscences of the last 60 years," states that his "first visit to the Battery was on

The Battery in 1793

the occasion of the funeral of General Washington (1799). The procession gathered there and about the Bowling Green. The Battery was then properly set out with Lombardy poplar trees, introduced into this county by the elder Michaux, who had been sent to America from the Jardin des Plante of Paris. It was pronounced an exotic of priceless value, but like many other things of an exotic nature, it polluted the soil, vitiated our own more stately and valuable indigenous products, and was finally eradicated as uncongenial and detrimental to the natural riches of American husbandry."

The Battery became a fashionable resort. Here was the grand "Fete and Gala" given to Lafayette in Sept., 1824. It "was attended by 6,000 persons, and far transcended in splendor any pageant ever before witnessed in the United States." For a quarter of a century the Battery was a popular place of amusement and was the starting place for parades and processions. Chancellor Kent who resided at No. 68 Greenwich street speaks with pleasure of his morning walks on the Battery, and he was only one out of thousands who could do the same. When the late King of England was prince of Wales he visited this country in 1860, and the grand review in his honor was on the Battery, and this was perhaps the last great public ceremony in that famous place.

In 1806 four hundred feet of land under water was ceded to the United States, and in the following year a fortification was erected, named Castle Clinton, or the Southwest Battery. A long bridge connected it with the main land. In 1822 being no longer of any use as a fort, it was dismantled and the land and building was re-ceded to the city and it was leased to a company for $1,400 a year. The lessees covered it with a roof and made it an immense apartment, then said to be the largest audience room in the United States. When Jenny Lind visited America in 1850, Castle Garden (as it was then called) was the only place large enough to accommodate the thousands who were charmed by the magic of her song. She was followed in later years by Malibran, Grisi and Mario, famous for musical talent. In 1855 the place was changed into a depot for immigrants. This continued until 1890 when the station was moved to Ellis Island and the Aquarium, a source of delight and instruction to thousands, was established in its place.

As stated before, the river or Whitehall Slip, originally extended to Pearl street, but had been filled in as far as Front street before the Revolution. The original extent of the Battery was about ten acres, and the exterior line from Whitehall to Marketfield street (Battery Place) was a quarter of a mile. In 1871 it was proposed to greatly enlarge this space, and it was extended to the present bulkhead, and Castle Garden became a

part of the Park. But the glory of the Battery has passed away. No longer a place for fashionable resorts, it is a rendezvous for a class of people whose names are not on the assessment roll and who were not born on American soil.

The United States and Movement for International Arbitration and Peace

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

PART II

AUTHOR OF UNIVERSAL PEACE BY INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT, AND LA PAIX UNIVERSALLE PAR L'ORGANIZATION INTERNATIONALE, ETC.

THE Second Commission of the first conference had for consideration the extension to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, "(by which the moral duty to protect the sick and wounded was transferred to an international and legal obligation.)"

(The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, pp. 20, 62.)

The Third Commission had for consideration the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, and Article 8 of the second circular sought to specify the various means by which the maintenance of general peace might be safeguarded.

(The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, p. 66.)

"And found it in an agreement to accept in principle the employment of good offices of mediation and facultative arbitration in cases lending themselves thereto, with the object of preventing armed conflicts between nations, to come to an understanding with respect to the mode of applying these good offices and to establish a uniform practice in using them."

The Final Act of the International Peace Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The conference is of the opinion that the restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind." (The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, p. 77.)

The second Hague Peace Conference, which convened 1907,

organized four Commissions, which had for consideration the following subjects:

The First Commission—Arbitration. International Commissions of Inquiry and questions connected therewith.

The Second Commission—Improvements in the system of laws and customs of land warfare. Opening of hostilities. Declarations of 1899. Rights and Obligations of Neutrals on Land.

The Third Commission—Bombardment of Ports, Cities and Villages by Naval Force. Laying of torpedoes, etc. Rules to which the Belligerents in Neutral Ports should be subjected. Additions to be made to the Convention of 1899 in order to adopt to maritime warfare the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864, revised in 1906.

The Fourth Commission—Transformation of merchant vessels into war vessels. Private property at sea. Delay allowed for the departure of enemy merchant vessels in enemy ports. Contraband of war. Blockades. Destruction of neutral prizes by *force majeure.* Provisions regarding land warfare which should also be applicable to naval warfare.

The Final Act of the Second International Peace Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The Second Peace Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the conference of 1899 in regard to the *limitation of military expenditure;* and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the governments should resume serious examination of this question."

It also expressed the following opinion:

"The conference calls the attention of the signatory powers to the advisability of adopting the annexed draft convention for the creation of a Judicial Arbitration Court, and of bringing it into force as soon as an agreement has been reached respecting the selection of the judges and the constitution of the court."

It is, I believe, quite evident from the foregoing program of the Second Hague Conference, that the question of armaments cannot be dealt with by this body and that the Third Conference will in all probability restrict itself still more to the question of the development of the Court of Arbitral Justice in order to perfect an international judicial system.

The United States delegation took a central position in regard to the question of warfare in the air, as some of the other countries proposed to subject areal warfare to restrictions in addition to those already imposed upon warfare on land and sea, while others proposed to prohibit areal warfare forever, but our delegates advocated the temporary prohibition of areal warfare at both conferences.

The United States delegation also supported most of the measures proposed and adopted for the alleviation of warfare on land. They advocated the revision of the Geneva Convention, and participated in that revision which occurred in 1906, and which gave greater scope to the humanitarian activities of the Red Cross Societies. They supported the proposition that a definite declaration of war should be issued before hostilities are begun, binding our Congress as well as our Executive to this requirement; but they opposed the proposition that hostilities should be begun until a prescribed time has elapsed after the declaration. They supported the provision that the cost of maintaining prisoners of war shall not be deducted from the wages paid to them upon their release. They rejected, however, in 1899, and refused to accept in 1907, the prohibition which all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon, that is, the prohibition of the use of "dum-dum" bullets and projectiles whose object is the diffusion of asphyxiating gases; and this attitude of our delegation is indeed regrettable.

In regard to the regulation of warfare upon the sea, the United States delegation took a part of considerable importance which is certain of good results in the future conferences. They agreed to the application of the Red Cross rules of warfare upon the sea; they advocated in the interest of neutral nations, the restriction of the use of submarine mines by belligerents and the prohibition of the bombardment of undefended ports and buildings; they supported the measures adopted for the protection of the rights of neutral commerce and for the restruction of belligerent warships in neutral ports; and opposed the destruction of neutral prizes, even though the prize which could not be taken to a port would of necessity be permitted to escape. They championed the exemption of capture of private property at sea, whether by warships or by privateers at both

conferences. However, upon the question of blockade and contraband, they did not go so far as the propositions of the Italian and British delegations, but our government supported the compromise measures at the conference in London in 1908-9, which were adopted. The United States delegation did not adhere to the declaration of Paris, which forbade privateering, although most of the other nations accepted it.

In regard to the measures proposed for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, the United States delegation took an advanced stand and their propositions were in the main adopted. They established the right of disinterested governments to extend their good offices to disputants; they procured the adoption of "special" mediation which will go far to prevent war. They advanced the provisions for international commissions of inquiry, to ascertain the facts in disputes, but urged that the disputants might either subsequently conclude by amicable arrangements to resort to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. They also supported the French proposition that the conference should declare it to be a duty to remind any disputants of the existence of the Court of Arbitration. In 1907 the United States delegates championed the idea of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, and although the principle of obligatory arbitration was adopted by a unanimous vote, they did not succeed in securing the adoption of a general treaty providing for the obligatory arbitration of specific cases, but put through the Porter proposition, which provides for the obligatory arbitration of disputes arising out of international indebtedness before force is resorted to. The United States delegates at the second conference proposed the plan for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, as a court of adjudication and as an accessory to the Court of Arbitration, but, although the court was agreed upon in principle, it was not possible to agree upon the distribution of the limited number of judges, which difficulty can be overcome in the future.

It was through the initiative of the United States delegation that provision was made for the meeting of the Third Peace Conference at The Hague, and made the conferences automatically convocable and subject to the whim of no nation, so that they are certain to convene more frequently, and will soon develop the international judicial system.

A World Peace League

Today there is on foot a strong movement for the consummation of a treaty or general, universal and unlimited arbitration between the United States and Great Britain and France; and probably Germany, which will, indeed, form the first strong link in the League of Peace that will in time include all the powers of the world.

President Taft took a very advanced position in the peace and arbitration movement when he said at the banquet of the National Arbitration and Peace League, on March 22, 1910:

"I have noticed exceptions in our arbitration treaties, as to reference of questions of national honor to courts of arbitration. Personally, I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship."

Following up this idea the President again said, at the banquet of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, held at Washington on December 17, 1910:

"If we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstration that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government."

Then came the great peace speech of Sir Edward Grey, which was strangely enough delivered in the House of Commons while he was supporting the estimates for greater naval expenditures. Sir Edward warned his hearers that while circumstances made these expenditures necessary, still, unless the evil of the increasing cost of armament was brought home, "the rivalry will continue and it will in the long run break down civilization."

That is the heart of the entire peace problem, and the only way the nations can prevent the mounting of armaments is by the promotion of complete international organization, which will prevent the free and unlimited competition in the development

of preparations for war, and thus check the abnormal development of armaments.

He went on further to say:

"You are having this great burden piled up in times of peace, and if it goes on increasing by leaps and bounds as it has done in the last generation, it will become intolerable. There are those who think that it will lead to war precisely because it is already becoming intolerable. I think it much more likely that the burden will be dissipated by an internal revolution, by a revolt of the masses of men against taxation.

"What may be impossible in one generation may be possible to another. The great nations of the earth are in bondage, increasing bondage, and it is not impossible that in some of the future years they will discover, as individuals have discovered, that the law is a better remedy than force, and that in all the time they have been in bondage the prison doors have been locked on the inside."

The exchange of these sentiments resulted in the negotiation of a treaty signed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and Great Britain on August 3, 1911, extending the scope and obligation of the policy of arbitration adopted in the present arbitration treaty of April 4, 1908, between the two countries, so as to exclude certain exceptions contained in that treaty and to provide means for the *peaceful solution of all questions of difference* which it shall be found impossible in the future to settle by diplomacy. Article I, of said treaty, reads in part:

"All differences hereafter arising between the High Contracting Parties, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, relating to international matters in which the High Contracting Parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, and which are *justiciable in their nature* by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other arbitral tribunal, as shall be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organization of such tribunal if necessary, to define the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, the question or ques-

tions at issue, and settle the terms of reference and the procedure thereunder."

Article II reads in part:

"The High Contracting Parties further agree to institute as occasion arises, and as hereinafter provided, a joint High Commission of Inquiry to which, upon the request of either Party, shall be referred for impartial and conscientious investigation any controversy between the Parties within the scope of Article I, before such controversy has been submitted to arbitration."

Article VII reads in part:

"It shall thereafter remain in force continuously unless and until terminated by *twenty-four months'* written notice given by either High Contracting Party to the other."

This is the gist of the model treaty which the United States will endeavor to negotiate with other nations, and a similar one with France has already been signed by the plenipotentiaries and submitted to the Senate; with the right, however, to terminate the treaty in *twelve months'* notice. The length of time necessary to terminate the treaty is of primary importance because on the one hand a sufficient interval before hostilities can be commenced brings into action the principle of "think twice," "count ten," or "be sure you are right, then go ahead," and can in most instances prevent conflict by the subsidence of passion, while on the other hand it will be a much easier matter to negotiate treaties with short notice of termination. Thus it can be seen that the contracting parties are not hampered in their free action after a certain length of time during which a Commission of Inquiry may investigate the rights of parties at difference, and even within the limit of time necessary for notice of termination a nation may act upon its own initiative in the beginning of hostilities when it deems claims of right not *justiciable in their nature.*

The failure of the Senate to ratify the treaties between the United States and Great Britain and France during the last session of Congress, was a great surprise to those who have studied the problem, and forces are now gathering, which seem to make its passage impossible without some material changes.

The Senate's objection to the Joint High Commission of Inquiry was based upon the idea that the Senate's prerogatives

would be encroached upon, and it is the same objection, that this august body has to all progressive laws, treaties or measures, so that their actions in this instance would indicate that they believe the treaty-making power to be vested in the Senate by and with the aid and advice of the President. Then again there are those who place the rights of man, righteousness, and justice above peace, asserting that a great republic should have freedom of action; but they forget that law, justice and human rights can only be ascertained and established by justice through the arbitration or adjudication of their rights according to law. They would have us believe that a republic like ours should be absolutely free and unhampered to do what she can for the good and welfare of humanity; but they forget that we have today a society of nations which is developing into a union of nations and that we must respect the established rules of international law which is bringing about this union. The right to abrogate the treaty in a given length of time is of itself a sufficient protection against any possible encroachment upon the free institutions of this republic and the United States can still remain a champion of international righteousness with due respect for the rights of nations as defined by international law.

We know that the struggle for human rights is a permanent, perpetual and eternal battle against the encroachments of oppression, but these true patriots and lovers of liberty forget that peace can reign only where there is freedom and freedom can only prevail where there is justice, so that it is necessary that the rise of mankind in its efforts to govern itself must rest upon law, as the peoples are becoming more cultured, educated and intelligent during this century of civilization's progress. It was this struggle that wrested the Magna Charter from the King, on that island in the Themes between Staines and Windsor, which had been chosen as a place of conference; the King encamped on one bank, while the Barons covered the marshy flat, still known as Runnymede, on the other. Their delegates met on the island between them. The great Charter was discussed agreed to, and signed in a single day. (Old South Leaflets p. 15.)

It was the same struggle that commenced with the Declaration of Independence which contains the basic principles upon

which this government was founded, and developed the Articles of Confederation, and finally perfected this union by the Constitution; of which Gladstone said: "As far as I can see, the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man." Jefferson, Washington and Hamilton are to be credited with this wonderful work probably more than any other patriots and it was Washington who made possible our democratic republic by his ability to keep together the two opposing forces, one favoring a dis-centralized form of government, headed by Jefferson; and the other favoring a centralization of powers, headed by Hamilton; so that by his suggested compromise this immortal document was made possible.

Then, too, Washington's Farewell Address was the result of suggestions from these two opponents, and our entire political system may be said to be the product of the fertile brain of these three statesmen.

There are many who quote this address in their arguments against the advisability of the United States to enter into compulsory arbitration treaties and particularly cite the following words: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop." "Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities." "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance, when we make take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation;

when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel."

But they forget that in the same address Washington said:

"Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other."

And he further stated in the same address:

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

"Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand;—neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences;—consulting the natural courses of things;—diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing;"—

"The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own destiny."

It is very evident I believe that the words of Washington mean, that we as a democratic republic, should regard the preservation of our free institutions as of primary importance, and hence should at no time jeopardise this republican democracy, by the negotiation of offensive or defensive agreements with any European power. He did not mean that we are not to negotiate treaties of peace, treaties for arbitration or treaties for the limitation of armament, nor any other treaty for the benefit of mankind which does not savor of a military alliance; because it was the intention of Washington, that this republic be free and untrammeled to lead and champion the cause of the people of

the world in the struggle for their inalienable rights, of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"We will erect a standard to which the wise and good can repair;—the event is in the hand of God," said he at the Constitutional convention, and with due respect to the law of the society of nations this government will never interfere with the internal affairs of another government except perhaps when forced through some great public inhumanity when the people might rise en masse with indignation, and interfere in the name of humanity as we did in the instance of the liberation of Cuba. But we want even to prevent the possibility of an occasion similar to the one which caused the Spanish-American war, by the organization of the international governmental system with power to limit the burden of armaments and thus reduce national and colonial taxation which is at the root of all war, revolt and rebellion. The international peace conferences at The Hague, have already established a permanent Court of Arbitration and have agreed to organize a Court of Arbitral Justice as a part of the international judicial system, and the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union consisting of the members of various parliaments are creating an international Parliamentary system, while the meetings of the International Peace Congresses are moulding rational public opinion as a crystalized executive force which will develop an international administrative system. The Court is already quite adequately organized as it has decided many serious controversies, but as its jurisdiction is determined by the treaties of arbitration which the nations have subjected themselves to, it has been found necessary to negotiate treaties of compulsory arbitration, and up to date the United States has negotiated twenty-three such treaties providing for the arbitration of all questions of dispute except matters of "honor, vital interests and territorial integrity," which were the unfortunate reservations in the Anglo-French treaty of 1903, that has marked a great step in advance and forms the basis of most of the present treaties of arbitration.

It is of course quite apparent that although the danger of war is being greatly minimized by these treaties, it is still a fact that all wars of the past have been fought for the sake of honor, that is, honor is always appealed to, and the term is so broad and

comprehensive that any future dispute can easily be attributed to a defense of honor. As far back as 1883 the Swiss Federal Council proposed a treaty of unlimited compulsory arbitration to the United States, and since The Hague Conferences Denmark and the Netherlands have signed a treaty of general arbitration and Italy and Portugal have signed a similar one. A treaty between Sweden and Norway provides for the submission of the question of "honor" to The Hague Court for determination, and the treaty of Berlin and St. Petersburg of 1909 guarantees the national territorial integrity of all the nations bordering on the Baltic, and the North Seas.

In a speech at Lincoln, Nebraska, on October 2, 1911, President Taft, while urging that pressure be brought upon the Senate to approve the treaty with Great Britain, used the following words which fully sum up the entire situation.

"The Whole World looks to this country to lead in the matter of peace;
The other nations know that we have no entangling Alliances;
They know we are a great nation, that we really fear no other nation;
They know we are a peace loving nation."

So now there is a strong movement on foot for the consummation of the Anglo-American treaty which will indeed prove to be a model of the first strong link in a league of peace which will in time include all the powers of the world. A League of Peace means nothing more nor less than the negotiation of treaties of general, unlimited and compulsory arbitration, and the intellectual leaders of the world believe that the development of the science of politics, diplomacy and international jurisprudence, has advanced civilization far enough for the nations to safely and securely negotiate such agreements in order to guarantee the world's peace.

Great Britain and the United States had developed such an international friendship that the idea of war between them was but a dream until the Venezuela situation came to a sudden crisis in December of 1895, and immediately the agitators, jingoes and demagogues stirred up the country to a pitch of inflamation so that had it not been for the earnest, rational and thoughtful citizens of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, Wash-

ington, New Orleans, St. Louis, St. Paul and in other cities, who called meetings to foster sentiment for the pacific settlement of the Venezuela claims, no one knows what might have been the result.

The Chicago meeting sent forth the following message:

"Let the people of the United States make the birthday of George Washington even more glorious by inaugurating a movement for the cementing of all the English speaking people of the world in peace and fraternal unity. Let the people of all cities and towns of the Union, at their meetings on that day, express their views, to be made known to both the President of the United States and the Queen of Great Britain, as to the two governments, by formal treaty of arbitration as the method of concluding all differences which may fail of settlement by diplomacy between the two powers."

In New York resolutions were adopted as follows:

"Whereas, the United States and Great Britain, akin in language, jurisprudence, legal methods and essential love of right, are already accustomed to arbitrate their disagreements, and have emphatically declared themselves in favor of such arbitration in Congress by the action of both houses in 1890, and the House of Commons by its vote in 1893. Therefore, resolved, That we earnestly desire such action by our national legislature and the executive, as shall make permanent provision for some wise method of arbitration between the two countries, it being our hope that such a step will ultimately lead international arbitration through the civilized world."

The Boston meeting resolved, "that the time has come when a complete system of arbitration between the two nations should be matured." While a citizens meeting declared, "The cause of humanity and the cause of conscience demand that the English-speaking peoples should settle their international differences without resort to the arbitrament of the sword."

The Philadelphia conference which was held on February 22, in Independence Hall, adopted resolutions which read in part: "That the common sense and Christian conviction of America and England agree that the time has come to abolish war between these two nations which are really one people," and

urged upon the two governments to establish a permanent international arbitration system.

These meetings in the various cities crystallized their attention upon the convocation of a national conference, and such a call was signed by leading citizens of the various states, by a document which stated: "In confirming the present movement to the promotion of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, we are not unconcerned for the wider application of the principle involved. But, taking into consideration the importance and the value of practical results, it has seemed wise to concentrate our immediate efforts upon the attention of a permanent system between the two English speaking peoples."

This public sentiment for peace, brought about the first American Conference for International Arbitration which meet at Washington, D. C., on the afternoon of April 22, and after some magnificent addresses by some of the most distinguished citizens of the nation, resolutions were passed and the conference adjourned on the evening of the next day, having fulfilled its mission in the progressive movement for international peace by arbitration. There were some three hundred members present, representing thirty-six states and one territory. Hon. George F. Edmunds was the presiding officer and among the speakers were Hon. John W. Foster, Carl Schurz, Bishop Keane, Cardinal Gibbons, President Eliot, of Harvard University, and John Bassett Moore.

The resolutions which concluded the proceedings brought forth general principles of arbitration condemning war as a means for the settlement of international disputes, and pointed out the peculiar responsibilities and duty of the United States and Great Britain as an English-speaking people, to lead the way to organized peace, declaring, "that, in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations."

This was probably the most important initiatory conference held in the United States since the meeting of the first Pan-American conference at Washington, and is very likely preg-

nant with more abundant fruits, for it brought about the negotiation of the Olney-Pauncefortе treaty at the instance of President Cleveland in January 11, 1891, which however, was unfortunately not ratified by the senate. It also had more or less effect in bringing about the circular of the Emperor of Russia on August 24, 1898, which marks the beginning of united governmental action for international or world peace, as does the Pan-American conference mark the beginning of governmental action for peace on the American continent.

The second American Conference for International Arbitration meet at Washington on January 12, 1904, eight years after the first meeting. The Venezuela difficulty was arbitrated; the Alaska boundary question was settled; and the Irish-American opposition to a general treaty of arbitration was in part eliminated by more amicable relations between England and Ireland, while The Hague Conference had been held and established the Arbitration Tribunal, and finally on the 14th of October, 1903, a treaty was signed between Great Britain and France, agreeing to submit all differences not affecting honor, vital interests and independence, to The Hague Court. The disastrous effect of the failure of the Olney-Pauncefortе treaty which provided for unlimited arbitration of all disputes, can be seen from the tendency of all future treaties of arbitration to follow the Anglo-French treaty which opened the widest kind of a path for conflict on the grounds of "honor," disregarding the fact that it is always a matter of honor to settle questions of honor in an honorable way, by the course of justice through law. And the second American Conference sharply and justly criticised the creation of the wide loop hole in a treaty of so great importance; Andrew Carnegie expressing quite fully and adequately the sense of this meeting in the following eloquent passage;

"The most dishonored word in the English langauge is honor." * * * "No man can be dishonored except by himself. So with nations."

Honorable John W. Foster, was the presiding officer of the second conference and in the course of his speech said;

"I need not enumerate the remainder of the score and more of arbitration treaties which we have had with Great Britain to show that no question can in the future arise between the two

nations which will more seriously involve the territorial integrity, the honor of the nation, its vital interests, or its independence, than those which have already been submitted to arbitration."

"While the resolutions unanimously adopted "recommend to our government to endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constructed for the case, all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation," and to "enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as practicable, with other powers."

In reporting these resolutions Judge Gray said: "The fullness of time has at length come when this great step forward in the civilization of this age should be taken and can be taken; and Great Britain and the United States are the two countries of all others that should be the example to the rest of the world in forwarding this great movement for the benefit of mankind."

In 1905 the year following, Secretary of State, John Hay, negotiated treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and several other nations, essentially upon the lines of the Anglo-French treaty, but the senate did not ratify them, so that it was not until 1908, that treaties of substantially the same character, negoiated by the Honorable Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, with several nations were through his able and practical efforts ratified by the senate.

Great Britain has proven her desire for a treaty of unlimited arbitration by the acceptance of the Olny-Pauncefortе treaty, and as a similar treaty has been signed by the Honorable Philander C. Knox and his Excellency James Bryce, it is indeed fitting and auspicious that as eight years will have passed since the Second American Conference for International Arbitration, between the 12th of January and the 22nd of April, in the next year of 1912; that a third conference be called by the executive committee to encourage the adoption of the treaty by the United States Senate.

It is very evident from the foregoing historical sketch that the development of the movement for arbitration without res-

ervations is based upon the development of a safe, sane and rational public opinion in favor of the settlement of international disputes without resort to force, so that the governments can act with confidence that their agreements will have popular sanction and will be implicitly adhered to.

The United States covets no territory, because the people of this republic would not tolerate or countenance any attempt at territorial aggrandisement or conquest, yet it cannot be forgotten or disregarded that when a state becomes developed to such a high degree that a larger and larger portion of its capital must look to foreign investment in order to receive just returns in interest, the investor has a certain right to the protection of his investment, by his government; it is upon this principle that England built up her commercial empire, and every nation has a moral right to grant a certain amount of protection to the investment of its citizens abroad.

There are many who discountenance this "commercial, drummer or dollar diplomacy," as it is usually called, but trade is the cement of the universe, because more and more steamship lines, railroads, telegraphs and telephones are forming an interlacing network of steel, which is binding together all the business, financial and commercial world into a community or neighbourhood; and if we want to develop greater understanding we can best do so by the development of pecuniary interdependence, for economic equinimity is the greatest force for peace. The people of this republic of the north love the people of the republics of the south, and we are patriotic enough to see that the well being of our country depends in part upon the well being of the countries to the south of us, and that our mutual continental welfare depends in part upon the understanding, confidence and faith we have in each other, and the rest of the world has in us; so, as international confederated government is the inevitable outcome of the system which we are developing, the sooner we and the rest of the world accede to the principle of the territorial segregation of the three distinct functions of government, the sooner shall we have the assurance of eternal, universal and permanent, conciliation, harmony, concord, and peace.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church.

CHAPTER LXIX

The Pioneer Journey: From Winter Quarters to Fort Laramie

THE opening of the Spring of 1847 brought due the time for the departure of the Pioneer Company for the Rocky Mountains. Under instructions from President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, on the 5th of April, moved with six of his company's wagons to a point about four miles west of Winter Quarters and occupied an abandoned place of former encampment known as Cuttler's Park. This was the beginning of the journey and the neucleus of the Pioneer camp. Other wagons joined Kimball's company as they could get ready, and moved westward to the banks of the Elk Horn, a tributary of the Platte River flowing from the north west, the road striking it at a point about thirty-five miles from Winter Quarters. The advanced divisions of the forming camp here built a ferry boat to cross the entire camp over the river as fast as it should arrive.

Meantime, on the 6th of April, the 17th annual conference of the church was held, at which Brigham Young "was sustained as President of the Church and (of) the Twelve Apostles."[1] Meeting was held only in the forenoon. The day previous had been rainy, but on this sixth of April "the sun shone brightly, the heavens smiled,"[2] and seemed to encourage the rendezvous-

1. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 81
2. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry of 6th April.

ing of the Pioneer encampment, so the conference was cut short—preaching and exhorting must give place to action.

President Young left Winter Quarters on the 7th of April and encamped with twenty-five wagons about ten miles west of Winter Quarters.[3] The next day the President returned to Winter Quarters with the Twelve and others to meet with Elder Parley P. Pratt who, meantime, had returned from his mission to England. Anxiety to learn the conditions prevailing in the British mission before departing into the wilderness overcame the President's impatient desire to hasten the movements of the Pioneer company. Elder Pratt gave a full account of the labors of the apostolic delegation to England, and the settlement of the difficulties connected with the "Joint Stock Company" affair, and Hedlock's speculations in immigration matters. Elder Pratt also gave the information that Elder John Taylor would arrive within a few days with the scientific instruments that had been "sent for from Winter Quarters" for use by the Pioneers,[4] and it was resolved to await his arrival. The time was spent by the Twelve in directing the movements of the gathering sections of the Pioneer camp rendezvousing at the Elk Horn, which occasioned movements back and forth on their part between that point and Winter Quarters. Elder Taylor arrived on the evening of the 13th, bringing with him the following instruments; "Two sextants, one circle of reflection, two artificial horizons, two barometers, several thermoneters, telescopes, etc."[5] The pioneers were also furnished with maps of the route to Oregon,[6] and

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3. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry for 7th April.

4. Orson Pratt's Journal, published in *Mill. Star*, Vols. XI and XII. In support of the above statement Vol. XII is quoted, p. 18: "During our stay in Winter Quarters we had sent to England and procured the following instruments preparatory to our exploring expedition," which he then enumerates as given in the text.

5. Orson Pratt's Journal *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 18. Woodruff says: "One telescope," Journal *Ms.*, April 13th, '47.

6. In his journal entry for 27th of March, 1847, Brigham Young says: "We heard the news read, and examined a map received from General Atchison" (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 76). Atchison it will be remembered was the friend of the Saints in Missouri, and their counselor at law during their later troubles in that state. He was now—1847—United States' Senator from Missouri (See *Ante* this History, ch. XXIX, *passim*). In his journal entry for April 4th, President Young says: "T. Bullock made a sketch of Captain Fremont's topographical map of road to Oregon for the use of the Pioneers" (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 80).

Section of Fremont's Map, 1842-1844—Explorations

also the maps of Captain John C. Fremont's route to California, *via* of the Great Salt Lake in 1843, and of his return in 1844, *via* Southern California, Mohave River, Vegas, Rio Virgin, the Sevier, Utah Lake, Spanish Fork Cannon, Unita River, and so to Pueblo and the East.[7]

Leaving the two Apostles who had returned from England to take charge at Winter Quarters and supervise the preparations to be made by the larger companies of the Saints to start later in the season, when the grass would be more abundant for the support of their teams, the Apostles of the Pioneer company returned to the Elk Horn to find their companies all ferried over that stream, and encamped about twelve miles beyond on the Platte River, where the Twelve and others from Winter Quarters joined them late in the afternoon of the 14th of April. And now the real journey of the camp could begin, for which all were impatiently anxious.

"I called the pioneer camp together," says President Young, speaking of the events of the 15th of April, "and addressed the brethren on the necessity of being faithful, humble and prayerful on the journey. Exhorted the camp to vigilance in guarding, and informed the brethren that I had intimations that the Pawnee Indians were advised to rob us. Said we should go in such a manner as to claim the blessings of heaven."[8]

It was not until the afternoon of the 16th that the Pioneer camp, now complete in its personnel, made its final start on the westward journey. Four miles was the distance traveled that day, and eight the next.[9] But during those two days the camp

7. Fremont's map of the route and especially of the Salt Lake region is excellent. See section of his map extending from Fort Laramie region to the Great Salt Lake which accompanies this chapter. Fremont's Reports are dated respectively March 1st, 1843; and March 1st, 1845; and both reports were published with maps by order of the U. S. Senate in 1845. It was in his second expedition—1843—that Fremont visited the Great Salt Lake. Turning from the Oregon route at a point then called "Beer Springs," a name given the springs by "the voyageurs and trappers of the country, on account of the effervescing gas and acid taste" of the water, but now called "Soda Springs,"—Fremont followed down Bear River—through what is now called Cache Valley—to its mouth; but finding the approach to the lake over its marshy delta well nigh impossible, he skirted the mountain bench land southward to the Weber River, here made an encampment and spent several days in exploring the lake.

8. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 83.

9. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry 16th April; also Erastus Snow's Journal, entry of April 17th. Snow's Journal is published in the Improvement Era (Utah) Vols. XIV and XV, 1911, 1912.

was undergoing a thorough organization, and formulating its method of travel. The camp numbered, 143 men; 3 women; 2 children.[10] Originally the number of men was 144—"twelve times twelve men"[11]—but one of the number, Ellis Eames, taking sick on the 18th, returned to Winter Quarters.

"It was no part of the original plan to include women and children in the Pioneer company," remarks O. F. Whitney, in his History of Utah.[12] "The hardships and dangers in prospect were foreseen to be such as would test the strength and endurance of the hardiest and healthiest of men;" therefore men of that class only had been chosen. But Harriet Page Wheeler Young, the wife of Lorenzo D. Young, brother of Brigham Young, being in feeble health, and her life imperilled by the malaria atmosphere of the Missouri bottoms, pleaded successfully for the privilege of accompanying her husband to the Mountains. The other two women were Clara Decker Young, wife of President Brigham Young, and Ellen Sanders Kimball, wife of Heber C. Kimball. The success of the first of the trio—born of her necessities—made possible the permission for the other two; and it speaks well for the discipline of the people that the rule that men only should constitute the Pioneer Company, thus infringed, was not further violated. The children were Isaac Perry Decker, son of Mrs. Lorenzo D. Young by a former husband, and Lorenzo Sobieski Young, by her present husband.

There were 73 wagons in the camp;[13] 93 horses; 52 mules; 66 oxen; 19 cows; 17 dogs, and some chickens.[14] There may be said to have existed in the camp a dual organization, one Israelitish in its character, based upon the revelation received by

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10. For names of all the Pioneers as grouped into companies, called tens, see note 1, end of chapter.

11. "Whether this was by design or not is unknown," (See Whitney's Hist. Utah, Vol. I, p. 301).

12. Vol. I, p. 302.

13. I follow the journals of Wilford Woodruff—see entry for April 16th; of John Brown, see entry of same date; also of Erastus Snow, see entry for May 20th. Others give the number at 72 wagons, among them Wm. Clayton—see his Journal published in Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XXI, p. 230. On the Pioneer Monument at the head of Main street, Salt Lake City, the number is given: 70 wagons; one boat; one cannon. As the boat was put on the running gears of a wagon and used as a wagon bed; and as the cannon was also mounted, these two vehicles were doubtless numbered as wagons.

14. Clayton's Journal entry for 16th of April, 1847.

Brigham Young, and already of record in these pages,[15] and one military in character. The first consisted of a division of the camp into hundreds, fifties, tens, with a captain over each. Two captains of hundreds were appointed, viz, Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood; five captains of fifties;[16] and fourteen captains of tens.[17]

In the military organization Brigham Young was elected Lieutenant General; Stephen Markham, Colonel; John Pack, and Shadrack Roundy, Majors; the divisions into tens, with their respective captains of the previously named organization, were brought over and incorporated into this military organization without change. The camp carried with them one cannon for defensive purposes, and Thomas Tanner was given charge of it as captain, with the privilege of choosing eight men to assist him. The cannon was mounted on wheels, and usually brought up the rear. The captains of tens selected forty-eight men for a constant night guard, "who were divided into four watches to be on duty half the night at a time"; Stephen Markham was made their captain.[18] In special times of danger the night guard was augmented by volunteers, Brigham Young and other members of the Twelve are named among those doing such guard service.[19] The order of travel is thus described by William Clayton as an order issued by Brigham Young:

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15. Ante, ch. LIX—this History.

16. The Captains of fifties were (1) Addison Everett, (2) Tarlton Lewis, (3) James Case, (4) John Pack, (5) Shadrach Roundy. (Clayton's Journal entry for 16th of April). Why two captains of hundreds and five captains of fifties were chosen when there were less than one hundred and fifty souls in the camp, does not appear. Perhaps however, the excess of officers was chosen in anticipation of the Pioneer camp being joined by the company of Mississippi Saints and members of the Mormon Battalion who had wintered at Pueblo, and whom the Pioneers expected to meet in the vicinity of Fort Laramie.

17. The Captains of tens were as follows:

1. Wilford Woodruff,	2. Ezra T. Benson,
3. Phineas H. Young,	4. Luke Johnson,
5. Stephen H. Goddard,	6. Charles Shunway,
7. James Case,	8. Seth Taft,
9. Howard Egan,	10. Appleton Harmen,
11. John S. Higbee.	12. Norton Jacobs,
13. John Brown,	14. Joseph Mathews.

(Clayton's Journal, entry for 16th April).

18. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 83; also Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 16th April.

19. See Woodruff's Journal, entry of 21st April; Clayton's, ditto.

"After we start from this spot, every men must carry his loaded gun, or else have it in his wagon where he can seize it at a moment's notice. If the gun is cap-lock, he should take off the cap and put on a piece of leather to exclude moisture and dirt; if a flint-lock, he must take out the priming and fill the pan with toe or cotton. The wagons must now keep together while traveling and not separate as heretofore they have separated. Every man is to keep beside his own wagon and is not to leave it except by permission."[20]

The next day the following order was issued:

"At five o'clock in the morning the bugle is to be sounded as a signal for every man to arise and attend prayers before he leaves his wagon. Then the people will engage in cooking, eating, feeding teams, etc., until seven o'clock, at which time the train is to move at the sound of the bugle. Each teamster is to keep beside his team with loaded gun in hand or within easy reach, while the extra men, observing the same rule regarding their weapons, are to walk by the side of the particular wagons to which they belong; and no man may leave his post without the permission of his officers. In case of an attack or any hostile demonstration by Indians, the wagons will travel in double file —the order of encampment to be in a circle, with the mouth of each wagon to the outside[21] and the horses and cattle tied inside the circle. At half past eight each evening the bugles are to be sounded again, upon which signal all will hold prayers in their wagons, and be retired to rest by nine o'clock.[22]

On the 19th of April the camp for the first time moved under the above regulations. About twenty miles were covered that day, and the Mormon Pioneer journey was fairly begun. The line of march was on the north side of the Platte River, which it closely followed to Fort Laramie, although the choice of the route brought some disadvantages. On the south side of the Platte was the plain, broad road of the Oregon route from Independence, Missouri to the Willammette valley, Oregon,[23] and

20. Clayton's Journal, entry for April 17th, Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XXI, p. 230.

21. The wagons were so placed that the forewheel of one wagon locked with the hind wheel of the next, forming a strong and solid corral, except for a gate way on opposite sides of the camp which were always strongly guarded.

22. Clayon's Journal, entry for 18th of April. Also Woodruff's Journal, entry for 18th of April.

23. The Oregon Route up to 1846 extended from Independence either via of the Kansas River thence down the north fork of the Platte to Fort Laramie, or else up the right bank of the Platte, from near its junction with the Missouri, to

which by 1847 was a national highway to the great west and northwest, having been opened as a wagon road for many years as far as Fort Laramie; and as far west as the American Fur Company's station on Green River since 1836;[24] to the Sinks of the Humbolt River, *via* of Soda Springs, down Bear River and around the north end of Salt Lake since 1841;[25] and to the Columbia River since 1842.[26] But not withstanding the national highway to the west and northwest was so near them, the Church leaders were persuaded that the inconvenience of making a new trail over the Platte plains was preferable to contact with

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the same point; thence continuing up the Platte to the mouth of the Sweet Water, where the north fork of that river was crossed, the route continuing up the Sweet Water to South Pass. Up to 1843, the Route ran from the South Pass westward to Green River, where the American Fur Company had a station, thence veering north westward to Fort Hall, Fort Boise, Walla Walla, thence down the Columbia to the Willammette Valley; but in 1843 the very large Oregon emigration of that year, directed by letter from Dr. Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian Missionary to the Indians of Oregon, went via of Fort Bridger to Bear River. The route followed down this stream northward to what was then called "Beer Springs," but now "Soda Springs," and so made Fort Hall, whence the Route continued to Oregon as stated above. By this new route the emigrants avoided "the mountains about the western heads of Green River, and saved some distance." See Fremont's Report of his Second Expedition, pp. 128-134; and Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 398).

24. Loaded wagons as early as 1829 had been driven to Wind River, north of the South Pass, and at different times to various mountain posts. In 1832 for instance Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, led a company of 110 trappers to the mountains "in search of profit and adventure." They travelled the Platte route with a train of 20 wagons some drawn by oxen. The wagons were loaded with Indian goods, provisions, ammunition, etc. They went through the South Pass to Green River, "being the first wagons to roll down the Western slope of the Rocky Mountains." A fortified camp was made on Green River which for a number of years was the meeting place between White traders and the Indians (See Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, pp. 681-2). But notwithstanding such expeditions as this, westward of Fort Laramie, in 1836, there was no beaten track for wagons as there was eastward of that place (See Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 129, following "Hines' Oregon History," pp. 408-9). That year, however,—1836—the American Fur Company took one of its wagons to its Green River station, and Whitman, a Presbyterian missionary physician to the Indians, took another to the same point and thence to Fort Hall, where it was reduced to a two-wheeled cart and driven to Fort Boise, where Whitman was prevailed upon to abandon it. This was the farthest west, up to that time, a wheeled vehicle had been driven (See Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 133, also note 2 end of chapter).

25. This journey was that of Captain John Bartleson's train of 19 vehicles from Kansas River via of South Pass to Soda Springs, where the company divided; thence Bartleson's division of 32 men, one woman and one child, went down Bear River, through Cache Valley, thence into Salt Lake Valley and round the north end of Salt Lake to the Humbolt River (See Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. IV, pp. 268-271; and same author's Hist. of Utah, p. 29.

26. As the overland emigration to the great west and northwest is a movement of which the Mormon exodus or migration was an important incident, it is thought proper to deal briefly with the general subject. But as a statement even in mere outline would be too extended for a foot note, and would too long suspend the narrative of the regular text, the subject is dealt with in note 2 at the end of the chapter.

the western emigration pressing up the right bank of the stream, a large portion of which was from Western Missouri, and doubtless among the companies were many of the old enemies of the Saints, who less than a decade before had aided in their expulsion from that state.

Once only were the Pioneers tempted to abandon the north bank for the Oregon road before reaching Fort Laramie. This was on the 4th of May. On that date a company of nine French fur traders with three heavily loaded wagons were seen moving eastward on the south bank of the Platte. When opposite the Pioneer camp they sent over the river one of their number to ascertain who the north bank travelers were, and their destination. This was Mr. Charles Beaumont,—though the leader of the fur traders was Mr. Papan of the American Fur Company, enroute for the east with furs that had been collected at Fort Laramie. Mr. Beaumont reported a good road on the South side of the Platte, with plenty of feed, and their party had encountered no Indians after leaving Fort Laramie, sixteen days before. This was all in such marked contrast with the conditions under which the Pioneers were making the journey—scant feed, burning prairies, troublesome Indians, no trail—that a council of the whole camp was held that night, after Beaumont had departed, to take into consideration the wisdom of crossing the Platte in order to have the advantage reported of the south bank route. In the council it was decided that it would evidently be to the advantage of the present company to cross to the south bank route; but when the welfare of subsequent companies of Saints was considered, it was concluded that the advantage of the north bank route preponderated, and a decision was rendered accordingly. The spirit in which the matter was considered was admirable and perhaps is best reflected in the journal entry of Wilford Woodruff dealing with the incident:

"We were convinced that it would be better for us as a company to cross the river and take the old travelled road to Laramie as there was good grass all the way on that side, while the Indians were burning it all off on the north of the river where we were travelling. But when we took into consideration the situation of the next company, and the thousand that would follow, and as we were the Pioneers and had not our wives and chil-

dren with us—we thought it best to keep on the north side of the river and brave the difficulties of burning prairies to make a road that should stand as a permanent route for the Saints independent of the then immigrant road, and let the river separate the emigrating companies that they need not quarrel for wood, grass, or water; and when our next company came along the grass would be much better for them than it would be on the south side, as it would grow up by the time they would get along; and the vote was called and it was unanimous to go on the north side of the river; so the camp again moved on."[27]

The making of a new trail on the north side of the Platte was not a difficult thing, the country was flat, the streams to be crossed between the Loupe Fork and Fort Laramie were few and not difficult; and often the camp moved two and sometimes even four and five wagons abreast for the sake of moving in compact form.[28] The roads along the route between Loupe Fork and Fort Laramie are spoken of as "good" in various journal entries.[29] The greatest difficulty that was encountered was the crossing at Loupe Fork, where the company encountered some bars of quick sand in the river bed. A raft was constructed with which to ferry over the goods of the camp, the Pioneers thinking that by doubling their teams they could then take over the empty wagons. After a number of teams was thus crossed over the stream—which at the point of crossing was some eighty rods wide—it was discovered that by following in the same tracks the sand packed and hardened, "so that the teams began to move over with more

27. Wilford Woodruff's Journal, entry for 4th May, 1847.

28. *Ibid,* also "Fifty Years Ago," May 4th, '47.

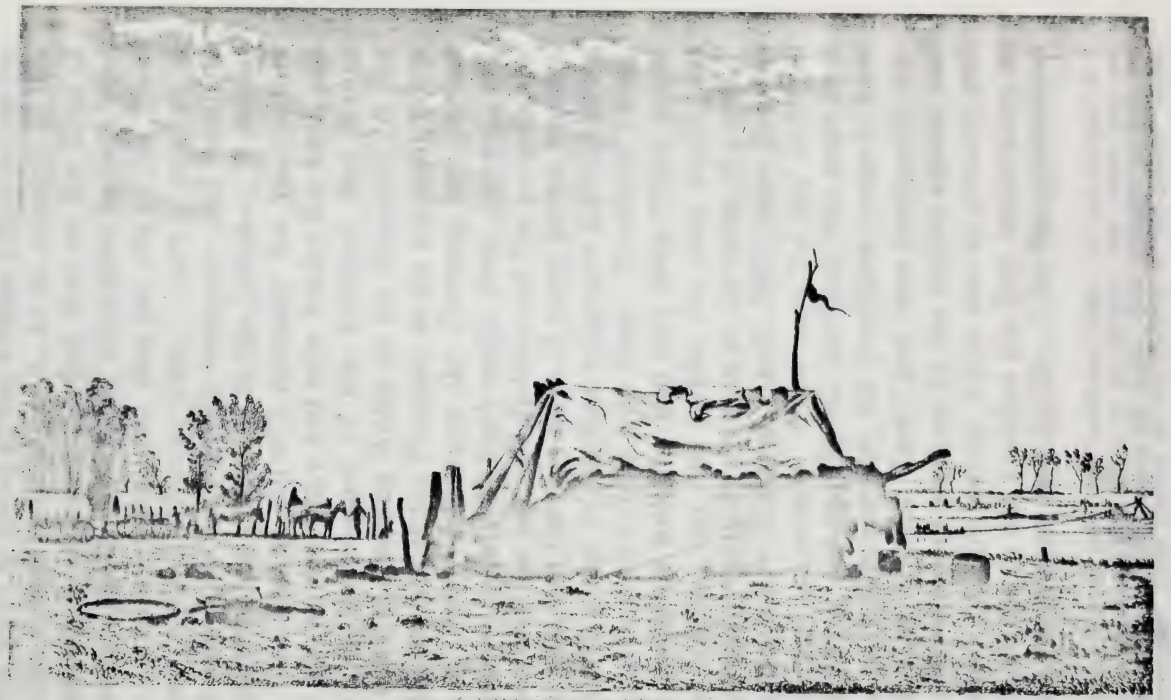
29. Erastus Snow's Journal—covering from 24th April, to 28th, "To-day we had good roads but very dry and sandy." Entry 28th April "The country we passed over today is the most beautiful I ever beheld. A continuous unbroken plain covered with green grass." May 12th, "We have traveled about 12 miles today, we have had a warm south wind and good roads." May 20th, "We have had good roads along the river bank today, or rather a good chance to make a road, in which we played our part, and left a very good trail behind us, as good as 73 teams, seventeen cows, and 143 men could make"; and so from this entry, *passim,* "good roadways" are spoken of, with occasional mention of sandy hills to cross, or a marshy bottom, but no serious difficulties, to the 1st of June, when the company crossed to the South side of the Platte to the Oregon route. So also *Clayton's Journal, passim, Juvenile, Instructor,* Vol. XXI. Orson Pratt speaking of the whole course up the Platte says in his journal: "Our course was up the north bank of the Platte River, along which we traveled slowly; finding the roads very good, the country being level, and the soil somewhat dry and sandy." *Mill. Star,* Vol. XII, p. 18.

ease, and finally most of the company forded with their loads by putting on three times the amount of ordinary team."[30]

Here also they brought into use what they called the "Revenue Cutter," a boat made of sole leather on which they loaded some of their goods and ferried them over the river. This boat in the journey was placed on the running gears of a wagon, like a wagon bed, and filled with the fishing sein the company carried with them, and other fishing tackle and camp paraphernalia. Fish, by the way, at different points en route became an important article of diet, especially as a relief from fresh and dried buffalo meat.[31]

Before crossing Loupe Fork the camp was visited by the grand chief of the Pawnee tribe, named Shefmolan. Presents of powder, lead, tobacco, salt, flour and some trinkets were given to the chief, but he was not at all satisfied with the bounty of the camp, saying, through an interpreter, that the presents were not enough. The whites from his point of view were rich and had tea, coffee, sugar, and an abundance of everything, and the camp had given him but little. He said the whites would drive away their buffalo, and that the camp should go back, and not go on, "and other talk of the same import." He refused to shake hands with President Young on departing from the camp. "All of which," says Erastus Snow, "showed to us the influence the traders, the Missourians and others were using with the Indians against us, and which bade us be on our watch."[32] That night the guard was increased to one hundred, fifty on duty each half of the night; including a picket guard of ten in each watch; and here was utilized the well known antipathy of the mule for Indians, by stationing them with the pickets to help them note the approach of Indians if any were prowling about.[33] The cannon was also prepared for action. Indian fires were burning all round the camp through the night, and the Pioneers thought it necessary occassionally to fire a few guns, to serve

30. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 24th of April, 1847.
31. Woodruff's Journal, *passim*.
32. Erastus Snow's Journal entry for April 21, 1847. If, however, the childishness of the Indian nature be considered, the disappointment in the smallness of the gifts from so large a company, will be sufficient to account for the petulance of the chief.
33. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 85.



Loup Fork Ferry.

notice upon their red brethren that the camp was watchful.[34] The morning came in quietness, however, and the Pioneers heard no more of the wrathful chief.

Every care was taken to avoid giving offense either to the Indians or the Indian agents in these parts. As an example of this carefulness attention is called to the fact that on the 22nd of April the Pioneer company arrived at what used to be a government Indian farming station, and also the site of the Presbyterian Mission, at which "Father Case,"—now a member of the Church and also with the Pioneer company—had been employed by the government as farmer to the Indians. It was at this point also that Bishop Miller's company the year before had halted, and put up some hay and corn fodder for feed, and thence, contrary to the counsel of the Apostles, had turned northward to winter at Running Water on the Missouri. A few months before the arrival of the Pioneers at the place the Sioux Indians in one of their raids upon the Pawnees had burned down the government station, black-smith shop, houses, etc., everything in fact but the hay and fodder and the mission station. The result was that the iron work of many plows, wagons, etc., was lying about, many things that emigrants moving into a new country would be glad to take with them. President Young, however, called the camp together and told them "they might use some of the wasting hay and fodder for their teams, but they must not carry anything away, even to the value of a cent." (Clayton's Journal entry 22nd of April, 1847, also Erastus Snow's Journal entry same date. Snow says the hay and fodder was "saved"—i. e. put up "by the brethren who were here last fall"). The next day, however, the President seems to have recalled the fact that "Father Case" had been summarily dismissed from the government services by the Indian agents, and that without paying him his salary which was in arrears, and therefore the President so far modified his first instructions as to say concerning plow-irons and the like: "As the government

34. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for April 21st, 1847. It was enjoyed as a good joke next day in the camp that some of the pickets "lost" their hats and guns by falling asleep while on duty during the night; their companions who discovered them "appropriated" these articles to the chagrin of the pickets caught napping. The ridicule to which they were subjected in the camp seems to have been a sufficient corrective, as the fault was not repeated. (See Clayton's Journal, entry for April, 22nd.)

is indebted to Father Case in a considerable amount on unsettled accounts, we are at liberty to take such of these materials and implements as we need; [but] we must make satisfactory settlement with Father Case for them, and he must inform the proper governmental authorities of the amount which he thus collects on account'' (Clayton's Journal entry April 23rd, '47).

Throughout the journey along the lower Platte,—the home of the four tribes of the Pawnee nation—these Indians were a source of constant anxiety to the Pioneer Camp because of their thieving propensities. They made several attempts to creep into the camp, evidently with the intention of stealing horses, and in one instance were successful in getting two of the best in the camp, one belonging to Dr. Richards, and the other to Elder Jesse C. Little. An effort to recover the stolen animals nearly led to an open conflict and bloodshed between the Indians and a party of the camp. The horses were stolen about eight o'clock on the evening of the 26th of April, and several parties went out to search for them, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball with the rest, these two not returning to camp until eleven o'clock at night. On the morning of the 27th a party was sent back on the line of march to see if anything could be learned of the missing animals. They nearly covered the march of two days, when observing some movement in the tall grass between them and the river at the foot of a knoll, the horse-hunting party approached the place and when within a few rods of the moving object one of the party raised his gun to shoot, at which about twelve or fifteen Indians sprang from the tall, dry grass all naked, except for breech-cloths, and armed both with rifles and bows and arrows. The Indians approached the party of white men evidently with hostile intentions, but when the party of Pioneers presented their fire arms and warned the Indians not to come nearer, the latter changed their manner and asked for ''bacco,'' and one sought to shake hands with a brother Mathews, and at the same time clutch the bridle rein of his horse. But Mathews presented a cocked pistol at him and shouted at him to ''go,'' and the Indian hastily retreated. There were further efforts at parleying by the Indians, and they sought to have the white men accompany them to the river, but the invitation was de-

clined lest it might lead to ambush or to a stronger party of Indians. When the white men turned to leave the Indians fired several shots at them, whereupon the camp party turned upon their foe, but the Indians fled. No shots were fired by the camp party. The tracks of the missing horses were seen in this vicinity, and there was no doubt that the Pawnees had stolen them.[35]

A real difficulty confronted the Pioneers in the matter of providing feed for their teams. In their anxiety to get to their destination in the mountains in time to plant crops that season they had started somewhat earlier than the western emigration usually started, indeed before the grass had begun to grow; and this had entailed upon them the added burden of taking along with them some grain for their teams. Moreover, as the camp advanced into the buffalo country they found the Indians giving the plains their spring-burning. That is to say, it was the custom of the Indians in the spring to set fire to the dry grass left over from the previous year, in order to give the new growth a better and earlier start, and thus bring the buffalo herds to these new pastures. The desire to have the grass of the plains start to grow as early as possible in the spring had led those interested in traveling along the route on the south side of the Platte to fire the grass in the fall, and thus provided earlier pasturage for emigrant and fur traders' trains. But the Indian spring-burning on the north side of the Platte often left the Mormon Pioneers only blackened plains in which to camp,[36] and their teams nothing but the stinted grain feed, supplemented by such isolated patches of dry grass as had escaped the flames, or the browsing of cottonwood trees growing on the streams and cut down for this purpose. As a result of this scant feed supply their teams weakened and often the day's journey had to be shortened on that account. It was observed in this connection that the ox teams endured the journey better

35. The story is told in great detail in all the Journals of this date—26th and 27th of April.

36. One instance of such burning is given by Orson Pratt: "The Indians for a number of days have been burning the old grass; and the fire when once commenced extends its ravages for scores of miles on all sides where it can find dry grass and other combustibles. The prairies and hills in all direction present a blackened surface, with only here and there small spots of green grass mingled with the dry." Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for May 4th, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp. 18-19.

than horses.[37] Later the company encountered another range difficulty, the immense herds of buffalo that thronged their route and ate down the grass. The first buffaloes were sighted on the first day of May, chiefly in two herds of about two hundred each. The hunters of the camp gave chase and during the day secured ten buffalo; which, the inexperience of the hunters with that class of game considered, was a good "bagging." After this buffalo were plentiful and constantly increased in numbers for some days, as the camp proceeded up the Platte; and they left the plains as clean swept of grass as did the prairie fires.[38]

The march of the Pioneers was so completely under organization that even the killing of game was done by hunters who had been appointed for the camp.[39] An interesting item in connection with killing game enroute was the instruction of President Young not to kill more than could be used, or that the camp needed.[40] It appears, however, that the instructions, so reasonable, had to be enforced by sharp admonition.[41]

The distance of each day's march was recorded by the camp historian. This was ascertained at first by guessing at the distance;[42] and later by tying a piece of red flannel to one of the spokes near the tire of a wagon wheel beside which a man walked—generally Wm. Clayton—who counted the revolutions

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37. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk 3, entry for May 24th.

38. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for May 6th. "Many of our animals are nearly famished for want of food, for every green thing is cut off by the buffalo." Orson Pratt's Journal for May 8th. Woodruff's Journal entry for 6th and 8th of May, Erastus Snow's and Young's Journals for the same date. Orson Pratt says in his journal entry for May 6th: "During the time of our halts, we had to watch our teams to keep them from mingling with the buffalo. I think I may safely say, that I have seen 10,000 buffalo during the day." The prairie appeared black, being covered with buffalo." "We have seen something, near 100,000 since morning," Orson Pratt's Journal, entry of May 8th, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3. entry for May 6th, 1847.

39. See Journals quoted above in this chapter.

41. "This morning President Young gave some good instructions to the camp, and sharp admonitions to some for being wasteful of flesh; to the hunters for killing more than was really needed." Journal of Erastus Snow, entry of May 18th.

40. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 88.

42. Clayton's Journal for the 8th of May; also "Fifty Years ago to-day"—April 19th, 1897. This "Fifty Years Ago to-day" was a series of daily entrys in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in the semi-centennial year of the "Pioneer Journey," 1897, giving a brief digest of each day's happenings in the Pioneer Camp Fifty Years before, from the time of starting, April 5th, 1847, to the arrival of the Pioneer Camp in Salt Lake Valley, July 24th, 1847. The collection of incidents is, in the main, made from original sources of information, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the great journey.

of the wheel, which, multiplied by the circumference, gave the distance of each day's march.[43] About the 10th or 12th of May an "Odometer" was installed, by which the distance traveled was automatically measured. The Odometer was the joint product of William Clayton and Appleton M. Harmon, the latter a skillful mechanic. According to Orson Pratt it was constructed upon "the principle of the endless screw."[44] This machine is now in the Deseret Museum at Salt Lake City, and a cut of it accompanies this chapter, though evidently some parts of it are missing.[45]

Whenever an opportunity presented itself to communicate with the camps of the Saints on the Missouri, the Pioneers availed themselves of it. Thus on the 4th of May when Beaumont crossed the Platte to meet the Pioneers, to which incident reference has already been made in this chapter, the camp halted long enough to write fifty-two letters to their friends and families at Winter Quarters, and the Twelve wrote an epistle to the Church encamped on the Missouri. These communications were entrusted to Mr. Beaumont who engaged to deliver "the mail" at Sarpee's agency near Winter Quarters, whence it would be forwarded to the Mormon encampments. Quite a supply of provisions was given Mr. Beaumont as compensation for his trouble.[46] Again on arriving at Fort Laramie letters were written some to be sent to Sarpee's agency, near Winter Quarters, thence to the camps of the Saints; and others to be held by one of the store keepers at the Fort,—who kindly consented to act as "post master" in the case, until the arrival of other "Mormon camps," when they would be delivered to the leaders of said companies.[47]

Another means of communicating with the camps that would

43. Erastus Snow says "During the forepart of our journey we had to guess the distance, and sometimes over stated it"; Snow's Journal, entry for 20th of May.

44. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for May 12th, President Young gives the 10th of May as the time when the machine was completed. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 88.

45. See note 3 end of chapter.

46. Woodruff's Journal, entry for 4th May: also Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, same date.

47. Woodruff's Journal, entry for 4th June, speaking of this volunteer "post master" in the wilderness, whose name unfortunately he fails to record, Elder Woodruff says:—"He truly manifested much friendship toward us."

follow was the erection of posts at striking points of the journey with a message written upon it. For example: On the 8th of May, the north bluff of the Platte valley approaching near to the river, a cedar post was erected, on which the following inscription was written:

: From Winter Quarters, 295 Miles, :
: May 8th, '47. Camp all well. :
: W. Clayton.[48] :

Two days later a letter was addressed to the officers of the next camp, which it was expected would pass that point in about six or eight weeks. A piece of board 6x18 inches was sawed into a sufficient depth parallel to its surface and the letter placed in the track of the saw; cleats were then nailed on the top and sides to protect it from the weather, and the following direction written upon the Board:

: Open this Box and you will find a Letter: :
: 316 miles to Winter Quarters, Pioneers. :
: Latitude 41 degrees. :

The letter contained an account of the journey up to that point. The board was then nailed to a pole four or five inches in diameter and fifteen feet long and set in the ground about five feet.[49]

At other times the whitened skull of a buffalo would be used for the same purpose. An engraving of one such "Bulletin of the Plains" accompanies this chapter.[50]

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48. Clayton's Journal, entry for May 8th, '47.

49. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 10th of May. Woodruff's Journal same date. The inscription is from the Latters Journal.

50.
Pioneers
camped here
June 23rd, 1847
making 15 *miles to-day*
All well
Brigham Young.

At the sight of these words, traced on the skull of a buffalo, as a guide to the friends who were behind in the great hegira, imagination rouses itself. From the shadow of the past, long vanished yesterdays emerge. The West's wild, free, vivid day's return. With its hardships, its heroism, its romance, and its story of splendid achievement written across the landscape of half a continent, the Old Trail lives for us again." (Charles M. Harvey in Atlantic Monthly July, 1910).

A Bulletin of the Plains

Westward of Fort Laramie, where they were following the Oregon-California route, the Pioneers planted mile posts every ten miles, the distance being measured by their Odometer. They improved the road as they journeyed over it. "We fully work our pole tax," says Orson Pratt, in his journal entry for the 9th of June, "for we have ten or twelve men detached daily whose business it is to go in advance of the company with spades, iron bars and other necessary implements to work the road."

The Pioneer Journey in some respects resembled a scientific expedition. By means of his full equipment of the latest and best scientific instruments for ascertaining latitude and longitude, alitude and the state of the atmosphere, Orson Pratt recorded each day's encampment in respect of these particulars, except on such days or nights—few in number—when solar or luna observations could not be taken.[51] At Fort Laramie he made very careful observations, using the tower in the central part of the Fort's buildings for this purpose. "By the meridian altitude of the sun," he records in his journal entry of the 2nd of June, "I determined the latitude of Fort Laramie to be 42 deg. 12 min. 13 sec. differing From Capt. Fremont only 3 sec. of a degree, or about 8 rods. By a mean of several barometrical observations during our short stay of three days, the height of the fort above the level of the sea was calculated to be 4,090 feet." On the 4th of June he makes this entry: "I again visited the Fort, and ascended the tower, which is built over the main entrance of the fort, from which I took the angular distance of the sun and moon, and from a mean of six sights with the sextant, determined the longitude to be 104 deg. 11 min. 53 sec." And so throughout the journey the careful man of science took and recorded his observations.

In like manner Elder Pratt noted the flora and fauna and the geological formation of the country through which the route of the company passed. Along the windings of the Platte, of course, there was great uniformity in the structure of the country and in vegetation and animals: yet such physical changes as

51. See Pratt's Journal as published in *Mill. Star,* Vol. XII. Where daily the record is given: also Woodruff's Journal *passim.*

came into view were carefully noted. After entering the mountain country west of Fort Laramie there was greater variety of scenery and physical structure, with corresponding variation in animal and vegetable life. A few extracts from Elder Pratt's Journal will illustrate the care with which he noted and recorded his observations in respect of these subjects:—

"*May 25th:* A hard frost last night, and at 5½ o'clock the barometer stood 26, 350, attached thermometer 40 deg., detached thermometer 35.8 deg. The morning is calm with a beautiful clear sky. * * * We travelled five and a quarter miles, when I halted a few minutes to take the sun's meridian which gave the latitude 41 deg. 41 min. 46 sec. * * * I here took a luna distance for the longitude; also by an imperfect trigonometrical measurement with the sextant at the distance of three miles, Chimney Rock appeared to be about 260 feet in altitude. * * * On account of the late rains the ground has been quite wet during the day. The soil being of soft marly formation causes the water to stand in ponds and pools, which have been numerous for 15 or 20 miles."

"*May 26th:* * * * In about four and three-quarter miles we arrived at the meridian of Chimney Rock, our road being about three miles to the north of it. The Platte Valley is here about 3,790 feet above the level of the sea * * * Grasshoppers seem to be an inhabitant of this country: I noticed that they were plenty in dry places. Prickly pears are becoming more numerous. * * * No buffalo seen for several days; antelope yet plentiful."

"*June 5th:* * * * Timber much more plentiful than below Laramie. It consists of ash, cotton-wood, willows, and box elder in low places, with mountain cherry, wild currants, pine, and cedar thinly scattered upon the bluffs. The wild sage grows in great quantities, and increases in size as the country increases in elevation. The wild rose flourishes in great abundance. The principle herbs and plants of this elevated region are highly odoriferous, perfuming the atmosphere with their fragrance. A thunder shower passed over just after sundown.

"*June 7th:* This forenoon we have gained in elevation very fast. Laramie Peak, about 12 or 15 miles to the South-West, shows from this position to good advantage. Its top is whitened with snow, that acts the part of a condenser upon the vapour of the atmosphere which comes within its vicinity, generating clouds which are precipitated in showers upon the surrounding country. This peak has been visible to our camp for eight or ten days, and I believe that almost every afternoon since, we

have been visited with thunder showers, which seem to originate in the vicinity of this peak.

"*June 9th:* * * * Our road this forenoon passed over a red clay formation, numerous strata of rocks appeared in various directions of the same red argillaceous formation * * * We observed some few stalks of wilk flax in blossom, the first that we have seen."

"*June 10th:* * * * The rock in the bluffs at this place would make excellent grindstones, being a fine grit sandstone. * * * On the right bank (i. e. the stream on which the camp was formed called "Fourche Boisee") and about three-quarters of a mile from our ford we found an extensive bed of bituminous coal of superior quality.

"*June 22nd:* At 4 a. m. barometer stood at 24:250, attached thermometer 46 deg., detached thermometer 42 deg. The morning is calm and clear. Early this morning I visited the top of Devil's Gate Rock, having with me my barometer and thermometer. By a barometrical measurement, the perpendicular walls were about 400 feet high above the river, which here cuts through a granite rock, forming a chasm about 900 or 1000 feet in length, and 130 feet in breadth. The rock upon the right bank runs back from the river about a quarter of a mile, and consists of alternated and perpendicular strata of gray granite and scoriated trap rock. I observed five alternate strata of trap rock trending to the north-east and south-west: these varied in breadth from one to five rods. The bed of the river in this chasm is nearly choked up by massive fragments of rock, which have been precipitated from above. About a quarter of a mile from the river, near the point of this granite hill, appeared some sandstone and conglomerate formation."

And so Elder Pratt's Journal continues to chronicle such matters to the end of the journey. The fact that the Pioneers had a man among them capable of doing such work: and also the fact that they had with them a large number of skilled artisans in many lines, and a still larger number of men of general affairs, marked off this company of Mormon Pioneers as an exceptional band of western emigrants.[52]

52. "There were sailors and soldiers, accountants and students, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, wagon-makers, lumbermen, farmers, dairymen, stock-raisers, engineers, millers and mechanics of all kinds. They are the ones who were apportioned to perform the labor of building up the future city of the Great Salt Lake, the city of today bearing innumerable monuments of their skill and ingenuity, while in various other parts of the state are public works, factories and settlements which arose under their supervision. (Fifty Years Ago To-day, April 18, '97.

The troubles experienced by the Pioneers from the thieving proclivities of the Pawnee Indians have already been detailed in this chapter. After leaving the Pawnee country about Loupe Fork they had no further trouble from the red men either of the plains or of the mountains. On the 24th of May, however, they received a friendly visit from the Sioux Chief Owastate-cha, and a band of his people numbering about thirty-five, including a few boys and women. The visit came about in the following manner: At the mid-day halt on that date two Sioux Indians came into camp; they were treated kindly, fed and they then passed on, not before signifying, however, that a band of their people were not far off. As the Pioneers were forming their night encampment they observed a party of Indians on the opposite bank of the Platte who by hoisting a flag and various maneuvers sought to indicate that they desired to visit the camp. President Young directed a flag to be hoisted in answer, "to let them know that they would be welcome;" and as soon as they saw the flag they began crossing the river. At first the precaution was taken to admit only the chief into the camp, but as the entirely friendly spirit of the band became manifest all were admitted. They had with them a U. S. flag and presented a written recommendation from Mr. Papan, one of the agents of the "American Fur Company." When night came the chief sent his men some distance—half a mile—from the camp to lodge, but he himself requested the privilege of staying with the Pioneers, and a tent was accordingly pitched for his accommodation. Notwithstanding the confidence entertained in the friendly disposition of these Indians precaution was taken to more securely stake down the horses that night, nothing however occurred to disturb the camp's rest.

The whole company of Indians were fed both on the night of the 24th and the next morning; there was some trading of horses between the Indians and the brethren, some peltries bought, also moccasins and other trinkets, and the Indians recrossed the Platte "in high glee," apparently well satisfied with their visit.[53] These Indians were much better dressed, according to Orson Pratt, "than the Indians on the frontiers [i. e. at Coun-

53. Erastus Snow's Journal entry for 24th of May, '47.

tion, and in sympathy with that stern school of moral uprightness by training as well as by birth; therefore what he regarded as the somewhat lax camp life of his associates did not escape censure. He had engaged if the camp would attend strictly to its duties, "abide his counsels and observe his directions, they should go safely, and they and their teams be preserved from the Indians and from every enemy."[56] When completing the organization of the camp on the Elkhorn he had predicted their success upon the condition of their faithfulness, humility, vigilance and prayerfulness while on the journey, "and if they would go in such manner as to claim the blessings of heaven."[57] He therefore reproved the camp from time to time for its tendency to light mindedness, and sternly reminded his brethren of their obligations to humility and sober mindedness.[58]

Finally, respecting these matters, things reached a climax on Saturday the 29th of May. The morning of that day was cold and rainy. The horn for gathering up the horses and cattle was sounded, but instead of proceeding on the journey, President Young required each captain to call out his men and each group to stand by itself. It was found that when this was done the whole camp, excepting two, were present, and these two were out hunting. President Young then addressed himself to the camp in the following terms—the account is from Woodruff's journal:

"I think I will take for my text to preach my sermon from —(these words:)

"*I am about to revolt from traveling with this camp any further with the spirit they now possess.*"

He then proceeded to say:

I had rather risk myself among the savages with ten men that are men of faith, men of mighty prayer, men of God, than to be with this whole camp when they forget God and turn their hearts to folly and wickedness. Yes, I had rather be alone; and I am now resolved not to go any further with the camp unless you will covenant to humble yourselves before the Lord and

56. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 16th of April, 1847.
57. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 83.
58. See Journals of Young, Snow and Woodruff for the 18th of May, also for Sunday 23rd of May, '47.

serve him and quit your folly and wickedness. For a week past nearly the whole camp has been card-playing, and checkers and dominoes have occupied the attention of the brethren, and dancing and hoeing down—all this has been the act continually. Now, it is quite time to quit it. And there has been trials of law suits upon every nonsensical thing;[59] and if those things are suffered to go on, it will be but a short time before you will be fighting, knocking each other down and taking life. It is high time it was stopped."[60]

So he continued in this spirit to admonish and reprove the camp, showing the brethren how inconsistent the course of the camp had been for a week past or more, for men who were going "to seek out a location in the mountains for a resting place for the Saints, even the whole Church of God, who have been driven out from the Gentiles and rejected of them, * * * a resting place for the Saints where the standard of the kingdom of God would be reared, and a banner unfurled for the nations to gather unto."[61]

Finally he called first upon his fellow apostles of the Twelve to know if they were willing to humble themselves before the Lord and covenant to do right; if so they must manifest it by the uplifted hand. Every hand in that council was raised. The same question was put to the High Priests, to the Seventies, to the Elders, and to the members, and all unanimously covenanted to repent of their sins and keep the commandments of the Lord. President Young then addressed himself to the few members of the camp who were not members of the Church—"as there were some present."[62] He informed them "that they would be protected in their rights, but they must not introduce wickedness in the camp, for it would not be suffered."[63]

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59. This doubtless refers to 'mock trials' in the camp by courts instituted for amusement. In later years such courts were quite common in the camps while crossing the plains.

60. Woodruff's Journal entry for 29th of May. Also Erastus Snow's Journal, same date, and Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 90. In Erastus Snows account of President Young's arraignment of the camp, in addition to the defects and the results pointed out by Elder Woodruff, he adds—"finding fault with one another, all of which would lead their minds away from the Lord to the neglect of their prayers and other duties; and if these things were suffered in this Church, and carried out to their ultimate limits, they could lead to insubordination and rebellion against the Priesthood, and to dissensions."

61. Woodruff's Journal, entry for the same date.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

The day following—Sunday—was set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Prayer meeting was held by the whole camp; and a second meeting at which the Sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered. "The Lord seemed to accept the offerings of our hearts," wrote Erastus Snow that day, "and poured out his spirit upon us."[64] The Twelve and a few others, in addition to attending these public services, "went into the valley of the hills; and, according to the order of the priesthood, prayed in a circle." Two of the brethren were stationed on guard to protect these brethren from interruption by the Indians.[65]

The repentance of the camp seems to have been most effectual as we hear no more complaint of their conduct en route for their destination.

On the 1st of June the Pioneers arrived opposite Fort Laramie. Here the Black Hills projected abruptly down from the north to the banks of the Platte River, and they learned that further progress with wagons on the north bank of that stream was impracticable, and preparations had to be made for crossing over to the south bank. The distance from Winter Quarters to the point they had now reached was 543 miles. The company had a good road from Winter Quarters to Loupe Fork, a distance of about 140 miles, but for four hundred miles the Pioneers had made a new trail across the plains, and now were about one-half the distance from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley.

Note 1.—Roster of the Pioneer Camp: The personnel of the pioneer band, was as follows. They are here given as divided into companies of "Tens":

First Ten—Wilford Woodruff, Captain; John S. Fowler, Jacob D. Burnham, Orson Pratt, Joseph Egbert, John M. Freeman, Marcus B. Thorpe, Geo. A. Smith, Geo. Wardle.

Second Ten—Ezra T. Benson, Captain; Thomas B. Grover, Barabas L. Adams, Roswell Stevens, Amasa M. Lyman, Starl-

64. Snow's Journal, entry for 30th of May, '47.

65. The spirit in which the reformation was carried out is well illustrated by the course pursued by Wilford Woodruff on the day set apart for fasting and prayer. "In the morning I shaved, cleansed my body, put on clean clothing, etc., read a chapter in the Book of Mormon, humbled myself before the Lord, and poured out my soul in prayer before Him: and His spirit descended upon me, and I was blessed and prepared for the service of the day." (Woodruff's Journal, entry 30th of May, '47).

ing Driggs, Albert Garrington, Thomas Bullock, George Brown, Williard Richards, Jesse C. Little.

Third Ten—Phineas H. Young, Captain; John Y. Green, Thomas Tanner, Brigham Young, Addison Everett, Truman O. Angell, Lorenzo D. Young, Bryant Stringham, Joseph S. Scofield, Albert P. Rockwood.

Fourth Ten—Luke S. Johnson, Captain; John Holman, Edmund Ellsworth, Alvarus Hanks, George R. Grant, Millen Atwood, Samuel B. Fox, Tunis Rappleyee, Harry Pierce, Wm. Kykes, Jacob Weiler.

Fifth Ten—Stephen H. Goddard, Captain; Tarlton Lewis, Henry G. Sherwood, Zebedee Coltrin, Sylvester H. Earl, John Dixon, Samuel H. Marble, George Scholes, Wm. Henrie, Wm. A. Empey.

Sixth Ten—Charles Shumway, Captain; Andrew Shumway, Thos. Woolsey, Chauncey Loveland, Erastus Snow, James Craig, Wm. Wordsworth, Wm. Vance, Simeon Howd, Seeley Owen.

Seventh Ten—James Case, Captain; Artemas Johnson, Wm. C. A. Smoot, Franklin B. Dewey, Wm. Carter, Franklin G. Losee, Burr Frost, Datus Ensign, Franklin B. Stewart, Monroe Frink, Eric Glines, Ozro Eastman.

Eighth Ten—Seth Taft, Captain; Horace Thornton, Stephen Kelsey, John S. Eldredge, Charles D. Barnum, Alma W. Williams, Rufus Allen, Robert T. Thomas, James W. Stewart, Elijah Newman, Levi N. Kendall, Francis Boggs, David Grant.

Ninth Ten—Howard Egan, Captain; Heber C. Kimball, Wm. A. King, Thomas Cloward, Hosea Cushing, Robert Byard, George Billings, Edison Whipple, Philo Johnson, Wm. Clayton.

Tenth Ten—Appleton M. Harmon, Captain; Carlos Murray, Horace K. Whitney, Orson K. Whitney, Orrin P. Rockwell, Nathaniel T. Brown, R. Jackson Redding, John Pack, Francis Pomeroy, Aaron Farr, Nathaniel Fairbanks.

Eleventh Ten—John S. Higbee, Captain; John Wheeler, Solomon Chamberlain, Conrad Klineman, Joseph Rooker, Perry Fitzgerald, John H. Tippetts, James Davenport, Henson Walker, Benjamin Rolfe.

Twelfth Ten—Norton Jacobs, Captain; Charles A. Harper, George Woodward, Stephen Markham, Lewis Barney, George Mills, Andrew Gibbons, Joseph Hancock, John W. Norton.

Thirteenth Ten—John Brown, Captain; Shadrach Roundy, Levi Jackman, Lyman Curtis, Hans C. Hansen, Mathew Ivory, David Powers, Hark Lay (colored), Oscar Crosby (colored).

Fourteenth Ten—Joseph Mathews, Captain; Gilbroid Summe, John Gleason, Charles Burke, Alexander P. Chessley,

Rodney Badger, Norman Taylor, Green Flake (colored), Ellis Eames.

Besides the men, there were three women and two children in the camp. Their names are given in the text of the History, and their presence in the camp is also explained.

NOTE 2.—EMIGRATION TO OREGON AND CALIFORNIA 1834-1847: The published account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-6 created a lively interest in the great west and northwest; and men of bold spirits saw the opening both for a life of adventure and a prospect of profit in the fur trade that might be opened with the native tribes of the vast region partly explored and in hunting and trapping either on their own account or for the fur companies then forming in the United States. This threw into the Inter Mountain West an irregular vanguard of the civilization that was to follow; for the trading posts of the fur companies, usually called "forts"—though for the most part without ordinance or garrisons or governmental authority—became the objective points to which the subsequent missionaries and settlers successively moved in their irregular march through and conquest of the west. Following these rough men of the wilderness came the missionaries to the Indians. The missionaries so far as they were Protestants and from the United States, began their work in the northwest in 1834. The first company was headed by Jason and Daniel Lee, sent out under the auspices of the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They went *via* of Kansas River, the Forks of the Platte, Fort Laramie, Green River, Fort Hall, Walla Walla and down the Columbia to the Willammette valley. (History of the Northwest Coast Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 585).

The next company of Protestant missionaries for Oregon went under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in 1835. These were Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman. They traveled under the protection of a company of sixty trappers and hunters of the American Fur Company, and took the same route as the Methodist missionaries and with wagons as far as Fort Laramie; but at the rendezvous on Green River Dr. Whitman returned to the East to obtain teachers for the proposed mission.

Dr. Whitman in the spring of 1836, was again on the Missouri ready to start a second time for the northwest, and now accompanied by his wife whom during the winter he had married and persuaded to share his missionary labors. Also he had persuaded the Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, both of Ohio to join him in missionary work. The wives of these missionaries were

the first white women to make the overland journey to the northwest.

There were almost yearly efforts at migrations to either California or Oregon after 1836, but none of any great importance until 1841, in which year a company of forty-eight men and fifteen women, formed into a company to go to California, subsequently joined by a small party of missionaries, hunters and gentlemen seeking pleasure—seventeen in all. John Bartleson was chosen captain of this company, and in emigrant annals the company usually bears his name; but John Bidwell was the historian of the camp. The missionaries carried their effects upon five carts; thirteen wagons made up the rest of the train. The route followed was the Kansas River, North Fork of the Platte, South Pass, Green River and "Beer" or "Soda Springs," where the company divided, part going to Oregon *via* of Fort Hall, the others making their way down Bear River through Cache Valley, thence round the north end of Salt Lake to the sinks of the Humbolt and so to California. (Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. I, pp. 268-271, also Hist. Utah, p. 29).

In 1842 the main body of Western Emigrants was led by Elijah White. White had been in Oregon with the Lees, with whom however, he had quarrelled and as a consequence had returned to the east. But when the settlers of the Willammette Valley asked that a civil magistrate or Governor be sent to execute such laws of the U. S. as might obtain there, White was appointed Sub-Indian Agent with the understanding also that "The settlers if they chose to do so, could by mutual consent sustain the Sub-Indian agent's claim to be regarded as a magistrate among them although without definite authority from the U. S. White was also authorized to use every reasonable effort to induce emigrants to accompany him. By the middle of May 1842, a company of 112 person, 52 being men over eighteen years of age, chiefly from Jackson and Platte, counties, Mo., rendezvoused about twenty miles southwest of Independence. The start was made on the 16th of May, the train consisted of 18 Pennsylvania wagons with a long procession of horses, pack mules and cattle. The company went *via* of the Kansas River, Forks of the Platte, Fort Laramie, South Pass, Green River and Fort Hall. At Fort Laramie they abandoned one-half the number of their wagons, at Green River a number of the wagons were cut up and pack saddles made of them; the remainder of wagons were abandoned at Fort Hall and the rest of the journey to the Willammette valley made up as a pack train. (See Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. X).

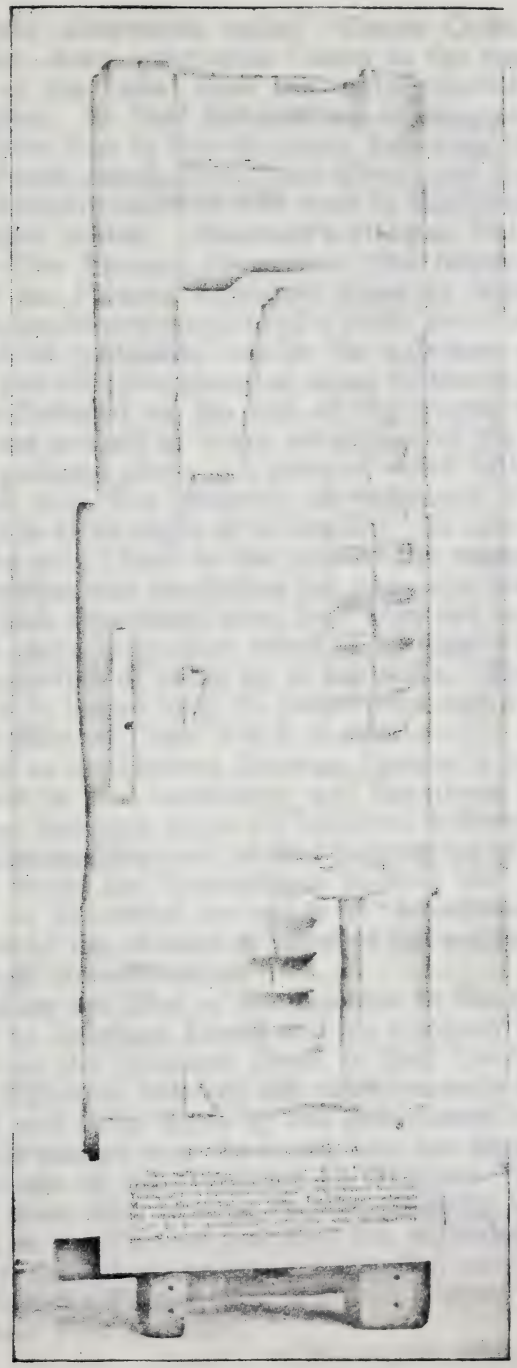
In 1843 a still larger emigrant company was formed near Independence, under various leading spirits from Arkansas, Ken-

tucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, nearly one thousand in all: 120 wagons, and 5,000 cattle. This company verred from the usual route, in that after reaching Green River *via* of the Fort Laramie, they went *via* of Fort Bridger, and down Bear River to Soda Springs, and so to Fort Hall, where part of the company turned off with L. W. Hastings as leader for California. According to the register kept by McLoughlin, agent of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, on the Lower Columbia, the number of emigrants arriving in Oregon for 1843, were registered as 875, men, women and children. (See also U. S. History—Morris—p. 315, *note*).

The emigration of 1844 collected at different points on the Missouri, amounted in all to about 1,400 persons. One of the chief companies was that which assembled at Weston, Mo., under the leadership of Cornelius Gilliam of Platte county, who took a prominent part in mobbing the Saints at Far West in 1838. (See ante this History, ch. XXX.) His company numbered 48 families, 323 persons; 410 Oxen, 160 cows, 143 young cattle, 54 horses, 41 mules, and 72 wagons. The emigration followed the Platte route to Laramie, South Pass, Bear River, Fort Hall and so following to the Lower Oregon. (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. XVII.)

The emigration to Oregon in 1845 "was larger than any that had preceded it, three thousand persons are registered as arriving in the Columbia Valley that year;" following practically the same route of travel (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 508). Speaking of the Oregon California route *via* of Fort Hall, Bancroft says: "Let it suffice to regard the route to Fort Hall as a great national highway along which ox and mule trains passed westward during the season, not with the frequency or regularity or convenience of the more modern railroad trains, but yet without hardships and dangers so excessive as to prevent the travelers from being born and married and buried on the way." (Hist. Cal., Vol. IV, p. 575). Morris declares that in 1845 there were "seven thousand Americans and only a few British in Oregon." U. S. Hist., p. 315, *note*.

The emigration of 1846 was not so large as that of the previous year. The best evidence yet collected gives the number of emigrants leaving Missouri River points that year as 2,500 persons. Of these, from fifteen to seventeen hundred went to Oregon, the remainder to California, turning to the Oregon route at Fort Hall, (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. XX), though some went *via* of Echo and Weber Cannons and around the south end of Salt Lake; and one company—the Donner party, turning off at the head of the Weber, followed up Ogden's Fork of the Web-



The Pioneer Odometer

er, which was afterwards called "Canan Creek," now East Canon Creek—down emigration Canon to the road around the South end of the Lake: then bearing northwestward for the Humbolt River. In 1847 the number of emigrants to Oregon numbered from four to five thousand, following the same route *via* of the Platte, South Pass, Bear River, and Fort Hall. The above are exclusive of those who went to California *via* of Fort Hall and other routes. (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. XXI).

NOTE 3.—THE PIONEER ODOMETER: The following is the description of the Pioneer Odometer given by William Clayton: "The whole machinery consists of a shaft about eighteen inches long, placed on gudgeons, one in the axle-tree of the wagon, near which are six arms placed at equal distances around it, and in which is fastened on the hub of the wagon wheel, turning the shaft once around at every revolution of the wagon wheel. The upper gudgeon plays in a piece of wood nailed to the wagon box, and near this gudgeon, on the shaft, a screw is cut. The shaft lays at an angle of 45 degrees. In this screw a wheel works on an axle (fixed in the side of the wagon) of 60 cogs, and which makes one revolution for each mile traveled. In the shaft on which this wheel runs four cogs are cut on the forepart, which plays in another wheel of 40 cogs, which shows the miles and quarters of miles up to ten miles. The box incasing the whole is 18 inches long, 15 inches high and 3 inches thick." (Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 310).

According to the Deseret Museum Curator's report upon the machine now in that institution and the above description by the principal inventor, there are material differences both as to the size of the machine over all, and the number of cogs in wheels and in the levers for transmitting motion, etc. Which differences may be accounted for either by defectiveness in the description, or by the absence of parts of the machine, perhaps by both of these circumstances.

It is said on the label of the machine in the museum that it "was used by Brigham Young and his company to measure the distance from the Missouri River to Salt Lake Valley;" and that the "difference between the measurements made with this instrument and those made by the government surveyors, who subsequently passed over the route, *was less than 60 feet.*" Of course this use of the Odometer by Brigham Young and "his company" must refer to some journey made by the great leader subsequent to the Pioneer journey; for, as stated in the text of the History, the Odometer was not installed until about the 12th of May, when the Pioneer company was midway between Council Bluffs and Fort Laramie.

Historical Views and Reviews

Penetrated into Philippines

LOUIS M. MURPHY, until recently a soldier in the United States Army, living near here, has done what no white man ever did before him—not even the armed soldier of the United States—and live to tell the story.

He lived among the head hunters, and what he did, strangely enough, any man might do if he pursued the same tactics and deported himself in the same manner. Murphy had been with the army in the Philippine Islands two years.

Having served his time, he separated himself from the soldiers and penetrated into the sequestered regions of the island where lived the hated head hunters, the savage Ibulaos, the tribe shunned by civilized men as one would shun a deadly pestilence. He lived among them without the least danger to his life.

"I never was threatened," said Murphy. "It was an easy thing to do and anybody can do it if they know how." Murphy said that the Ibulaos got a bad name from persons who attempted to go among them in civilized garb or the trappings of a soldier, and with all the insolence of some of the soldiers. These men go with the idea that the Ibulaos are to be subdued.

This is how Murphy did it: He went alone in the clothes of a common citizen and he made no attempt to civilize the savage during the first few hours he was among them. He knew a few words of their language, or dialect, and he used them cautiously and with tact. He also donned the Ibulao habit of dress, which was severely simple, ate what they ate and looked on in silence as they performed their curious religious rites of worshiping the sun every morning.

"I lived better among them than when I was in civilization," he said in commenting on his experiences with the savage tribe. "My life was never threatened and the only time I thought they might have been planning to kill me was when they asked me to fire my revolver. I thought they wanted to catch me with an empty gun and did not fire."

Murphy was in the islands five years and ten months, and he says he was vaccinated 120 times. During the time he was there he took 800 pictures of people and scenes in the forbidden portions of the Philippines. These negatives are now being preserved by Mr. Murphy.

Campaign Songs of a Century

The article bearing the above caption which is to be found in another part of this magazine, is a reprint of an article appearing in the New York Post, March 16, 1912.

Origin of Word "Socialism"

The words "Socialism" and "Socialist" are designations which cannot be very old. Although they are words formed from Latin roots, they are sought for in vain in Latin literature. Not only did the Romans not know these words, but even in those times not so long ago when Latin was used as the language of science and legislation these words were unknown. The University professor of Vienna, Carl Gruenberg, in his researches into the history of Socialism, has followed up the words "Socialism" and "Socialist." He has published a number of investigations as to the first appearance of these now indispensable words. His last work, which is devoted to the first, "Socialism," appeared in the "Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung" (Records of the History of Socialism and the Working Class Movement), also published by him.

Catholic Priest Originates Word

These words were first employed in the early years of the nineteenth century. The assertion that they were used in connection with Babeuf's plans of the establishment of a communistic economic order and that they then had the same significance as to-day is incorrect. The words "Socialism" and "Socialist" are first met with in the year 1803. The cleric of Vicenza, Giacomo Giuliani, in his philosophical work, "L'Anti-Socialismo Confutato," uses the word "Socialism" as the opposite of individualism. In this work appear the newly coined words "socialismo," "socialista," "socializzare," with meanings far different from those of to-day, but still used as opposed to individualism, which expression, moreover, was unknown to the author. And so a Catholic priest was the first to make use of these words so fiercely hated to-day by his successors. But entirely independently a Protestant clergyman seems also to have hit upon these words. On November 12, 1831, appeared in the weekly Le Semeur an article entitled "Catholicisme et Socialisme." It was probably written by the Swiss pastor, Alexander Vinet, who in Geneva in 1846 published a book entitled "Sozialismus Nach Seinen Grunsaetzen Betrachtet" (A Study of the Principles of Socialism). But the book contains not one word of Socialism itself. Socialism for Vinet meant the same thing as Catholicism. Hardly four months later the Saint-Simonist, H. Jencieres, published in Le Globe, the official organ of that school, a criticism of a book of Victor Hugo in which he employs the word "Socialism" as the opposite of individualism and by "Socialism" means the organic combination of human beings.

"Socialism" in 1830

Pierre Leroux, who left the ranks of the Saint-Simonists to found a real Christian Socialism and who earlier had been one of the publishers of Le Globe, used the expression "Socialism"

in his "Philosophic Sociale" with essentially the same meaning as attaches to it to-day. This was in the middle of the year 1830. He himself was opposed to Socialism and its adherents, whom he styled Socialists. But as early as April 12 of that year, hence prior to Pierre Leroux, Charles Pellarin, the follower of Fourier, applied the word "Socialists" to the Saint-Simonists. Therefore he had not yet arrived at a clear conception of the idea conveyed to-day by the word "Socialist."

In 1827, in the official organ of the followers of Robert Owen, the Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald, the Socialists were for the first time and upon English ground identified with the Communists. But nevertheless it was a long time before this word became a generally used expression. In 1833 and 1835 the word is again found in English newspapers; thence it may have traveled to France and received its new significance still usual to-day been employed by Pierre Leroux and later by the hostile historian of Socialism, Reybaud, to whom for a long time has been credited the coining of this word.

Protestant Minister also Used Word

And so it appears that a Catholic priest was the first to coin this word, without however being acquainted with the significance later given it, or with the forceful meaning which it was to have later. Nor did the Italian priest realize that he had coined a word which was destined to find a place in every language of the world. The irony of fate also determined that a Protestant minister in French Switzerland should have hit upon the word independently. But in the sense in which the words "Socialism" and "Socialist" are used to-day we find them first used by an Owenite and therefore for a forerunner of the modern Socialists. From England the word was imported into France where it was used by the Christian Socialist, Pierre Leroux, who fought the Socialists as well as the individualists. The word was employed in Germany in 1840 by A. L. Churoa, who wrote under the name Rochan. Whether this was the first use

of the word "Socialism" in Germany cannot be positively determined by Professor Gruenberg. But the word "Socialism" was given a permanent place in the German language by Corenz Stein, who later was a professor in Vienna, in his famous book published in the year 1842, "Sozialismus und Kommunismus des heutigen Frankreich."

The Story of the Monitor

The fiftieth anniversary of the famous battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac, was celebrated in New York City, March 10. The models of the first iron warship, all beautifully constructed by Captain Ericsson himself, were presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, No. 29 West Thirty-ninth street. These models and the only oil painting in existence of Captain John Ericsson are now on public exhibition in the rooms of the society.

W. Thorne Erickson, of No. 220 Central Park South, the nearest living relative to the famous captain, who was his first cousin, thus tells the story of the famous craft.

"The Confederates had seized the Norfolk Navy Yard, but the commanding Union officers contrived to burn or sink all the ships before surrendering the post. The best one of these vessels, the Merrimac, was soon raised by the Southern commandant and rebuilt as a powerful ironclad, resembling in model a houseboat rather than a warship. I remember hearing the story of the old sailor on board the Cumberland, a Union cruiser, who was the first to sight the queer ship, reporting gravely to the captain: 'Quaker meeting house floating down the bay, sir.'

"On the morning of the 8th the ponderous, iron-covered Merrimac steamed out to attack the wooden Northern ship cruising in Hampton Roads. She immediately attacked the frigate Cumberland. Nearer and nearer the black monster came, without even replying to the solid shot of the Union vessel, whose broad-

sides fell like pebbles into the sea from the armor-plated sides of the huge ironclad. Finally the Merrimac crashed into the wooden side of the Cumberland and opened up a hole 'as wide as a church door.' With like ease the invincible Southern craft next sank the Congress, and then, as if she had done enough for one day, steamed back triumphantly to Norfolk, intending to continue her course of destruction on the morrow.

"Yankee Cheese Box"

"Fortunately, that very night, a small, odd-looking vessel built of iron appeared in Hampton Roads to challenge the Southern terror in the morning. It was the Monitor, from New York, designed by my cousin, Captain John Ericsson. It floated nearly even with the water, and the only object on deck was a revolving turret with two guns, commanded by Lieutenant Worden, one of the bravest heroes of the Civil War. Its construction was strange, indeed. No wonder the Confederates mockingly described her as the 'Yankee cheese box on a raft.' She looked it.

"Anticipating the harm which the Merrimac would do, the Government finally decided to engage my cousin, then in New York, to build as quickly as possible, according to his own plans, a boat of iron, which he claimed could be made to float, and which they now agreed could alone save the Union seaports from the destructive shells of the terrible Merrimac.

"The construction was pushed night and day, for Washington was almost in a panic.

"On the morning of March 9, 1862, after three hours of frightful combat with the Confederate ship, during which the two vessels were at times in actual contact, the Merrimac's iron plates were split and shattered and she steamed back to Norfolk while the victorious little Monitor sent a series of farewell shots as she said proudly away.

"The vanquished Merrimac had sustained irreparable damages, and, as you know, she was afterward blown up by the Con-

federates. Thus ended the first battle in the world's history between ironclad men-of-war.

"The United States Government never paid Captain John Ericsson for his marvelous invention. My cousin, Aaron Erickson, of the late firm of Erickson, Jennings & Company, bankers, Rochester, N. Y., and who afterward became the director of the National Park Bank, No. 217 Broadway, during the years 1877-1880, financed the entire project."

Miles Standish Kin to Washington

The Rev. Dr. Solloway, vicar of Selby Abbey, who has been a keen searcher for relics of the Washington family in England, has found another specimen of the Washington coat of arms in Chorley, Lancashire, his native town. Not long ago he discovered a Washington shield, previously unknown, at Selby.

The Chorley shield is of additional interest in that it was found in one of the quarterings of the coat of arms belonging to the Standish family of Duxbury. This is the family from which Miles Standish had descent, and the Washington Shield in the quartering indicates a few relationships between the Sandish and Washington families.

The Standish coat of arms was found by the Rev. Dr. Solloway in the ancient parish church of Chorley. The arms appear above the head of St. Lawrence in a stained glass window in the north side of the chancel. They are the arms of Alexander Standish, born about 1570, impaling the arms of his wife, Margaret Ashton.

The right or Standish portion of the shield has six quarterings, the fifth being gules, two bars argent, in chief three mullets of the last, for Washington.

There is nothing new in the relationship of Miles Standish to the Duxbury Standishes, for the Puritan captain traced his ancestry to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall. A good many Americans have visited Duxbury Hall, and some of them have dropped in at Chorley Church, but apparently none of them no-

ticed the stars and stripes of the Washington arms in the stained glass shield of Alexander Standish.

At Chorley the stars, mullets and bars are white while the field is red. In most Washington coats of arms the coloring has been the reverse, although there are instances of the Chorley combination.

Another representation of the Standish arms with the Washington quartering was found by the Rev. Dr. Solloway carved on the back of the big square Standish pew in Chorley parish church. The church is two miles away from Duxbury Hall.

Tells of Lincoln

Men still living in Springfield, Ill., who knew Lincoln, have been recounting their memories of him for the benefit of a correspondent of the Chicago *Record-Herald.* Dr. William Jayne, who seems to be the dean of the group, first saw the future President at Petersburg, in his father's store. "I was only nine years old," he says. "I never shall forget, when Lincoln went out of the store my father turned to Mr. Edwards (his partner), and said: 'That young man will be Governor some day, mark my words.'" This must have been in 1846. "At that time," he continues, "his only distinction was the fact that he had served as captain in the Black Hawk War and had been in the House of Representatives. Still, he made such an impression that men like my father, who was a well-travelled man, regarded him as possessing qualities of leadership. I remember how my father's remark appealed to me. I thought that it was rather foolish talk. I had seen two Governors, Governor Reynolds and Governor Duncan, who used to drive over to Springfield in carriages with negroes on the box and a coachman in uniform. They were great dressers. I could not imagine a man in trousers that never came within six inches of his ankles rising to the heights attained by these graceful and gallant gentlemen. Lincoln was our great citizen, of course, but who of us thought that he would ever become President?

In October, 1859, I was talking with Mr. Lincoln—this was about the time that the Presidential talk began to be heard all over the country—and I asked him how about it. He said to me: 'William, I am not fit to be President, but I would like to be Attorney-General of the United States.' . . . That was only five months before the Wigwam Convention. Shortly afterward, however, he went to New York and made the Cooper Union speech. In my opinion, that speech brought him the nomination and elected him President.''

Franklin Home Sold

The ancient three story and attic brick building at 111 Spring street, a small thoroughfare near Front and Race streets, Philadelphia, which was recently sold at public sale in the auction rooms of Samuel T. Freeman & Co. to Benjamin E. Sattler for $900, was at one time the home of Benjamin Franklin.

He boarded here for several years after arriving in Philadelphia, and tradition has it that he occupied the one room in the attic.

The house is said to have been one of the first brick dwellings built in Philadelphia and was erected many years before Franklin lived in it. It is still in a good state of preservation.

The Burial of the Maine

The taking of the unsightly and sea-worn remnant of the Maine past the Morro to her fathoms deep sepulture, with the guns of Cabana firing a farewell and the Cuban flag on the fortress lowered to half mast, brings to mind the picture of the white hulled Maine, with the Stars and Stripes at her peak, steaming through the harbor entrance and saluting the red and yellow ensign of Spain on the morning of January 25, 1898.

At first light Captain Sigsbee had made a landfall on the coast

of Cuba to the west of Havanna, and in the early hours of the day he prepared his ship and crew with unusual pains for the run through the narrow channel to her mooring place in the bay in the sight of the expectant city. In his "History of the Navy" Maclay says:

"The officers put on their frock coats and the crew was dressed with exceptional neatness in blue. Having made these preliminary arrangements Captain Sigsbee headed his ship eastward and when abreast of the city sent her ahead at full speed with the national colors at the peak and the jack at the foremost head."

Photography shows us the old Maine forging through the channel on a fair day, her flags streaming out bravely in the northeast trade and the signal flags on the Morro announcing her approach. At the harbor mouth the scene is peaceful enough. The visitor is passing in close under the gaunt lighthouse of the Morro, where no sign of life is to be seen and a lone waterman is plying his oars in the foreground. From that day when the Maine entered the harbor on dress parade until she sank in ruin at her mooring buoy the crew remained on board and her commander punctiliously carried out his orders to maintain friendly relations with the Spanish authorities. Of their confinement to the ship "the crew," cays Captain Sigsbee, "never complained, not in a single instance that I am aware of."

It is fitting that the Maine, all that is left of her, should go out ceremoniously with her last recovered dead on the cruiser escorting her and sink beneath the waves to be seen no more, her burial place to be known vaguely in the blue waters of the straits. The mystery of her loss fourteen years of speculation have failed to solve. "The facts will some day come to light," Secretary Long has said, "and it will probably be found that so far as the Spanish Government itself was concerned it was innocent of the design." In the hour of a duty well and decorously performed and as the fragment of the Maine disappears forever the American people are reluctant to believe that the Spain of Cervera was dishonored in the tragedy that sent so many brave and unoffending men incontinently to their death.

Eagle as Regiment's Mascot

"My regiment was one of the four which, with the Second Iowa Battery, composed what is known as the Eagle Brigade," writes Robert J. Burdette in the *Sunday School Times*. "It got its name from the fact that the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment of that brigade carried a young American eagle all through the war.

"Old Abe had the post of honor at the centre of the regiment, his perch being constructed of the American shield, and he was carried by a sergeant between the two flags, the Stars and Stripes and the regimental standard of blue emblazoned in gold with the State coat of arms.

"All the brigade adored him, and secured chickens for him—he was fonder of chicken than the chaplain and not half so particular about the cookery. To see him during a battle fly up into the air to the length of his long tether, hovering above the flags in the cloud of smoke, screaming like the bird which bore the thunderbolts of Jove, was to raise such a mighty shout from the brigade as would have blown Jericho off the map. Other regiments had dogs, bears, coons, goats. There was only one eagle in the army.

"He was an eaglet when the war broke out, and enlisted young, like many of the boys who loved him and fought beside him. He was captured on the Flambeau River, Wisconsin, in 1861, by a Chippewa Indian, Chief Sky, who sold him for a bushel of corn. Subsequently a Mr. Mills paid $5 for him and presented him to C company of the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment, known as the Eau Claire Eagles. The soldiers at once adopted him as one of their standards, made him a member of the color guard, named him in honor of the greatest of the Presidents, and he never disgraced his name.

"Through thirty-six battles he screamed among the trumpets, smelling the battle afar off, fluttering among the thunder of the captains and shouting. Never once did he flinch. He was wounded in the assault on Vicksburg and in the battle of Corinth. At this battle it is said that a reward was offered by the Confederate General Price for the capture or killing of the eagle.

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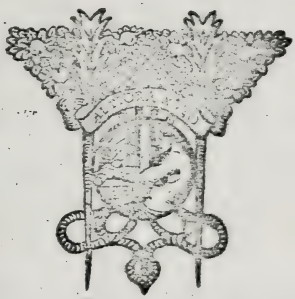
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